

BEN
JONSON

BEN
J O N S O N

Edited by C. H. HERFORD
PERCY *and* EVELYN SIMPSON

VOLUME X

Play Commentary
Masque Commentary

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THE BACCHIC GROUP IN CASAUBON'S GEM (page 526)

JONSON'S note on *Oberon*, line 17, describes the gem as famous. It is elaborately discussed in Isaac Casaubon's monograph *De Satyrica Græcorum Poesi, & Romanorum Satira Libri duo*, Paris, 1605; the engraving of it is on page 67. It belonged to Pierre-Antoine Rascas, sieur de Bagarris, one of the most eminent collectors of his day, who was appointed 'maître des cabinets, médailles et antiquités' to King Henri IV in 1601 or 1602.¹ Casaubon was in Paris from 1600 to 1610 and in 1604 was 'garde de la librairie du roi'; he knew Rascas.

Jonson carefully studied Casaubon's treatise and made free use of it in the Latin notes to the masque. In the note on line 17 he quotes Casaubon's appreciative comment:

'En vetustatis monumentum egregium, & admiratione omnium, quos res antiquæ capiunt, dignissimum, nam præter solertiam subtilissimi artificis, cuius hoc elaboratissimum opus est: plane stupenda in tantulo spatio rerum, personarum, actionum varietas' (pp. 67-8).

The stone was of dark green jasper mottled with red: 'viriditatis nigricantis, non planè pellucida, punctis rubris stellata' (ibid.).

Casaubon thinks the group part of a bacchanalian procession such as Athenaeus describes at Alexandria in the *Deipnosophistae*, book V, chapter vii:

'Videtur hæc gemma eo consilio scalpta, vt thymelicarum tabularum picturas imitaretur. quoniam tamen nullum heic docendæ fabulæ certum argumentum exprimitur, malo ad sacra Dionysiaca referre. ac nisi fallor ad dendrophoriam pertinet hæc imago. variis enim modis sacra Libero patri fecerunt Græci ac Latini. inter alios autem ritus diuersos illorum sacrorum, hic fuit, cum arbores in pompa Bacchica gestabant. illi enim deo non arborem solum vitem, sed omnes fructiferas acceptas ferebant' (pp. 69, 70).

He quotes Athenaeus, ἐξῆς ἄνδρες ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, φέροντες δένδρα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνήρτητο θηρία πολυποδαπὰ καὶ ὄρνεα (pp. 70-1). In the gem the tree appears to be carried by the Satyr on whom Bacchus is leaning.

Casaubon described the group.

'Personæ in argumento huius gemmæ contentæ omnino sunt octo. Bacchus, qui tenerorum more puerorum gestatur: Silenus, qui illum in vlnis gestat, altero brachio corpus pueri amplexens: altero, crus

¹ See the *Biographie Universelle*, 1824, vol. xxxvii, pp. 105-7.

viii *The Bacchic Group in Casaubon's Gem*

sinistrum ei sustinens. Satyrus & puer orgiasta, qui à dextro onus Sileno subleuant. Bacchæ treis: vna quæ ferulam in dextra habet: altera est tympanistria, τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀσκοῦσα τέχνην: tertia tibicina: huius solum caput apparet, cum geminis tibiis quas ore inflat. postremò puerulus cernitur cornu copiae sinistra attollens. vides heic præterea hircum, aptam ad Liberi sacra victimam; vel histrionibus tragicis paratum præmium. hoc amplius humi iacent, hinc Sileni cantharus, effuso vino: illinc persona histrionis capiti detracta, cum appensis offendicibus, siue vinculis' (pp. 72-3).

The touch of Bacchus being carried like a small boy is noted by Jonson on line 130. The wreath on Bacchus' left arm is thus described:

'Cernitur & in hac gemma corona volubilis (Græci κυλιστὸν στέφανον vocant:) sinistro brachio Sileni imposita. . . . sed diligentius inspecta imagine, animaduertimus, non ad Silenum volubilem hanc coronam pertinere: verùm ad Bacchum, qui dextra manu quam Sileni humero habet impositam, eam tenet. ita mos fuit delicatiorum, vt manibus flores tenerent, vel solutos, vel sertos, quod ait Apuleius: aut reticulo minuto inclusos' (pp. 83-4).

The nymph on the left with an ivy-clad staff is a castanet-player. Casaubon notes that she holds the castanets high in her left hand because that is the only position in which the engraver could depict them:

'manus agitationem aliter quamvis doctus artifex exprimere non potuit. idem dicendum, & de Baccha tympanistria, in qua artem suam consummauit nobilissimus glypta. ea Bacchum præcedit, cui ludos facit, incedens retrorsum more boum ὀπισθονόμων, & inter gradiendum ad numeros pedes simul mouens, & manibus tympanum quatiens: quod Agathias dixit in epigrammate quodam libro iv. κύμβαλα χερσὶ τινάξαι. . . . hæc Baccha nuda est, sed iactantur illi à tergo vittæ aut lemnisci è corona pendentes: nisi tamen est pannus humero dextro impositus: cui non dissimiles erant panni illi qui factiones Circi distinguebant' (pp. 98-9).

Casaubon contrasts these two nymphs; the castanet-player wearing a neat dress in which he finds something of a military pattern.

Casaubon points the contrast between Silenus and the Satyrs.

'Alterum Silenorum munus, vt Satyris præsent, & sint eorum epistatæ. itaque gregi Satyrorum in pompa Dionysiaca vnus semper Silenus præficiebatur. in ea quæ describitur apud Athenæum, bini Sileni non semel commemorantur, qui totidem plurium Satyrorum gregibus præsent, ad dextram & sinistram pompæ incedentibus' (p. 77). 'Sileni Satyrorum erant epistatæ propter grandem ætatem, Bacchi ipsius pædagogi, τροφοὶ & baiuli. Satyri eiusdem Bacchi collusores' (p. 40).

Between Silenus and Bacchus there is a sharp contrast: Bacchus,

'forma venustateque pollens, iuvenis ac delicatus, pampineam coronam habens in capite: *τρυφητῆς* denique luxu & *ἀβρότητι* diffluens. Silenus contra, senex, rugarum plenus, exsuccus, caluus, vestem indutus, & vt videtur, caput petasatus, barba densa ac promissa: sima denique nare: quam notam Silenis diserte tribuit Lucianus' (p. 75).

He differs from the Satyrs in having no horns, no goat-legs. They had

'cornicula in capite, cauda extrema spina dependens, pilis hirta femora, crura ac pedes plane instar caprorum. in Sileno nihil penitus istorum. abesse fronte cornua clarissimum: pedum alter latet: alter inter pedes Satyri exit: in quo digiti quinque manifesto parent' (pp. 79-80). 'Apud Athenæum quoque prodeunt Sileni chlamydati & crepidati. *Σειληνοὶ δὺν ἐν πορφυραῖς χλαμίσι καὶ κρηπίσι λευκαῖς*. non igitur erant *αἰγίποδες* vt appellantur à poëtis' (p. 81).

So *Oberon*, 40 'a'.

Casaubon develops the contrast in their moral character.

'Satyrorum ingenium verbo expressit Horatius cum *risores* vocauit & *dicaces*: item Græci poëtæ, cum *φιλοκερτόμους*: qua appellatione illos non tantum Nonnus afficit, sed etiam alij poëtæ: vt Nilus scholasticus in Satyri effigiem opere musiuo è lapillis factam,

*Πάντες μὲν Σάτυροι φιλοκέρτομοι· εἶπε δὲ καὶ σύ,
Τί πρὸς ἕκαστον ὀρώων τόνδε γέλωτα χέεις.*

non solum dicaces, sed & proni in Venerem, & saltatores assidui & credebantur, & fingeantur: vnde Satyrica saltatio' (p. 91). 'illa saltatio quæ satyricis fabulis fuit propria, *σίκιννις* dicebatur: vel quasi *κίνησις* transpositis mutatisque literis nonnullis, vt scribit Athenæus: vel à Sicino inuentore, vt idem in primo & xiv. atque alij. hinc Satyri ipsi dicti *σικιννισταί*, auctore eodem' (p. 145). 'Athenæus. *Εἶσι γάρ τινες οἱ καὶ φασὶ τὴν σίκιννιν ποιητικῶς ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως, ἣν οἱ Σάτυροι ὀρχοῦνται ταχυτάτην οὖσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πάθος αὕτη ἢ ὀρχησις, διὸ οὐδὲ βραδύνει* (p. 146).

Cf. *Oberon*, 48, note 'b'.

'In the Silenes was nothing of this pettulance and lightness', says Jonson (50) in a note taken verbally from Casaubon, who refers to Strabo, Tertullian, Aelian, and Philostratus for evidence.

'itaque doctissimus omnium poëtarum Virgilius, carmen de principiis & conditu rerum & vetustissimis rebus aliis scripturus, Sileno potius quam alij vlli de tantis rebus disserendi parteis attribuit: quod qui temere à prudentissimo vate putant factum, imperiti sunt, atque inepti' (pp. 61-2).

x *The Bacchic Group in Casaubon's Gem*

The reference is to the Lucretian lines (31–42) of Silenus' song in the sixth eclogue of Virgil. That eclogue is the starting-point of Jonson's masque, and Casaubon's monograph supplied all the scholarly knowledge needed to elucidate it.

For instance, the note on the Centaurs, 65 d. Some writers think the Satyrs in Thessaly

'à Centauris esse genitos: vtrumque genus διφνῆς, sed diuerso modo. vtrosque Attici & Iones φῆρας vel φηρέας appellarunt' (p. 45). 'Iuuat coniecturam nostram, quod Attici & Iones Satyros vocarunt φῆρας siue φηρέας, vt apud Hippocratem obseruat Galenus. etiam poëtarum principi' [*Iliad*, i. 268, ii. 743] 'φῆρες sunt Centauri' (p. 54).

The note on Silenus as 'Grandsire' (77) refers to Iulius Pollux on the Satyric drama:

'proprij Satyricę sunt Satyri & Sileni: de quibus Iulius Pollux in ea parte capitis xix. lib. iv quam de Satyricis personis inscripsit. Σατυρικὰ πρόσωπα inquit, Σάτυρος πολιὸς, Σάτυρος γενειῶν, Σάτυρος ἀγένειος, Σειληνὸς πάππος . . . ὁ παπποσείληνος τὴν ἰδέαν ἐστὶ θηριωδέστερος' (pp. 135–6).

The final reference is to the Emperor Julian's *Cæsares, siue Satyræ in Romanos Imperatores*, Plantin 1612, in which Silenus comments to Bacchus on each emperor as he appears. Bacchus addresses him, τί δῆτα, ὦ παππίδιον; (p. 116), and παῦσαι, ὦ παππίδιον, τοιαῦτα λέγων (p. 147).

The design of this gem appears as a picture in Vincenzo Cartari's *Le Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi*, in the edition published by Lorenzo Pignoria at Padua, 1615, and in Natale di Conti's *Mythologia*, published by Paulus Frambottus at Padua, 1637.

ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN THE COMMENTARY

- A.P.* = translation of the *Ars Poetica*.
Alch. = The Alchemist.
B.F. = Bartholomew Fair.
B.M. = the British Museum.
Beauty = The Masque of Beauty.
Blackness = The Masque of Blackness.
C. is A. = The Case is Altered.
C.R. = Cynthia's Revels.
Cat. = Catiline.
Ch. Tilt = A Challenge at Tilt.
Christmas = The Masque of Christmas.
Chlor. = Chloridia.
Conv. Drum = The Conversations with William Drummond.
D. is A. = The Devil is an Ass.
Disc. = Timber, or Discoveries.
E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.
E.H. = Eastward Ho.
E.M.I. = Every Man in his Humour.
E.M.O. = Every Man out of his Humour.
E. Althorp = The Entertainment at Althorp.
E. Blackfriars = The Entertainment at Blackfriars.
E. Bols. = Love's Welcome at Bolsover.
E. Highgate = The Entertainment at Highgate.
E. Welb. = The Entertainment at Welbeck.
Engl. Gr. = The English Grammar.
Ep. = The Epigrams.
F.I. = The Fortunate Isles.
For. = The Forest.
G.A.R. = The Golden Age Restored.
G.M. = The Gypsies Metamorphosed.
H.W. = For the Honour of Wales.
Hadd. M. = The Haddington Masque.
Hym. = Hymenaei.
I.M. = The Irish Masque.
K. Ent. = The King's Coronation Entertainment.
L.F. = Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly.
L.M.M. = Lovers made Men.
L.R. = Love Restored.
L.T. = Love's Triumph through Callipolis.
M.A. = The Masque of Augurs.
M.L. = The Magnetic Lady.
M.L.N. = Modern Language Notes.
M.L.R. = Modern Language Review.

M. Owls = The Masque of Owls.

M. of Q. = The Masque of Queens.

M.V. = Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists.

Mod. Phil. = Modern Philology.

Mortimer = Mortimer his Fall.

N.I. = The New Inn.

N.T. = Neptune's Triumph.

N.W. = News from the New World in the Moon.

O.E.D. = The Oxford English Dictionary.

Oberon = The Masque of Oberon.

P.A. = Pan's Anniversary.

P. Hen. Barriers = Prince Henry's Barriers.

P.M.L.A. = Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America.

P.R. = Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue.

R.E.S. = Review of English Studies.

S.N. = The Staple of News.

S.S. = The Sad Shepherd.

S.W. = Epicoene, or The Silent Woman.

Sej. = Sejanus.

T.L.S. = Times Literary Supplement.

T.V. = Time Vindicated.

1 Theob. = The Entertainment of the Two Kings at Theobalds.

2 Theob. = An Entertainment of the King and Queen at Theobalds.

U.V. = Ungathered Verse.

Und. = The Underwood.

V.D. = The Vision of Delight.

Volp. = Volpone, or The Fox.

EPICOENE, OR THE SILENT WOMAN

TIME AND PLACE IN THE PLAY

THE action takes place in one day. The play opens with Clerimont getting up and dressing (I. i. 1 stage-direction); he calls for water to wash his hands in scene iii. 22. He receives an invitation to dinner (I. iv. 9-15), which would be at eleven o'clock. In II. i. 24 Cutberd is to come to Morose in 'half a quarter' of an hour; he comes at the opening of scene ii. He tells Dauphine in II. iv. 64 that Morose is prepared to marry 'to day, instantly, and not defer it a minute longer'. This, though he has not yet seen Epicoene. The marriage was hastened on by Truewit's untimely exploit in trying to frighten Morose off it (II. ii). In II. vi. 23 the marriage is to take place 'within this half hour'. In III. iv the party enter from the wedding. The 'first half hour' of Morose's married life is reached at III. v. 54. 'Tis but a day' that he will have to suffer is the ironic comfort of Truewit (III. vii. 12), echoed by Dauphine in IV. iv. 20, 'This is but a day, and 'tis well worn too now.' The last mark of time is 'afore night, as near as 'tis' in IV. v. 22.

The scene is London. The first act passes in Clerimont's house. Most of the action takes place in the house of Morose (II. i, ii, III. iv-vii, IV. i, ii, and Act v). Otter has a house near: 'tis but over the way, hard by' La-Foole is told (III. iii. 69); and Mrs. Otter is described to Morose as 'your neighbour' (III. vii. 19). The first three scenes of Act III take place there. Daw is farther from Morose, 'right over against the barber's' (I. ii. 58). The third and fourth scenes of Act III take place there. Cutberd, the barber, lives off stage, at the end of a lane (II. vi. 2-4).

Dedication

Sir Francis Stuart, second son to James Stuart, husband of Elizabeth, Countess of Moray, made Knight of the Bath on 2 June 1610 (Stow, ed. Howes, 1614, p. 907). 'He was a sea-captaine; and (I thinke) he was one summer a vice or rere-admirall. He was a learned gentleman and one of the club at the Mermayd, in Fryday street, with Sir Walter Raleigh, etc., of that sodalitie: heroes and wits of that time.' Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, p. 239. Aubrey quotes from this dedication.

3. *by cause*, the earlier form of 'because', in the forms 'by cause that', 'by cause why', and 'by cause of'.

5. *makes*, *causes*. So *For.* xiii. 59, *Und.* xxiv. 9. *O.E.D.* s.v. 'make', 52.

10. *Vndertaker*, a guarantor. Cf. *Cat.* III. 18, *D. is A.* II. i. 36, *Disc.* 2111.

11. *censure*, judge.

The Persons of the Play

1. *Morose*. The character in Libanius on whom he is modelled is δ Δύσκολος, the Latin *morosus*.

4. *Truewit*. Dryden twice refers to this character: 'it appears that this one character of Wit was more difficult to the Author, than all the images of Humor in the Play: For those he could describe and manage from his observation of Men; this he has taken, at least a part of it, from Books: witness the Speeches in the First Act, translated *verbatim* out of Ovid *de Arte Amandi*' (*An Evening's Love*, 1671, B2). 'That the wit of this Age is much more Courtly, may easily be prov'd by viewing the Characters of Gentlemen which were written in the last. First, for *Jonson*, *True-Wit* in the *Silent Woman*, was his Master-piece, and *True-wit* was a Scholar-like kind of man, a Gentleman with an allay of Pedantry: a man who seems mortifi'd to the world, by much reading. The best of his discourse is drawn, not from the knowledge of the Town, but Books, and, in short, he would be a fine Gentleman, in an University' (*The Conquest of Granada*, ii, 1672, 'Defence of the Epilogue', p. 172).

5. *Epicoene*, Jonson's only clue to the real sex of the supposed heroine. Jonson made this the main title of the play, but it has been popularly superseded by the more picturesque 'Silent Woman'.

7. *Amorous La Foole*. Cf. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 5, 1625, pp. 478-9, of a deformed old dotard: 'If he be rich, he is the man, a fine man & a proper man, she'le goe to *Iackatres* or *Tidore* with him, *Gelasimus de monte aureo*, Sr Giles Goosecap, Sr *Amorous La-Foole* shall have her.'

8. *Thom: Otter*. Pepys has a story of Charles II saying of his brother James, then Duke of York, who was under the control of his wife, 'he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter and his wife'. Killigrew, who was standing by, answered, 'Sir, pray which is the best for a man, to be Tom Otter to his wife or to his mistress?' a reference to the

mischievous influence of Lady Castelmaine (*Diary*, ed. Bright and Wheatley, vii, p. 52).

12. *Ladies Collegiates*. See I. i. 70–81. Some society of the kind must have existed, but it has left no trace. At a later date Jasper Mayne in *The Citye Match*, 1639, I. i, satirized a similar set:

He had
His Loves too, and his Mistresses; was enterd
Among the philosophicall Madams, was
As great with them as their Concerners,—and I heare
Kept one of them in pension.

For the plural adjective in an official or quasi-official phrase 'Collegiates' cf. 'letters patents' (*litterae patentes*).

The Scene

London. Here for the first time; so in the later comedies and in the revised *Every Man in his Humour*, first printed in 1616. See *Alch.* prol. 5–9.

Prologue I

2. *to content the people*. The reference is to the opening lines of the prologue to Terence's *Andria*:

Poeta quom primum animum ad scribendum adpulit,
id sibi negoti credidit solum dari
populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.

Jonson quotes this in *M.L.* Ind. 41–7. The reference is noteworthy as a contrast to the doctrine of 'prodesse et delectare' which Jonson usually preached, as in the next prologue.

9. *the cookes tastes, but the guests*. So Martial replies to a fastidious critic (IX. lxxxix. 3, 4):

Cenae fercula nostrae
malim convivis quam placuisse cocis.

14. *could so have wrote*. Similarly *Volp.* ded. 113–14.

21. *far fet . . . deare-bought*. *C.R.* IV. i. 17–18 n.

23. *citie-wires*. Stubbes in *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, p. 52, describes 'a certain device made of wyers, crested for the purpose, whipped ouer either with gold, thred, siluer or silk, & this hee' (viz. the Devil, the prince of pride) 'callethe a supportasse, or vnderpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks vnder the ruffe, vpon the outside of the band, to beare vp the whole frame & body of the ruffe from falling or hanging down.' Marmion in *Hollands Leaguer*, II. iii (1632, E), uses Jonson's phrase:

And haue thy seuerall Gownes and Tires take place,
It is thy owne, from all the City wires,
And Summer birds in Towne, that once a yeare
Come up to moult.

That it was the mark of a city woman is clear from Mayne's *The Citye Match*, 1639, v. ix:

And yet to see, now you have not your *Wire*,
Nor *Cittie Ruffe* on, Mistress Sue, how these
Clothes doe beguile. Jn truth I took you for
A *Gentle-woman*.

In *The Connoisseur*, vol. vi, 1903, pp. 164-73, Mrs. F. N. Jackson, in an article on ruffs, gives two illustrations of a ruff with wire supports.

24. *white-Friars*. *Volp.* iv. ii. 51.

Prologue II

This prologue was an afterthought, as the marginal note explains. It was written to refute the charge of personal satire in the play. We have discussed this in the textual introduction, vol. v, pp. 143-7.

2. *profit, and delight*. The Horatian maxim: see *E.M.O.* ind. 202 n.

4. *taxe the crimes*. *Poet.* III. v. 134 n.

7. *On forfeit of your selues*, as if you had squandered your reason.

8. *the maker*, the poet, ὁ ποιητής. *Disc.* 2347.

10. Another Horatian maxim: 'Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris' (*Ars Poetica*, 338). Jonson chose the line as the motto for *The Devil is an Ass*, a play on which he was accused. So *S. of N.* prol. at Court, 11-14; and *Disc.*, the passage cited on line 8.

11-14. Jonson discusses this point fully in the second chorus to *The Magnetic Lady*, 1-47. Massinger and Wither, both of whom clashed with the authorities for their treatment of personalities, put in the same plea. Massinger in *The Roman Actor*, 1. iii (1629, C), describes the trial of the actor Paris accused by Caesar's spy Aretinus:

Aret. In thee, as being the chief of thy profession,
I doe accuse the qualitie of treason,
As libellers against the state and *Cæsar*.

Par. Meere accusations are not proofes my Lord,
In what are we delinquents?

Aret. You are they
That search into the secrets of the time,
And vnder fain'd names on the Stage present
Actions not to be toucht at; and traduce
Persons of rancke, and qualitie of both Sexes,
And with Satiricall, and bitter iests
Make euen the Senators ridiculous
To the Plebeans.

Par. If I free not my selfe,
(And in my selfe the rest of my profession)
From these false imputations, and proue
That they make that a libell which the Poet
Writ for a Comedie, so acted too,
It is but Iustice that we vndergoe
The heauiest censure.

So Wither in his *Motto*, ed. 4, 1621, A5^v:

And (fue to one) if any should confesse
Those sinnes in publicke, which his soule oppresse;
Some guilty fellow (moov'd thereat) would take it
Vnto himself; and so, a libell make it.

And the epilogue to Congreve's *The Way of the World*, 1700:

Others there are whose Malice we'd prevent;
Such, who watch Plays, with scurrilous intent }
To mark out who by *Characters* are meant.
And tho' no perfect likeness they can Trace;
Yet each pretends to know the *Copy'd Face*.
These with false Glosses, feed their own Ill-nature,
And turn to *Libel*, what was meant a *Satire*.

1. i. 1 (margin). *making himselfe ready*, dressing.

6. *the dangerous name of a Poet*. *Ep.* x. 1, 'To my Lord Ignorant':
'Thou call'st me *Poet*, as a terme of shame.'

12-14. *rack'd out of you . . . I'll confesse*. *M.L.* i. v. 1, 2, 'Spare the
torture, | I doe confesse without it.'

18. *innocent*, simpleton.

25. *engle*. *C. is A.* i. ii. 3, 'Ingle'.

30. *article o' your time*, moment (Lat. *articulus temporis*). *Cat.* v. 444;
Alch. i. ii. 63, 'An article of breath'. F2 changes to 'particle'.

34. *Harken after*. So 'harken out', i. ii. 24, *C.R.* iii. i. 63.

35. *Puppy*. Celebrated by Gervase Markham, *Cavelarice, Or the English Horseman*, 1607, i, p. 10, asserting that English horses are the best: 'to descend to our instant time, what ever men may report or imagine, yet I see no shape which can perswade mee that *Puppie* is any other then an *English Horse*: and truly for running, I holde him peerlesse'; *ibid.* vi, p. 2, 'most famous *Puppey* agaynst whom men may talke, but they cannot conquer'. Editors quote *Ignoramus* (1615) and Shirley's *Hyde Park* (1632) for the other horses, as if a race-horse could go on running for any number of years; the names of course are continued.

47-8. Cf. Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*, iii. 5, 'Non pudet te reliquias vitae tibi reservare et id solum tempus bonae menti destinare quod in nullam rem conferri possit? Quam serum est tunc vivere incipere cum desinendum est?'

62. *Plutarchs moralls*. Philemon Holland's translation of *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals written by the learned Philosopher Plutarch of Chæronea* had appeared in 1603.

65. *rushes*, worthless trifles. Cf. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 1570 (*Works*, ed. Wright, p. 207), of a courtier, 'to be able to raise taulke, and make discourse of euerie rishe'.

77. *Wits, and Braueries*. These fashionable cliques are mentioned in i. iii. 29, 30, ii. iii. 54-5, iv. 120, and *Und.* xlii. 33-4.

85. *her autumnall face*. The grotesque suggestion has been made that Jonson in this phrase was sneering at the beautiful opening lines of Donne's ninth *Elegie*, 'The Autumnall':

No *Spring*, nor *Summer* Beauty hath such grace,
As I haue seen in one *Autumnall* face.

The context of the two passages is a sufficient refutation. Both beauty and decay can be associated with autumn. Donne's thought is expressed in the Greek proverb τῶν καλῶν καὶ ὁπώρα καλή, 'Of beautiful things the autumn, too, is beautiful'. The poet Agathon, for instance, was complimented by Euripides at the table of Archelaus of Macedon, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἔαρ τῶν καλῶν κάλλιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον (Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 4). Jonson has a faint suggestion of this idea in *D. is A.* i. vi. 129-30, 'Thinke All beauty doth not last vntill the *autumne*'. Under the aspect of decay he uses the phrase 'autumne-iudgements' in *E.M.O.* iii. vi. 203.

92-102. Modelled on a poem in the *Anthologia Latina*, found in the Codex Vossianus, Q 86, at Leyden:

Semper munditias, semper, Basilissa, decores,
Semper compositas arte recente comas,
Et comptos semper cultus, unguentaque semper,
Omnia sollicita compta videre manu
Non amo. Neglectim mihi se quae comit amica
Se det, et ornatus simplicitate valet.
Vincula ne cures capitis discussa soluti,
Nec ceram in faciem: mel habet illa suum.
Fingere se semper non est confidere amor;
Quid quod saepe decor, cum prohibetur, adest?

It was first published by Julius Caesar Scaliger in *Publii Virgilii Maronis Appendix*, Lyons, 1572, p. 208. From this, or from Pithou's *Epigrammata et Poemata Vetera*, Paris, 1590, or from the versions appended to some of the early editions of Petronius' *Satyricon* (e.g. Paris, 1585 and 1587) Jonson took it. Gifford wrongly attributed the poem to Jean Bonnefons (1554-1614), a native of Clermont in Auvergne; it is not in his *Pancharis*, 1587, or Gruter's collection of his poems *Delitiae Poetarum Gallorum*, 1609. The real source was pointed out in a scholarly article by Mr. Kirby Flower Smith in *The American Journal of Philology*, no. 114, April-June 1908.

Herrick's beautiful expansion of the thought of the poem is in the *Hesperides*, 'Delight in Disorder' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 28):

A sweet disorder in the dresse
Kindles in cloathes a wantonnesse,

with its reference to the 'winning wave' 'In the tempestuous petticoate', and the 'wilde civility' 'bewitching' him more

then when Art
Is too precise in every part.

Gifford quoted the imitation of Richard Flecknoe in his 'Portrait of Mary Duchess of Richmond' (*Heroick Portraits*, 1660, D7):

Poor beauties whom a blush or glance
Can sometimes make look fair by chance;
Or curious dress, or artfull care,
Can make seem fairer then they are:
Give me the Eyes, give me the Face;
To which no Art can adde a Grace.
Give me the Looks, no garb, nor dress,
Can ever make more fair, nor less.

105-9. The first of many adaptations from the *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid (III. 135-40):

Nec genus ornatus unum est. Quod quamque decebit,
eligat, et speculum consulat ante suum.
Longa probat facies capitis discrimina puri:
sic erat ornatis Laudamia comis.
Exiguum summa nodum sibi fronte relinqui,
ut pateant aures, ora rotunda volunt.

114-26. Ibidem, 217-18, 225-34:

Ista dabunt formam, sed erunt deformia visu;
multaque dum fiunt turpia, facta placent. . . .
Tu quoque dum coleris, nos te dormire putemus:
aptius a summa conspiciere manu.
Cur mihi nota tuo causa est candoris in ore?
Claude forem thalami: quid rude prodis opus?
Multa viros nescire decet; pars maxima rerum
offendat, si non interiora tegas.
Aurea quae splendent ornato signa theatro,
inspice quam tenuis brattea ligna tegat.
Sed neque ad illa licet populo, nisi facta, venire,
nec nisi summotis forma paranda viris.

122. *Ald-gate* began to be taken down in 1606, and was finished in 1609. Jonson characteristically localizes in contemporary London Ovid's reference to the statues in the theatre which Vitruvius mentions as ornaments of the tragic stage (*De Architectura*, v. vi. 9).

123. *the cities Loue, and Charitie*. Described by Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. Munday and Dyson, 1633, p. 122: 'To grace each side of the Gate, are set two feminine personages, the one Southward, appearing to be Peace, with a silver Dove upon her one hand, and a gilded wreath or garland in the other. On the North side standeth Charity, with a child at her breast, and another led in her hand: Implying (as I conceive) that where Peace, and love or Charity, do prosper, and are truly embraced, that Citie shall be for ever blessed.'

124. *painted, and burnish'd*. Jonson commented on the painting of city statues in *M.L.* v. vii. 90-3.

128-32. Ovid, *A.A.* iii. 243-6:

Quae male crinita est custodem in limine ponat,
orneturve Bonae semper in aede deae.
Dictus eram subito cuidam venisse puellae:
turbida perversas induit illa comas.

134. *in complement.* Dr. Henry illustrates from *King John*, I. i. 189-201.

143. *Sicke o' the vncke.* Modelled on 'sick of the mother' (hysteria). Cf. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 4, 1632, III. iii. 1, 1, 'the sonne and heire is commonly sicke of the father'.

144. *his uncle.* Theobald first pointed out that the name and character of Morose were taken from the sixth *Μελέτη* or declamation of the sophist Libanius: the speaker, a quiet man who hated noise, has had his life wrecked by a loud, perpetually talking wife. He appears before a court and asks the judges to let him drink hemlock and die. Jonson used the 1597 edition of this declamation, issued at Paris with a Latin translation by Morellus; Jonson's text occasionally shows traces of the Latin (e.g. v. iii. 48-59).

turbant. The usual form in the seventeenth century; it lasted till the nineteenth century. Johnson and Gibbon used 'turban' (*O.E.D.*).

145. *night-caps.* 'Sixteenth-century night caps were exclusively masculine wear. Women wore coifs, kerchiefs, rails, pastes, &c. . . . These caps were sometimes worn by old men on the street, but a "day worn night-cap" usually indicated that the wearer was in ill health' (Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama*, p. 227). Cf. W. Cavendish (Newcastle), *The Humorous Lovers*, I. ii (1677, p. 9), 'they say he wears such a Turbant of Night-caps, that he is almost as tall as *Grantham* steeple.'

149-57. *they say . . .* Libanius, op. cit., p. 4: καὶ μὲν τῶν γε ἐργαστηρίων, ὅσα μὲν ἄκμονα καὶ σφύραν ἔχει καὶ κτύπους, φυγῇ φεύγω, τὰ ἀργυροκοπεῖα, τὰ χαλκεῖα, πολλὰ ἕτερα. τὰς δὲ διὰ σιγῆς γιγνομένας ἀσπάζομαι τῶν τεχνῶν. καίτοι καὶ ζωγράφους εἶδον ἤδη μετ' ὥδης γράφοντας. οὕτως ἦδ' οὐ τι τοῖς πολλοῖς λαλεῖν, καὶ κατέχειν ἑαυτοὺς οὐ δύνανται.

150. *Fish-wiues.* Dr. Henry quotes from Hindley's *Cries of London Turners Dish of Lenten Stufte, or a Galymaufery*, 1612?

The fish-wife first begins
Anye muscles lilly white?
Herrings, sprats, or place,
Or cockles for delight,
Anye welplet oysters?

Orange-women. Their cry is preserved in the old rhyme on St. Clement Danes:

Oranges and lemons,
Say the bells of St. Clemens.

151. *Chimney-sweepers.* Dr. Henry quotes *Deuteromelia: or, The Second Part of pleasant Roundelayes*, 1609:

The chimney-sweeper all the long day
He singeth and sweepeth the soote away; . . .
Soot—Sweep—O!

153. *Broome-men*. Bale, *A Comedye concernynge thre lawes*, 1548? Avj, Infidelity enters singing, 'Brom, brom, brom, brom, brom. Bye brom bye bye, Bromes for shoes and powcherynges, botes and buckys for newe bromes. Brom, brom, brom.' R. Wilson, *The Three Ladies of London*, 1584, Diiij, 'Enter Conscience, with broomes at her back singing as followeth.

New broomes, greene broomes, wil you by any,
Come maydens, come quickly, let me take a penny.'

She asks,

Haue you any old bootes,
or any olde shoone:
Powch-ringes or Buskins
to cope for new broome.

Gifford commented on the stroke of humour which converted ζωγράφοι to chimney-sweepers and broom-men. Jonson often adapts neatly: his 'Caniball-Christians' of *S. of N.* iii. ii. 176 are from Athenaeus.

154. *Costard-monger*. This or 'Costar'-monger' is the usual spelling in Jonson. 'Buy any peares, peares, fine, very fine peares' is the cry of the costermonger in *B.F.* ii. ii. 32. Apples were cried as 'pips' and 'pippin'; the Irish costermonger in Dekker's *Olde Fortunatus*, iv. iii. (1600, I^r), enters, crying, 'Buy any Apples, feene Apples of Tamasco, feene Tamasco peepins: peeps feene, buy Tamasco peepins'.

156. *Hammer-man*, metal-worker generally.

158. *Pewterers*. Pewter ware included plates and pots and a number of domestic utensils.

shroue-tuesdaies riot. A holiday notorious for the horse-play with which apprentices observed it, wrecking brothels and playhouses. Dekker, *The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1616, F2, 'They presently (like Prentises vpon Shroue-tuesday) take the lawe into their owne handes, and doe what they list'. Cf. *B.F.* v. i. 10, 11, *T.V.* 254-5.

159. *quit*, acquitted. *Poet.* v. iii. 381.

161. *Hau'boyes*, the same as the Waits of line 162. The musicians in the compartments above the side-arches of the Coronation Arch at Fenchurch (vol. vii between pages 82, 83) are described by Dekker in his account of the Coronation Entertainment as '*The Wayts & Hault-boyes of London*'. Robert Armin, *The History of the two Maids of More-clacke*, i. i (1609, A1^v), describing preparations for a wedding: 'Hum. What are the waits of London come? Man. Yes sir. Hum. Play in their highest key then. *hoboyes play*.'

164. *Bell-man*. He cried sales and lost property, and he was a night watchman. Pepys records one of them crying 'Past one of the clock, and a cold frosty, windy morning'. This is the 'Belman's drowsy

charm' of *Il Penseroso*, 83, and Herrick's poem (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 121):

From noise of Scare-fires rest ye free,
 From Murders *Benedicite*.
 From all mischances, that may fright
 Your pleasing slumbers in the night:
 Mercie secure ye all, and keep
 The Goblin from ye, while ye sleep.
 Past one aclock, and almost two,
 My Masters all, *Good day to you*.

172. *resty*. C.R. v. x. 72.

172. *Beare-ward*. Dr. Henry cites W. Cavendish (Newcastle), *The Humorous Lovers*, v. i (1677, p. 48): 'I'll set up my Bills, that the Gamesters of London, Horsleydown, Southwark, and New-market may come in, and bait him here before the Ladies; but first, Boy, go fetch me a Bag-pipe, we will walk the streets in triumph, and giue the people notice of our sport.'

176. *most bleeding*. Dr. Henry compares *The First Part of Ieronimo*, ed. Boas, i. ii. 3, 'a most weeping creature'.

178. *Fencer*. Cf. a letter of the Lord Mayor to the Earl of Warwick, 24 July 1582 (quoted in Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, (ed. 6, i, p. 348), giving the earl's servant John David, who wished to 'play his provost prize in his science and profession of defence', permission 'with his companie drumes and shewe to passe openly thurgh the Citie, being not vpon the Sundaie'.

prize, a fencing-competition. C.R. v. iii. 10.

183. *by reason of the sicknesse*. 'There were 114 churches in the 26 wards: London was a city of many towers and spires and of many bells.' F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*, p. 177; quoting *Lachrymae Londinenses*, 1626, 'In the daytime what else heare we almost but the Bells ringing of Knells? and in the night season (when we should take our rest,) we are interrupted by the continuall tolling of Passing-Bells, and anon the ringing out of the same.' Cf. *Volp.* III. v. 5 n.

188. *tennis-court socks* were woollen. Cf. Webster, *The Devil's Law-Case*, 1623, iv. ii. 401-4, ed. Lucas: 'He wore no shoes, an't please you my Lord. . . . He wore Tennis-court woollen slippers, for feare of creaking sir, and making a noyse, to wake the rest o'th house.'

190. *trunke*, speaking-tube: cf. II. i. 2 foll. Bacon, *The New Atlantis*, ed. Gough, p. 43: 'We haue also meanes to conuey Sounds in Trunks and Pipes, in strange Lines, and Distances.' Cf. *Alch.* I. iv. 5.

I. ii. 10. *acts, and moniments*. The title of Foxe's great work. Similarly used in *E.M.O.* III. viii. 62. The spelling 'moniments' copies the Latin *monimentum*.

12. *giues thee law*, authorizes you. An unusual sense: 'to give law' or 'the law' meant (1) to exercise jurisdiction, (2) to allow a fair start for hunted game.

15. *on a coronation day to the tower wharfe*. The salute of the guns on this anniversary and on the king's birthday. *Und.* xliv. 1-4, lxxii. 1, 'This is King CHARLES his Day. Speake it thou *Towre*'. Cf. R. Flecknoe, *Enigmaticall Characters*, 1658, p. 18, *Of a talkative Lady*: 'she makes more noise and jangling than the Bells on the fifth of *November*, or a Coronation day: such a wife for *Moroso* had far surpast all the variety of noices invented for tormenting him.'

16. *ordinance*. The old spelling and pronounciation; 'ordnance' has established itself from the seventeenth century.

38. *the knacke with his sheeres, or his fingers*. Florio, 1598, '*Chioppare*, to clack or snap with ones fingers as barbers vse, or such as dance the canaries'. Cooke, *Greenes Tu Quoque*, 1614, D3, 'Amongst the rest, let not the Barber be forgotten: and looke that hee be an excellent fellow, and one that can snacke his fingers, with dexteritie.' Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583 (ed. Furnivall, ii, p. 50), after the barber has 'come to washing', 'Then snap go the fingers full brauely, God wot.'

76. *buys titles*. So John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie*, 1628, no. 31, '*A Pretender to Learning*': 'Hee is a great Nomen-clator of Authors, which hee has read in generall in the Catalogue, and in particular in the Title, and seldome goes so farre as the Dedication.'

1. iii. 13. *decameron of sport*. A neat coinage to express a masterpiece of fun, but needing some one of higher powers than Daw to do justice to it. Jonson made use of Boccaccio in *The Devil is an Ass*, I. iv, vi.

19. *mutines*. This form also in *Sej.* III. 278.

35. *in the Strand*. So sc. iv. 8, *Ent. Blackfriars*, 286. A. Wilson, *The History of Britain*, 1653, p. 146, '*Drury lane* (the *Covent-Garden* being then an inclosed field) and . . . the *Strand* were the places where most of the *Gentry* lived'.

36. *the China houses*, the 'India-shops' of a century later, where the porcelain, ivory, lacquer work, and silks of the Far East were on view. In 1609 the East India Company at the launching of the *Trade's Increase* and the *Peppercorn* gave a banquet in the cabin and on the half-deck of the former; the King and Prince Henry were present. 'The whole entertainment was served up in fine China Dishes which were freely permitted to be taken and carried away by all persons' (Howes, *Abridgement of Stow*, 1611, p. 494). The dramatists mention them as centres of fashionable resort and also as convenient places of assignation. Cf. I. iv. 27, III. ii. 61, IV. iii. 24.

37. *the Exchange*, the New Exchange in the Strand, 'Britain's Burse', built in 1608-9, with milliners' and sempstresses' shops. Cf. IV. iii. 25, *Alch.* IV. iv. 47.

42-3. *a fine youth . . . much finer*. *B.F.* I. iv. 90-2, 'this is a fine fellow! WIN-w. He has made his Master a finer by this description, I should thinke.'

43. *christen-name*. *E.M.O.* IV. ii. 89, 'christen creature'.

1. iv. 3. *honested*, honoured (Lat. *honestare*). *M. of Q.* 608, and 'dishonest', *E.H.* II. i. 121.

10. *wait vpon*. That the phrase might convey a slight is evident from Beaumont's *The Triumph of Honour*, I. i (*Four Plays*, Folio 1647, p. 26 n.), where Sophocles, Duke of Athens, is brought in prisoner by the Roman general Martius:

Mar. What means proud *Sophocles*? *Soph.* To go even with *Martius*,
And not to follow him like his Officer:

I never waited yet on any man.

And Beaumont and Fletcher, *Loue's Cure*, II. iii (ibid., p. 133), where Piorato, a professional swordsman, says to the steward Bobadilla:

To say sir, I wil wait upon your Lord,
Were not to understand my selfe. . . . Ile meet him
Some halfe houre hence.

17. *the terrible boyes*, the 'angry boys' of *The Alchemist* (III. iii. 82, iv. 22 n.). A. Wilson, *The History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 28, 'many riotous demeanours crept into the Kingdom, . . . divers *Sects* of *vitious Persons*, going under the Title of *Roaring Boys*, *Bravadoes*, *Roysters*, &c. commit many insolencies; the Streets swarm night and day with bloody quarrels, private *Duels* fomented'. Val. Culting, a roarer, is one of the characters in *Bartholomew Fair*.

26. *animal amphibium*. So of Broker, secretary and usher, 'a creature of two natures', *S. of N.* II. iv. 128-33.

32. *the mother side*. Euphonic to avoid the clash of s's: we still say 'river side'. So 'for health sake', 'for safety sake', 'for God sake'.

34-41. With this family history compare *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 1606, I. i: 'Will. Sir Gyles Goosecappe, what's he, a gentleman? Bul. I, that he is, at least if he be not a nobleman, and his chiefe house is in Essex. Ia. In Essex? did not his Auncestors come out of London? Bul. Yes, that they did Sir, the best *Gosecappes* in England comes out of London, I assure you.' In Marmion's *A Fine Companion*, 1623, II. vi, Lackwit finds that 'the *Lackwits* are a very ancient name, and of large extent, and come of as good a Pedegree, as any in the Citie, . . . and can boast their descent to be as generous, as any of the *Lafooles*, or the *Iohn Dawes* whatsoever'.

48. *godwits*. 'A marsh-bird in great repute, when fattened, for the table and formerly abundant in the fens of Norfolk, the Isle of Ely, and Lincolnshire. In Turner's days (1544) it was worth three times as much as the Snipe' (A. Newton, *Dictionary of Birds*). Casaubon, who latinized its name as *Dei ingenium* (*Ephemerides*, 19 September 1611), was told by the '*ornithotrophæus*' he visited at Wisbech that in London it fetched twenty pence. Jonson, inviting a friend to supper in *Epigram* ci. 19, promises him 'godwit, if we can' get it. It was in Sir Epicure Mammon's menu for his footboy (*Alch.* II. ii. 81).

60. *got mee knighted in Ireland*. As if this were a backstairs approach to the title. Essex had made Irish knighthoods cheap. He landed in

Ireland in April 1599 and returned in September. On 23 August Chamberlain wrote to Carleton that since his arrival he had made 59 knights English and Irish: 'I fear his huddling them up by half hundreds will bring the order into contempt.' On 1 July Chamberlain again wrote that the Queen was 'vehement to degrade some of Lord Essex's knights, especially the thirty-nine made after she had ordered him to make no more'.

62. *Iland-voyage*. For dresses at the Island Voyage, which was prepared in June 1597 but not carried out till August owing to its being crippled by storms, see the 'larger Relation' by Sir Arthur Gorges in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, IV. x. 1942. He comments on the fashionable gallants who deserted, and censures 'their vnproper and vaine manner of going to the Warres, and especially those who had neuer seene seruice. For bee hee poore or rich when hee first prepares to goe to serue, hee will take more care, and be at more cost to prouide himselfe of a roysting Feather, and a clynchant Coat, then to bee furnished either of fit Armes, or of necessary clothing to keepe out wet and cold: whereby they come both to the Sea and Field Seruice, rather like Maskers then Souldiers.'

63. *Caliz*. Lord Howard and Essex in 1596 burnt the Indian fleet at Cadiz and took the town. Caliz or Cales was a common spelling of the name.

79. *wind-fucker*, corrupted to 'wind-sucker' in the 1692 Folio and later editions. Literally, a kestrel or windhover, 'hanging in the air in one place, his wings all the while being briskly agitated' (Gilbert White, quoted in the *O.E.D.*). For the figurative use compare Chapman's preface to the *Iliads of Homer*, 1611, A4, 'But there is a certaine enuious Windfucker, that houers vp and downe, laboriously ingrossing al the air with his luxurious ambition'.

80. *rooke*. *E.M.I.* I. v. 88.

II. i. 2. *trunke*. See I. i. 190.

10 (margin). *breaches*, interruptions in the text, as in *C.R.* Ind. 122-31. *makes legs*. *C.R.* III. iv. 29.

28. *doctrine*, teaching (Lat. *doctrina*).

32. *euen in the warre*. Whalley quotes Busbequius (Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq), *Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ*, 1595, *Epist.* 3, p. 104: 'primum videbam summo ordine cuiusque corporis milites suis locis distributos, & quod vix credat qui nostratis militiae consuetudinem nouit, summum erat vbique silentium, summa quies, rixa nulla, nullum cuiusquam insolens factum: sed ne vox quidem aut vitulatio per lasciuiam aut ebrietatem emissa.'

43-4. *thy horne . . . a post*. Cf. the stage note in S. Rowley's *When you see me, you know me*, 1605: 'Enter Will Summers booted and spurred, blowing a horne. King. How now William, what? post, post, where haue you beene riding'; and in B. Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*, 1607, M2, 'Sound a Horne within, enter a Diuill like a Poast'.

II. ii. 3. *Pythagoreans*. *Poet.* iv. iii. 132. So in Fletcher and Massinger, *The Lover's Progress*, iv. iv (Folio 1679, p. 507), Alcidon, entering to a company silent with grief, says:

Ill News had wings, and hath got here before me.
All *Pythagoreans*? not a word?

4. *Harpocrates*. *Sej.* v. 414 n. He is shown with his club in a Pompeian bronze, figured in Roux and Barré's *Herculanum et Pompei*, vi, pp. 189-90.

14. *taste the one halfe of my dagger*. R. Greene, *A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier*, 1592, E1v, Veluet Breeches told a serjeant, 'if he stird one foot toward him, he would make him eate a peece of his poinard'.

17-27. The first of a series of imitations from Juvenal's sixth *Satire*, 28-32:

Certe sanus eras. Uxorem, Postume, ducis?
Dic qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitere colubris.
Ferre potes dominam salvis tot restibus ullam,
cum pateant altae caligantesque fenestrae,
cum tibi vicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons?

22. *at a low fall*. The twenty arches of the bridge made the river at this point a series of rapids; Truewit advises a plunge during the ebb-tide.

23-4. *such a delicate steeple . . . as Bow*. A square with four pinnacles at the corners, and flying buttresses from these supporting a central pinnacle. It was destroyed in the fire of 1666 (Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*).

25. *Pauls*. The 'brauer height' was the roof of the church; the steeple was burned in 1561 and not replaced (*Und.* xliii. 193).

31. *a flie*. Harrison's *Description of England*, iii, ch. vi (ed. Furnivall, ii, p. 39), describes fly and spider fights, patronized by coxcombs: 'But if those iollie fellows in steed of the straw that they thrust into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the cost to set a fooles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more securitie and lesse reprehension behold these notable battels.'

35. *preachings*. The unauthorized variant 'parlee's', i.e. conferences, appears to be a printer's blunder when the page was reset.

36-7. *in king Ethelred's time, sir, or Edward the Confessors*. Freely adapted from Juvenal's suggestion in the opening lines of his sixth *Satire* that Modesty lingered on earth in Saturn's reign, the golden age, and left it soon after Jupiter succeeded him.

Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
in terris visamque diu.

39-41. *contented with one man*. Juvenal, 53-4:

Unus Hiberinae vir sufficit? Ocius illud
Extorquebis ut haec oculo contenta sit uno.

50. *assassinate*. *Pr. Henry's Barriers*, 247. Daniel, *The Civile Wars*, 1595, iv, stanza 29, 'the foule report Of that assassinate'.

54. *facinorous*, criminal (Lat. *facinorosus*).

60-3. Suggested by the historic examples in Juvenal (ll. 60-94) of Roman wives being corrupted by actors, musicians, and gladiators.

61. *the Frenchman*. On 12 May 1600 Q. Elizabeth 'appointes to see a *Frenchman* doe Feates upon a Rope, in the Conduit Court'. Rowland White to Sir R. Sidney (*Sidney Papers*, 1746, ii, p. 194).

66. *obnoxious to*, liable to (Lat. *obnoxius*).

67. *vegetous*, lively, vigorous (Lat. *vegetus*).

68. *great roses*, ribands gathered into a knot and fastened on the instep. Stow, *Annals*, ed. Howe, 1631, p. 1039, on shoe-roses, 'either of silke or what stuffe soeuer they were not then' (in Queen Elizabeth's reign) 'vsed nor knowne, . . . neither was there any Garters aboue the price of sixe shillings a payre, although at this day men of meane ranke weare Garters, and shoee-Roses, of more then fiue pound price'. *D. is A.* 1. i. 127; Freeman, *Rubbe and A great Cast*, 1614, Epig. 24, '*Quot bipedes aurum*':

What ordinary Gallant now but goes
On *Spanish* leather haltred with a Rose,
Circling with gold, or siluer-spangled lace.

76-9. Juvenal, vi. 187-91:

Omnia Graece:

cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.
Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram gaudia curas,
hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta; quid ultra?
Concumbunt Graece.

80. *precise*, Puritanical. So 'a precisian' is a Puritan.

the silenc'd brethren, 'the *silenc'd Saints*' of *Alch.* III. i. 38. In 1604 after the triumph of the High Church party at the Hampton Court conference, the clergy in convocation passed a new body of canons regulating public worship and excommunicating all who denied the King's supremacy, refused to accept the Prayer Book and the thirty-nine articles, or separated from the church. A number of clergy, variously estimated at fifty or three hundred, were forced by this to leave the Church; these were the 'silenc'd ministers' of II. vi. 17, and the term was extended to their followers. Cf. *B.F.* v. ii. 64.

82. *family*, or *wood*. So *Alch.* III. ii. 95. 'Collection, crowd' (Lat. *silva*); see the preliminary Latin note to the *Discoveries*.

85. *cosen you*. Jonson is emphatic about the dishonesty of the Puritans: see *Alch.* III. ii. 69-73; *B.F.* 1. iii. 140-1, v. ii. 53-70.

91-3. Juvenal, vi. 206-10:

Si tibi simplicitas uxoriam, deditus uni
est animus, summitte caput cervice parata
ferre iugum. Nullam invenies quae parcat amanti;
ardeat ipsa licet, tormentis gaudet amanti
et spoliis.

105. *haue that rich gounne.* Ibid. 352-4:

Ut spectet ludos, conducit Ogulnia vestem,
conducit comites sellam ceruical amicas
nutricem et flauam cui det mandata puellam.

110. *how the land drops away.* Ibid. 362, 'Prodiga nec sentit pereuntem femina censum'.

113. *may kisse a page . . .* Ibid. 366-7:

Sunt quas eunuchi imbelles ac mollia semper
oscula delectent et desperatio barbae.

114. *be a states-woman.* Ibid. 402-3:

Haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe,
- Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant.

at Salisbury, at the time of the races in March when a gold ball valued at £50 given by the second Earl of Pembroke was run for and held as a challenge cup (Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vi, pp. 294; 309).

at the Bath. The *O.E.D.* says Bath was not so called till the eighteenth century, but Jonson has 'the Bath' here and in *Ch. Tilt*, 105. Champion in the title-page of the *Relation of the Royal Entertainment* by Lord Knowles at Caversham in April 1613 speaks of the Queen 'in her Progresse toward the Bathe', and Pepys always writes 'the Bath'.

In Jonson's day patients only bathed in the springs of Bath; the drinking of the waters began in 1663, when Charles II visited the town, on the recommendation of his chief physician, Sir A. Frazer. In 1562 William Turner published at Cologne *A booke of the natures and properties, as well of the bathes in England as of other bathes in Germany and Italy*. The first book to deal with Bath specially was *The Bathes of Bathes Ayde: Wonderfull and most Excellent, against very many Sickneses, approued by authoritie, confirmed by reason, and dayly tryed by experience: with the antiquitie, commoditie, propertie, knowledge, vse, aphorismes, diet, medicine, and other thinges thereto to be considered and obserued. Compendiously compiled by Iohn Iones Phisitian. Anno Salutis. 1572. At Asple Hall besydes Nottingham. Printed at London for william Iones: and are to be solde at his new long Shop at the west dore of Pauls Church.* 13. Maij. Later works were Edward Jorden's *A Discourse of Naturall Bathes*, with special references to 'our Bathes at Bathe in Sommersetshire', 1631 and 1632; and Tobias Venner's *The Baths of Bathe*, 1637. Smollett in 1752 published *An Essay on the External Use of Water*, with 'particular remarks' upon Bath.

117. *Daniel with Spenser.* Contemporaries compared them. William Clarke, *Polimanteia*, 1595, R2^v, 'Let other countries (sweet Cambridge) enuie, (yet admire) my *Virgil*, thy petrarch, diuine *Spenser*. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued *Delia*, and fortunatelie fortunate *Cleopatra*; *Oxford* thou maist extoll thy court-deare verse-happie *Daniell*.' Davison in *A Poetical Rhapsody*,

1612, Eg^v, 'To Samuel Daniel *Prince of English Poets*', contrasted Daniel with Spenser, concluding that, as Alexander surpassed Philip, 'So hath thy Muse surpast *Spenser*'. Charles Fitzgeoffrey in his *Affaniæ*, 1601, D6, '*Ad Samuelem Danielum*', compares the two, giving Daniel the second place:

Spenserum si quis nostrum velit esse *Maronem*,
Tu Daniele mihi *Naso* Britannus eris.

Sir John Stradling, *Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor*, 1607, iv, p. 165, 'Ad Spencer & Daniel, celeberrimos Poetas', put the pair on a level:

Diuiditis primas inter vos, atque secundas:
Tertius a vobis quisquis erit, sat habet.

Jonson is adapting Juvenal, vi. 434-7, on the literary lady:

Illa tamen gravior, quae cum discumbere coepit
laudat Vergilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae,
committit vates et comparat, inde Maronem
atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum.

118. *the tother youth*, i.e. Daniel, suggested by the context. There is no need to drag in Shakespeare (Malone), Dekker (Upton), or Marston (Gifford). Daniel's masque, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, 1604, and his University play, *The Queen's Arcadia*, 1605, might be used for the comparison.

120. *the state of the question*. A cant phrase: Rabbi Busy uses it, *B.F.* 1. vi. 57.

125-8. Juvenal, vi. 565-8, of a wife consulting the astrologers:

Consulit ictericae lento de funere matris,
ante tamen de te Tanaquil tua, quando sororem
efferat et patruos, an sit victurus adulter
post ipsam; quid enim maius dare numina possunt?

126. *conjuror*, fortune-teller. *cunning woman*, the female counterpart of a conjuror. Antony Weldon's account of Dr. Forman, 'a very silly fellow, yet had wit enough to cheate Ladyes, and other women, by pretending skill in telling their Fortunes, as whether they should bury their Husbands, and what second Husbands they should have, and whether they should injoy their Loves, or whether Maids should get Husbands, or injoy their servants to themselves without Corrivalls' (*King James*, p. 110).

132. *she'll study the art*. Juvenal (l.c. 569-81) elaborates the picture of the woman-expert in astrology, 'quae nullum consulit et iam consulitur'.

136-9. Juvenal, l.c. 461-70:

Interea foeda aspectu ridendaque multo
pane tumet facies aut pingua Poppaeana
spirat, et hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti. . . .

Tandem aperit vultum et tectoria prima reponit,
incipit agnosci, atque illo lacte fovetur
propter quod secum comites educit asellas
exul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem.

138. *asses milke*. Taken from the passage of Juvenal just quoted, which refers to the account of Poppaea in Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 238, 'Poppaea certe Domiti Neronis coniunx quingentas per omnia secum fetas trahens (asellas) balnearum etiam solio totum corpus illo lacte macerabat'.

142. *widdowes doe of their states*. Cf. *B.F.* i. iii. 102-3, and the dénouement of Congreve's *Way of the World*, v. xiii, the deed of conveyance of 'Arabella Languish, widow, in trust to Edward Mirabell'.

II. iii. 1. *refuse, at her owne charges*, refuse and pay for it. *Cat.* 'To the Reader', 10, 'Be anything you will be, at your owne charge'.

7. *shadowes*. *C.R.* v. iii. 20, 'welcome Beauties, and your kind Shadowes'.

24. *madrigall*, first applied to songs written in the Italian vernacular (*matricale*, mother-tongue) as opposed to the motets, which were written in Latin (E. H. Fellowes).

25-6. *faire and good are neere Neighbours*. So Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdome*, tr. S. Lennard, 1612, 'Faire and Good are neere neighbours'.

29, 30. Cf. the couplet in *England's Parnassus*, 1600, ed. Crawford, no. 1641:

The single vertue may consist alone,
But better are two virtues ioyn'd in one.—

where the editor quotes the present passage.

42. *cries tinke*, tinkles, strictly of metallic sound. Cf. 'clink' in Cartwright, *The Royall Slave*, i. i (1651, p. 91), with a pun on the Clink prison:

Then drink we a round in despite of our Foes,
And make our hard Irons cry clink in the Close.

So 'tynge' in B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1617, *Div*: a drinker of healths 'turnes the bottome of the Cuppe vpward, and in ostentation of his dexteritie, giues the cup a phylip, to make it cry *Tynge*'.

49. *mere Essaists*. *Disc.* 724-5.

63. *chines of beefe*. As when Agamemnon gave Ajax 'the whole length of the chine' of an ox, a special honour (*Iliad*, vii. 321).

64. *dunging of land, and bees*. In the *Georgics*.

67. *Lycophron*. *Poet.* v. iii. 547-8.

70. *Politian*, Angelo Poliziano (1454-94), a brilliant and many-sided humanist, poet, and critic, patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici.

82. *the King of Spaines bible*, the *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Græce, et Latine*, Antwerp, 1569-72, edited by Arias Montanus and printed at the expense of Philip II of Spain; hence called *Biblia Regia*. Jonson owned a copy.

90. *Vatablus*, François Vatable (ob. 1547), professor of Hebrew at the Royal College of France, a Biblical commentator, and an authority on Aristotle.

Pomponatius, Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1524?), an Italian philosopher, an authority on Aristotle, wrote a tractate on the immortality of the soul, which was condemned as heretical.

91. *Symancha*, Didacus de Simancus, a Spanish jurist, who lived in the sixteenth century, an authority on the canon and civil law, and a bishop.

101. *dotes*, gifts, endowments (Lat. *dotes*). *Und.* lxxxiii. 25.

109–10. *euery man, that writes in verse . . .* C.R. II. i. 48 n.

II. iv. 39. *now I am lost . . .* As in the proverb, 'Give losers leave to speak': see *M.L.* v. v. 44–5, *Und.* II. iii. 21–2; *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, II. vi (1562, Hiiij^v):

And where reason and custome (they say) afoords,
Alwaie to let the loosers haue their woords.

2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 182, 'Queen. But I can give the loser leave to chide'.

141. *a hog-louse*. *Volp.* v. ii. 91.

143. *pick-tooth*. *E.M.O.* IV. i. 39, 40.

153. *no mushroome . . . so fresh*, so insipid. Plautus, *Bacchides*, 820–1:

Iam nil sapit
Nec sentit, tantist quantist fungus putidus.

Cf. *Cat.* II. 135–6.

II. v. 15. *Giue aside*. A condensed phrase for 'give way' and 'stand aside'.

30. *courtlesse*. Here only in this sense, apparently.

33. *audacious* in the good sense, like the *Eutolmos* of C.R. v. ix. 38–41.

42. *plausible*, pleasing.

43. *iumpē . . . with*, tally with.

50. *bedpheere*, bedfellow. Cf. 'playphere', playmate.

69. *heicfar*, heifar. 'Hekfere' in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 1440?, and 'Heckfare' in Levins, *Manipulus Verborum*, 1570. The metaphor originates with the story of Samson in Judges xiv. 18, 'If ye had not plowed with my heifer'. Cf. Fletcher and Massinger, *The Spanish Curate*, II. iii (Folio, 1647, p. 33):

Pay him my good *Leandro*, take my praiers.

Ar. And all our wishes, plough with his fine white heifer.

71. *lineners*. 'Linnen-man', *S. of N.* I. iii. 12.

73. *French intelligences*. Cf. *D. is A.* II. vii. 35–7.

78. *bodies*, bodice.

cut, open work.

79. *wire*. See prologue, 23, 'citie-wires', n.

89-91. From Plautus, *Aulularia*, 172-4:

Eius cupio filiam
virginem mi desponderi. Verba ne facias, soror.
Scio quid dictura es: hanc esse pauperem. Haec pauper placet.

91. *a wealthy dowry*. Libanius, op. cit., p. 5, ἐπείσθην, ᾧ βουλή. τὶ δ' οὐκ ἔμελλον, προῖκα θαυμαστὴν ἀκούσας τὴν σιωπὴν;

93. *more loving and obedient*. Cf. Molière, *L'École des Femmes*, I. i. 124-8:

En femme, comme en tout, je veux suivre ma mode.
Je me vois riche assez pour pouvoir, que je croi,
Choisir une moitié qui tienne tout de moi,
Et de qui la soumise et pleine dépendance
N'ait à me reprocher aucun bien ni naissance.

108. *the twelve-penny ordinary*. E.M.O. II. vi. 52 cites the better-class 'two-shilling ordinarie'; Dekker in *The Guls Horne-booke*, ch. v, notices the shilling, and also a threepenny, ordinary. For the 'telling tales' to the hostess cf. Asotus in C.R. II. iii. 93-4, 'The wife of the ordinarie giues him his diet, to maintaine her table in discourse'.

108. *it knighthood*. 'It' = its, the archaic form is here used ironically, as Constance uses it like baby-talk to Arthur in *King John*, II. i. 160-2:

Do, child, go to it grandam, child;
Give grandam kingdom, and it grandam will
Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.

Or the Fool in *King Lear*, I. iv. 214-15, mocking Goneril:

The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long,
That it had it head bit off by it young.

Jonson has the form in *Ep.* cxxxiii. 30, 31.

111. *Coleharbor* or Cold Harborough, originally a mansion in Upper Thames Street; Stow records in 1598 that the Earl of Shrewsbury pulled it down 'and in place thereof builded a great number of smal tenements now letten out for great rents, to people of all sortes' (*Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, I, pp. 236-7). It became a kind of sanctuary for debtors and vagrants, and is often spoken of with disfavour. Hall, *Virgidemiarum*, v. i (1597, p. 58):

Or thence thy starued brother liue and die,
Within the cold *Cole-harbour* sanctuary.

Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, III. iii (1608, E3^r):

They have took *Cole-harbor*.
Luc. The Diuils Sanctuary,
They shall not rest, Ile pluck her from his armes.

114. *the Cranes*. The Three Cranes in the Vintry in Upper Thames Street at the top of what is still known as Three Cranes Lane. Stow

notices 'a signe of three Cranes at a Tauerne doore' and accounts for the name by 'three strong Cranes of Timber placed on the Vintrie wharfe by the Thames side, to crane vp wines there' (*Survey*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 239). Jonson mentions it in *B.F.* i. i. 34, *D. is A.* i. i. 70, *M. Augurs*, 188. Cf. R. Edwardes, *Damon and Pythias*, 1571, Oijj:

In whom is asmuch vertue, trueth and honestie,
As there are true fethers in the three Craines of the ventrie.

the Beare at the Bridge-foot on the Surrey side of the Thames immediately below old London Bridge.

119. *commoditie of pipkins*. Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, G: 'the merchant he deliuered the yron, tin, lead, hops, sugars, spices, oiles, browne paper or whatsoeuer else from six months to six months, which when the pore gentleman came to sell againe, he could not make threescore and ten in the hundred beside the vsurie.' See *E.H.* ii. iii. 251-8, and Fletcher and Massinger, *The Spanish Curate*, iv. v (Fol. 1674, p. 42):

I doe bequeath ye
Commodities of pins: browne papers: pack-threds,
Rost porke, & puddings: Ginger-bread, & Jewes-trumps,
Of penny Pipes, and mouldy Pepper: . . .
Take 'em even where you please and be cozen'd with 'em.

121. *browne baker*, a baker of coarse and inferior bread.

124. *How do you call him*. A personal reference lurks in this passage, as the printing shows. Cf. *S. of N.* i. v. 32, 'The publique *Chronicler*. Fir. How, doe you call him there?' where the reference is clearly to Edmund Howes: see note. In *Pierce Pennilesse*, ed. 2, 1592, Nashe says in the 'Epistle of the Author to the Printer', 'In one place of my Booke, *Pierce Pennilesse* saith but to the Knight of the Post, *I pray how might I call you*, & they say I meant one *Howe*, a knaue of that trade, that I neuer heard of before.'

127. *Constantinople*. Sir Puntarvolo in *E.M.O.* iv. iii proposed to travel there and took out an insurance policy at the rate of five to one. Perhaps Morose expects his nephew to try this. Or the upstart in *Pierce Pennilesse* (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, p. 169) is a closer parallel: 'Hee will despise the barbarisme of his own Countrey, & tel a whole Legend of lyes of his trauailes vnto *Constantinople*.'

128. *Ireland*. Cf. B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1617, p. 51: 'Ireland for these many yeares hath been the receptacle for our English runnagates, that for their mis-led liues in England, do come running ouer into Ireland, some for murther, some for theft, some that haue spent themselves in ryot and excesse, are driuen ouer for debt, some come running ouer with other mens goods, some with other mens wiues, but a great number now lately, that are more hurtfull then all the rest, and those be Recusants.'

Virginia. Colonists had set out there in 1607 and 1609. Cf. *E.H.* iii. i for the type of Virginian adventurer. S. S., *The Honest Lawyer*, 1616,

H₄^v, 'Ile to *Virginia*, like some cheating Bankrout, and leaue my Creditour ith'suddes'. J. Cooke, *Greenes Tu quoque*, 1614, B₃^v: 'I am spent, and this rogue has consumed me; I dare not walke abroad to see my friends, for feare the Serieants should take acquaintance of me: my refuge is *Ireland*, or *Virginia*; necessitie cries out, and I will presently to *Westchester*.' In 1610 the Council of Virginia issued a *True Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia, With a confutation of such scandalous reports as haue tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise*; and again in 1612 the Council further authorized R. I.'s work, *The New Life of Virginea: Declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation*, the author complaining in the dedication to Sir Thomas Smith (A₃^v), that 'the malicious and looser sort (being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage Poets) haue whet their tongues with scornfull taunts against the action it selfe [i.e. the plantation], in so much as there is no common speech nor publike name of any thing this day, (except it be the name of God) which is more vildly depraued, traduced and derided by such vnhalloved lips, then the name of *Virginea*'.

129. *Dol Teare-sheet*. Cf. *E.M.O.* v. ii. 22, 'a kinsman to iustice *Silence*', for a similar reference to the second part of *King Henry IV*. Cunningham noted that the name of the heroine in Jonson's next comedy, *Dol Common*, was a blending of the two names given here.

II. vi. 11, 12. *omnia secunda; . . . saltat senex*. A Roman proverb elaborately explained by Erasmus in the *Adagia*, III. i. xl (1558, col. 742), of various occasions when a religious rite was interrupted and the worshippers coming back to renew it found that one old man had preserved the rite unbroken by continuing to dance. It is here used generally: 'All's well; the old boy is cutting capers.'

17. *the silenc'd ministers*. II. ii. 80.

23. *upon my dexterity*. A suitable oath for a barber.

32. *bride-ale*. *T. of T.* I. i. 95.

42. *sleek'd*, smooth'd. R. Holme, in *The Academy of Armory*, Part ii, 411-2, describes 'The Sleek stone, a ball made of glass, which Laundresses and Drawers of Cloath use to polish or sleecken their Linnen with'.

56. *for heate*. Like Osric in *Hamlet*, v. ii. 93-4.

57. *is marshalling of*. This construction was originally a verbal substantive: 'he is a marshalling of.' Cf. *Timon of Athens*, v. i. 183, 'Why, I was writing of my epitaph'.

59. *Sphinx*. *Sej.* III. 65.

60. *the beare-garden*, or Paris Garden, on the Bank-side in Southwark. Cf. III. i. 16, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 117, *Und.* xliii. 147.

62. *cups*. The heads of the three animals would be represented on the covers: Otter speaks of his 'bull-head' in iv. ii. 138.

III. i. 1. *pauca verba*. *E.M.I.* iv. ii. 40 n.

4. *You were best*. In these phrases the 'you' was originally dative,

'me were better' or 'best'. This was changed to 'I were better' and finally to 'I had better' (O.E.D.).

7. *shrouetuesday*. I. i. 158.

10. *under correction*. A qualifying phrase that took the sting out of a taunt: 'the lie might be given, without subjecting the speaker to the absolute necessity of receiving a challenge' (Gifford).

24 *Poetarum Pegasus*. In Jonson's *Verses over the door of the Apollo*, 13, 'the Poet's Horse.'

29. *banke-side*. E.M.O. v. v. 20.

32. *instrument*. She talks as if her terms had been embodied in a formal legal document.

40. *three sutes of apparell*. A servant's allowance: cf. IV. v. 11 and *King Lear*, III. iv. 84, 133, where Edgar describes himself as having been 'A serving-man, proud in heart and mind, . . . who hath had three suits to his back'.

41. *one silke*, for high days; it would go with the 'whitsontide veluet-cap' of line 7.

three worsted. Also a servant's wear: Kent calls Oswald in *King Lear* II. ii. 15, a 'worsted-stocking knave'.

49. *banquetting-house* at Whitehall. For the baitings at Easter and Shrovetide the bears and bulls were sent for from Southwark. Thus Peter Cunningham in *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xxxvii, quotes a payment to Henslowe dated 18 April 1604 'by way of his Maties reward to him and his servaunts in bringinge and presentinge before his Matie at Whitehall the game of Bearebaytinge upon Shrovetuesday'.

49, 50. *Ned Whiting, or George Stone*. Two bears, the second of which was famous. *The Puritaine*, III. v (1607, F): 'Pyb. Arested, gesse, gesse, how many Dogges doe you thinke Ide vpon me? Capt. Dogs, I say? I know not. Pyb. Almost as many as George Stone the Beare, Three at once, three at once.' He was killed at Court in 1606. Henslowe in a petition to King James says 'before the kinge of denmarke' he 'loste a goodlye beare called gorge stone' (*Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 105).

58. *distinctly*, handsomely (Lat. *distincte*): *with good moralitie*, the Latin *bene moratus*. Mrs. Otter must have picked up these phrases from courtiers.

59. *exhibition*, allowance. E.M.O. II. v. 27.

III. ii. 3. *obnoxious, or difficill*. More courtly phrases: *difficill* keeps close to the Latin *difficilis*.

5. *in rerum natura*. The phrase is in Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, 24, 'in the physical universe'; Jonson uses it conventionally here and in *D. is A.* III. i. 35, M.A. 106, for 'anywhere'.

6. *Sic visum superis*. The opposite of 'Dis aliter visum est' (Seneca, *Ep.* xcvi. 4).

9. *wood-cocks*. E.M.O. III. ix. 131.

15. *Anabaptist*. The sect arose in Germany in 1521. They rejected infant baptism and required converts who joined their sect to be re-baptized: hence their name. In this passage the word means little more than Puritan. Deacon Ananias in *The Alchemist* (II. iv. 20) is an Anabaptist.

18. *briefly*, soon. *Coriolanus*, I. vi. 16, 'Tis not a mile; briefly we heard their drums'.

25. *I can resolve you*. *E.M.I.* I. v. 44.

38. *o' the hinges*, on the hinges: the reverse of 'off the hinges'.

41. *What is he, for a vicar?* *E.M.O.* III. v. 34 n., 'What is he, for a creature?'

III. ii. 45. *barber of prayers*. 'Rabelais calls Friar John an excellent *estropier des Heures*; and the author perhaps had this expression in view' (Gifford). Apparently a misquotation: Rabelais describes Friar John (I, ch. 27) as 'beau despescheur d'heures, beau desbrideur de messes, brave descroteur de vigiles'.

62. *Artemidorus*, surnamed Daldianus, a Greek physician in the reign of Hadrian, author of a work in five books on the interpretation of dreams, *Ὀνειροκριτικά*: he believed that dreams revealed the future. In Dryden's *Limberham*, v. i (*Comedies, &c.*, 1701, II, p. 144), Woodall says 'A Pox of Artemidorus' when Mrs. Pleasance begins to tell a dream about him.

67. *cost me eighteen pounds*. Though damask silk was expensive, the price here seems exaggerated, unless the damask 'were embroidered with gold, in which case four pounds a yard would not have been unusual' (Lithicum, *Costume in the Drama*, p. 120).

71. *wire*. Prologue, 23 n.

73. *to Ware*. A place for assignations: cf. v. i. 64, *B.F.* IV. v. 38.

III. iii. 4. *you were put i' the head*, made to think. The construction in the passive is unusual.

29. *giuen you the dor*. A technical term in Court life and folly, illustrated in *C.R.* v. ii and v. iv. 506-15.

34. *a sauer in the main*. In the old game of Hazard the player called a 'main' (any number from five to nine inclusive). He threw with two dice. If he 'nicked', i.e. threw the 'main', he won; if he threw aces or deuce-ace, he lost. The game is minutely described in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. 'Hazard'. Jonson has 'to loose the maine', *N.I.* IV. iv. 342: cf. Daborne, *A Christian turn'd Turke*, I. i (1612, B):

Alb. We came aboard to venture with you,
Deale Merchant-like, put it vpon one maine,
And throw at all.

58. *told him his owne*, told him the plain truth about himself, Dr. Henry cites Field, *Amends for Ladies*, v. i. (1618, H1v): 'I have the most to doe to forbear unmasking me, that I might tell him his owne, as can be.'

63. *make one*, form one of the company. *The Merry Wives*, II. iii. 41-2, 'if I see a sword out, my finger itches to make one'.

67-8. *a cleane towell . . . like a sewer*. Cf. *The Book of Precedence* in *Queen Elizabeth's Academy*, 17, A viscount 'may haue Caruer and Sewer, with there Towells, when they sett there seruise on the table'. *C. is A.* I. iii and iv (headings of scene).

77. *bare*, the drinkers bare-headed. *E.M.O.* v. iv. 59, when a lady's health is proposed, 'I doe vaile to it with reuerence'.

86. *noyse*. *Sej.* v. 452.

96. *a purse-net*. A purse the mouth of which was drawn together by a string. *S. of N.* v. ii. 85.

105. *pest'ling*, crushing.

131. *ex Ouidij metamorphosi*. For Callisto see book ii. 401-507, but she became the Great Bear, *Ursa maior*, and should not have been described by the diminutive *Vrsula*. *Pasiphae*, who was not transformed, is not in the *Metamorphoses*; Ovid tells her story in the *Ars Amatoria*, i. 295-326.

III. iv. 2. *mannage*, exercise, management.

10. *catches with cloth-workers*. *Tw. Night*, II. iii. 56-8, 'Shall we rouse the night-owl in a catch that will draw three souls out of one weaver?' *1 Henry IV*, II. iv. 125-6, 'I would I were a weaver; I could sing psalms or any thing'.

31. *a waterman*, noisy and apt to quarrel over the fare.

38. *motion*, puppet.

39. *innocent*, half-witted creature. I. i. 18.

41. *a playse mouth*. Hall, *Virgidemiarum*, IV. i (1597, p. 7):

His mouth shrinks sideward like a scornfull *Playse*
To take his tired Eares ingratefull place.

Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, part ii (1630, C2^v). Matthew, who is nearly hanged, says, 'I lackt but the knot here, or here; yet if I had had it, I should ha made a wry mouth at the world like a *Playse*'.

54. *coacted*, compulsory (Lat. *coactus*).

57. *Penthesilea*, queen of the Amazons. *M. of Q.* 482-94.

Semiramis, another warrior queen, the reputed foundress of Babylon.

III. v. 11. *the owle*. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 165:

No noise, but owls' and wolves' death-boding cries.

And *Macbeth*, II. ii. 3, 4:

It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman,
Which gives the stern'st good night.

17. *a night-crow*. *M.L.* II. i. 16; *M. Aug.* 358. The night-raven, says Newton, is 'a bird frequently met with in fiction, but apparently

nowhere else' (*Dictionary of Birds*, p. 643). Cf. 3 *Henry VI*, v. vi. 44-5:

The owl shriek'd at thy birth,—an evil sign:
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time.

The Greek *νυκτικόραξ* was probably the night-heron, and Jonson may have meant this bird, recalling the sardonic epigram on its harsh, dissonant cry in the Greek *Anthology*, xi. 186:

*νυκτικόραξ ᾄδει θανατήφορον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ᾄσῃ
Δημίφιλος θνήσκει καὐτὸς ὁ νυκτικόραξ.*

20. *left-handed*, sinister (literally and figuratively). Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 15, 'Ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix'. Contrast *C.R.* iv. iii. 79, 'A most right-handed, and auspicious encounter'.

25. *the conduit, or the bake-house*. *Poet.* iv. iii. 113-14 n.

26. *the infant'ry*, the 'blackguard' or meanest drudges in the Court, who rode with the furniture and kitchen utensils in the royal progresses. Webster, *The White Devil*, ed. Lucas, i. ii. 127-9: 'a lousy slave that within this twenty yeares rode with the blacke guard in the Dukes cariage mongst spits and dripping-pannes.' *Merc. Vin.* 86, *L.R.* 118.

28. *lippis & tonsoribus notum*. Horace, *Sat.* i. vii. 3. Cf. *S. of N.* i. ii. 29, 30, where Penniboy junior stops a tailor from telling the news: 'let *Thom* (He's a Barber) by his place relate it.'

34. *my eaters? my mouthes*. For this method of describing servants cf. 'eaters', *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 1606, ed. Bang, i. i. 57; 'feeders', *Antony and Cleopatra*, iii. xiii. 109; 'cormorants', *E.M.O.* v. i. 9; and Petronius, *Satyricon*, 57. 6, 'viginti ventres pasco'.

38. *barricado*. The earliest example of 'barricade' in the *O.E.D.* is dated 1642.

44. *a man of your head, and haire*. 'Head' means intellect, and 'haire' quality: for the latter cf. Fletcher, *The Nice Valour*, i. i (Fol. 1647, p. 151), 'A lady of my haire cannot want pittying'.

64. *citterne*, then common in barbers' shops for the customers to amuse themselves with, while waiting. Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, part ii, v. ii (1630, K1^v), 'A Barbers Citterne for euey Seruingman to play vpon'. In the Jail Delivery Roll 19 January 7 Elizabeth quoted in *Middlesex County Records*, ed. Jeaffreson, i, p. 52, is the catalogue of a barber's stock in trade, William Swayne of Westminster, which had been stolen: 'vnum lavarium vocatum a barbors basen de quodam metallo vocato latten ad valenciam iis. vid., vnum poculum vocatum a latten pot ad valenciam iis. vid., tres tonsorias vocatas rasors ad valenciam iis., unū forfex vo^o a pare of sheres ad valenciam iis. vid., dua pectina vocata combes ad valenciam viiid., et vnum instrumentum music, vocatum a pare of Clavicordes ad valenciam iijs., et vnum instrumentum musicū vocatum a Giterne ad valenciam iijs.'

65-118. Compare the terser outburst in *The New Inn*, ii. i. 19-29.

72. *male-baudes lock*. Cf. W. M., *The Man in the Moone*, 1609, D3^v,

describing a pandar: 'he will scarce see the way in, his haire hangeth so in his light'.

77. *balles* of soap. *G.M.* 1485.

86. *lanternes in paper*. *T. of T.* v. vii. 31-2.

87-8. *no baud . . . to employ a bason*. Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, part ii, v. (1630, L1^v), 'Enter the two Masters first, after them the Constable, after them a Beadle beating a Bason, then *Catyryna Bountinnall*, with Mistris *Horsleach*, after them another Beadle with a blue head guarded with yellow'. There is an entry in the *Middlesex County Records*, i, p. 234, of the punishment of Elizabeth Holland, a brothel-keeper, sentenced on 23 November 39 Elizabeth: 'she shalbe put into a carte at Newgate, and be carted with a paper on her hed shewing her offence, from thence to Smythfeilde, from thence to her howse, from thence to Cornehill, from thence to the Standerd in Chepe, from thence to Bridewell, and all the way basons to be runge before her, at Bridewell to be punished, and from thence to be broughte to Newgate, there to remaine vntill she haue payed a fine of xl li. and put in sewerties for the same, and to be bounde to her good behaviour.'

90. *lotium*, 'stale urine used by barbers as a "lye" for the hair' (*O.E.D.*).

92. *eare-waxe*. Barbers cleaned customers' ears, as is still the custom in the East, says Cunningham. Cf. Dekker and Rowley, *The Noble Soldier*, II. i (1634, C2): '*Bal.* Are you of Court, Sir? *Cock.* Yes, the Kings Barber. *Bal.* That's his eare picker.'

93. *teeth*, . . . *lute-string*. Beaumont, *The Woman-Hater*, III. iii, 'I will Knock out my teeth, have them hung at a barbers'; Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, iii (Fol. 1679, p. 58), the shop of Nick the barber:

Lo, where the Spear and Copper Bason are,
Behold the string on which hangs many a tooth,
Drawn from the gentle jaw of wandring Knights.

105. *goe lesse*. *Volp.* III. v. 37.

118. *chance-medlee*, homicide by misadventure.

III. vi. 2. *the sea*. Libanius, op. cit., p. 13, καθάπερ πλοῖον θάλασσα, ὑπεράνεσχέ με τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ κλύδων.

13. *nomenclator*. *C.R.* v. x. 5.

16. 'tis decreed of me, judgement is passed on me, I am a condemned man, the Latin *actum est de me*, quoted in *B.F.* III. v. 8.

55. *set up a side*. A metaphor from partnership in a game of cards. The opposite phrase was 'to pull down a side' (Massinger, *The Great Duke of Florence*, IV. ii).

66. *gloues*. *C.R.* v. iii. 56-61.

71. *scarfes*, embroidered, with gold fringe and tassels.

72. *your brides colours, and yours*. Thus in *A Challenge at Tilt* on New Year's day 1614 two Cupids, as pages of the Bride and Bridegroom,

introduced ten tilters each, wearing the colours of the newly wedded pair; the bride's colours were murrey and white, the bridegroom's green and yellow. See vol. vii, p. 391.

80. *the biggen*. *Volp.* v. ix. 5 n.

88. *garters*. Brand (*Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1888, ii, p. 128) quotes Herrick, 'A Nuptiall Song to Sir Clipseby Crew' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 114):

Quickly, quickly them prepare;
And let the Young-men and the Bride-maids share
Your Garters; and their joynts
Encircle with the Bride-grooms Points.

And C. Brooke, 'An Epithalamium' in *England's Helicon*, ed. Macdonald, p. 217:

Youth's; take his Poynts; your wonted right;
And Maydens; take your due, her Garters.

epithalamium. See Jonson's comment in *Hymenaei*, 435-40.

III. vii. 2. *noyses* in the musical sense: *Sej.* v. 452.

15. *hanging dull eares*. Cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. ix. 20, 'demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus'.

47. *rouse*, a deep draught, full cup, especially in pledging a toast.

IV. i. 3. *chronicles*. In the Quarto text of *E.M.O.* III. viii. 61-2 it is proposed to put Sordido's conversion in 'the Chronicle'.

8-11. Cf. Libanius, op. cit., p. 5: ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνα μέτρια, κρότος πολὺς, γέλως σφοδρὸς, ὄρχησις ἀσχήμων, ὕμεναῖος νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων· ἅπαντα πανταχόθεν, ἥνίκα ἡγοῦμην ταύτην τὴν Ἐριννῶν, συνέρρει κατὰ τοὺς χειμάρρους, ὅσοι συμπίπτοντες εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐξαίσιον παρέχονται δοῦπον.

8. *neesing*, sneezing. Job xli. 18, of the leviathan, 'By his neesings a light doth shine'.

20. *goe away i'the iest*, die with laughing.

21. *nest of night-caps*. Cf. 'a nest of goblets', i.e. a large goblet containing many smaller ones of gradually diminishing size which fit into each other and fill it up.

25. the sadlers horse in *Fleetstreet*. 'In the same way Shakespeare says of Poin that he wore his boot smooth "like the sign of the leg"' (Cunningham).

35-6. *Women ought to repaire . . .* Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, ii. 677-8:

Illae munditiis annorum damna rependunt,
et faciunt cura ne videantur anus.

37-46. *And an intelligent woman . . .* Ibid. iii. 261-80:

Rara tamen mendo facies caret. Occule mendas,
quaque potes vitium corporis abde tui.

Si brevis es, sedeas, ne stans videare sedere,
inque tuo iaceas quantulacumque toro. . . .
Pes malus in nivea semper celetur aluta:
arida nec vinclis crura resolve suis. . . .
Exiguo signet gestu quodcumque loquetur,
cui digiti pingues et scaber unguis erit.
Cui gravis oris odor, nunquam ieiuna loquatur,
et semper spatio distet ab ore viri.
Si niger aut ingens aut non erit ordine natus
dens tibi, ridendo maxima damna feres.

37. *by*, cf. *E.M.I.* iv. x. 50 n.

42. *scald*, scabbed.

carue. So *D. is A.* ii. viii. 72. This word is elucidated in the note on *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 362, in Furness's *Variorum Shakespeare*. In the Characters appended to Overbury's *Wife*, 1612, E3, the married life of 'A Very Very Woman' is described: 'Her lightnesse gets her to swim at top of the table where her little finger bewraies caruing; her neighbors at the latter end know they are welcome, for that purpose she quencheth her thirst.' As she raises her wineglass, she works her little finger backwards and forwards: this was a hint, a kind of ogling. So Falstaff says of Ford's wife, 'she carves, she gives the leer of invitation' (*Merry Wives*, i. iii. 41-2). Cf. Littleton's *Latin English Lexicon*, 1675: 'A Carver:—chironomus.' 'Chironomus:—One that useth apish notions with his hands.' 'Chironomia:—A kind of gesture with the hands, either in dancing, carving of meat, or pleading.' (The classical *chironomus* was one who moved the hands in pantomimic gesture.) The development of the word evidently was (1) to carve meat, (2) to carve meat elegantly, with appropriate gestures, (3) to use affected gestures. Jonson's context is 'carue the lesse, and act in gloues'; 'act' refers to gestures, and the Ovid quoted above explains it, 'Exiguo signet gestu quodcumque loquetur'.

47-8. Ovid, *A.A.* iii. 287-90:

Est quae perverso distorqueat ora cachinno:
cum risu laeta est altera, flere putes.
Illa sonat raucum quiddam atque inamabile; ridet
ut rudit a scabra turpis asella mola.

49-52. *Ibidem*, 299-304:

Est et in incessu pars non contempta decoris;
allicit ignotos ille fugatque viros.
Haec movet arte latus tunicisque fluentibus auras
accipit, extensos fertque superba pedes;
illa velut coniunx Umbri rubicunda mariti
ambulat ingentes varica fertque gradus.

50. *Estrich*, ostrich. There is humour in this substitute for Ovid's Umbrian peasant.

56. *Amadis de Gaule*, the greatest of the old romances of chivalry. Remodelled probably by Juan Lobeira, a troubadour at the court of King Denis, who may have translated it from a French fabliau (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* ii, p. 169). The first edition was printed at Saragossa in 1508. Jonson ranked the work among

publique Nothings;
Abortiues of the fabulous, darke cloyster.
(*N.I.* i. vi. 126-7.)

and he refers to it contemptuously in the 'Execration upon Vulcan' (*Und.* xliii. 29). Compare Drayton, 'Epistle To Master William Ieffreys', added to *The Battaile of Agincourt*, 1627, p. 215:

By whom that trash of *Amadis de Gaule*,
Is held an author most authentically.

The work would not be recommended to Jonson by Anthony Munday's translations of the first book in 1590.

Don Quixote. Jonson was equally hostile to this great romance; he couples it with *Amadis de Gaule* in *Und.* xliii. 29. Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, p. 353, gives a solemn warning against 'such Inamoratoes as read nothing but play-bookes, Idle Poems, Iests, *Amadis de Gaul*, the *Knight of the Sun*, the *seauen Champions*, *Palmerin de Oliua*, *Huon of Burdeaux*, &c. Such many times proue in the ende as mad as *Don Quixot*.'

57-66. *come abroad . . .* Ovid, *A.A.* i. 49, 50, 89-92, 97-9, 42-4:

Tu quoque, materiam longo qui quaeris amori,
ante frequens quo sit disce puella loco. . . .
Sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatris:
haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo.
Illic invenies quod ames, quod ludere possis,
quodque semel tangas, quodque tenere velis. . . .
Sic ruit in celebres cultissima femina ludos:
copia iudicium saepe morata meum est.
Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae. . . .
Elige cui dicas 'tu mihi sola places'.
Haec tibi non tenues veniet delapsa per auras:
quaerenda est oculis apta puella tuis.

65. *droning a tobacco pipe.* *E.M.O.* iv. iii. 84 n.

67. *neuer the neere.* *T. of T.* epilogue, 16.

73. *Think he can vanquish them.* . . . Virgil's 'possunt quia posse videntur' (*Aen.* v. 231).

74-9. *Penelope her selfe.* Ovid, *A.A.* i. 477-86:

Penelopen ipsam, persta modo, tempore vinces.
Capta vides sero Pergama, capta tamen. . . .

Forsitan et primo veniet tibi littera tristis,
quaeque roget ne se sollicitare velis.
Quod rogat illa, timet: quod non rogat, optat, ut instes.
Insequere, et voti postmodo compos eris.

75. *Ostend* was besieged from 5 July 1601 to 15 September 1604. Spinola commanded the besiegers from the autumn of 1603. Seventy thousand lives are said to have been lost in taking it. The siege is often mentioned by the dramatists. With the present passage compare Dekker and Webster, *Westward Hoe*, 1. i (1607, A3^v), Mistress Birdlime to Mistress Justiniano, 'You are nice and peeuish, how long will you holde out thinke you? not so long as *Ostend*'. And Chapman and Shirley, *The Ball*, 11. iii (1630, D2):

Luc. She cannot hold out long.
Co. *Ostend* was sooner taken then her fort
Is like to be for any thing I perceive.

79-89. Ovid, *A.A.* i. 623-4, 663-6, 673-8:

Delectant etiam castas praeconia formae.
Virginibus curae grataque forma sua est. . . .
Quis sapiens blandis non misceat oscula verbis?
Illa licet non det, non data sume tamen.
Pugnabit primo fortassis et 'improbe' dicet:
Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet. . . .
Vim licet appelles: grata est vis ista puellis:
quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt.
Quaecumque est Veneris subita violata rapina,
gaudet, et improbitas muneris instar erit.
At quae cum posset cogi non tacta recessit,
ut simulet vultu gaudia, tristis erit.

90-7. Ibidem, 755-6, 763-70:

Sed sunt diversa puellis
pectora: mille animos excipe mille modis. . . .
Hi iaculo pisces, illi capiuntur ab hamis,
hos cava contento retia fune trahunt.
Nec tibi conveniet cunctos modus unus ad annos.
Longius insidias cerva videbit anus.
Si doctus videre rudi petulansque pudenti,
diffidet miserae protinus illa sibi.
Inde fit ut quae se timuit committere honesto,
vilis in amplexus inferioris eat.

100. *though you be staunch*, i.e. really brave and so not inclined to boast.

101. *leaping ouer stooles*. Cf. v. i. 45-6, *Ep.* cxv. 11.

106-8. *Take more care* . . . Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*, xii. 3, of dandies, 'Quis est istorum qui non malit rempublicam suam turbari

quam comam? qui non sollicitior sit de capitis sui decore quam de salute?’

109-17. *doe you promise any thing* . . . Ovid, *A.A.* i. 443-4, 449-52, ii. 261-6:

Promittas facito: quid enim promittere laedit?
 Pollicitis dives quilibet esse potest. . . .
 At quod non dederis semper videare daturus.
 Sic dominum sterilis saepe fefellit ager:
 sic, ne perdiderit, non cessat perdere lusor,
 et revocat cupidas alea saepe manus. . . .
 Nec dominam iubeo pretioso munere dones:
 parva sed e parvis callidus apta dato.
 Dum bene dives ager, dum rami pondere nutant,
 adferat in calatho rustica dona puer.
 Rure suburbano poteris tibi dicere missa,
 illa vel in Sacra sint licet empta Via.

120. *second parts*, the Latin *secundae partes*.

123-4. *the household and servants* . . . Ovid, *A.A.* ii. 251-4:

Nec pudor ancillas, ut quaeque erit ordine prima,
 nec tibi sit servos demeruisse pudor.
 Nomine quemque suo (nulla est iactura) saluta:
 iunge tuis humiles ambitiose manus.

125. *her chief woman*. Ibidem, i. 351-3, 383-6, 389-90:

Sed prius ancillam captandae nosse puellae
 cura sit: accessus molliet illa tuos.
 Proxima consiliis dominae sit ut illa, videto. . . .
 Si tamen illa tibi, dum dat recipitque tabellas,
 corpore, non tantum sedulitate placet,
 fac domina potiari prius; comes illa sequatur:
 non tibi ab ancilla est incipienda Venus.
 . . . Tollitur index
 cum semel in partem criminis ipsa venit.

150. *Doctor Foreman* (1552-1611), astrologer and quack-doctor. He was much sought after by women (*D. is A.* ii. viii. 33, where he is dubbed '*Oracle-Foreman*'). In the Overbury trial a letter from Lady Essex to him was put in evidence asking for love-philtres to alienate Essex's love and attract Somerset's to her.

iv. ii. 16. *set your foot to mine*. From the song of 'Uptails all': cf. Fletcher, *The Coxcomb*, i. vi (Folio, 1647, p. 100). Silvio sings, 'Then set your foote to my foote, & up tails all'.

19. *et rauco* . . . Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 2.

21. *Well said*, *E.M.O.* Ind. 330 n. Bull- and bear-baiting supply the metaphors up to line 43.

43. *Iacta est alea*. Julius Caesar's cry after he crossed the Rubicon.

50. *Buz*. C.R. v. iv. 464 n.

Titivilitium, a mere trifle, a bagatelle. Plautus, *Casina*, 347, 'Non ego istuc verbum empsim tittivilitio'.

58. *tribus verbis*, in a word or two, to put it tersely. Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 1020, where A. Palmer notes 'Tribus is used where we should say "a couple"'.
68. *Tritons*, strictly the shell-trumpeters of Neptune.

Nunc est bibendum . . . Horace, *Odes*, I. xxxvii. 1.

70. *sons of the earth*. *Terrae filius* in late Latin means a bastard or low-born.

74. *clogdogdo*. Query, slang of the Bear-Garden. Upton thought it a ludicrous coinage, 'a clog proper only for a dog'; Staunton on *The Tempest*, I. ii. 98 ('to trash for overtopping'), thought it an earlier equivalent to the 'trash', a weight round the hound's neck. Shadwell, *Bury Fair*, iii (1689, p. 39): 'Oldwit. Where is my *Jezebel*, my Cockatrice, my Clogdogdo, as honest Tom Otter says?'

75. *foresaid* should be *forsaid*, forbidden. Spenser has the verb in *The Shepheardes Calender*, July, 69, 70:

And sithens shepheardes bene foresayd
from places of delight.

76. *mala bestia*. Plautus, *Bacchides*, 55, and Catullus, lxix. 7, 8.

90. For *mandrake* as a term of abuse cf. 2 *Henry IV*, I. ii. 14, 'Thou whoreson mandrake'.

92. *mercury, and hogs-bones*. C.R. v. iv. 403-5.

92-9. *All her teeth* . . . A close copy of Martial ix. xxxvii. 1-6, quoted on C.R. iv. i. 145-9.

93-4. The street-names are chosen to pun on: the 'strands' of eyebrows puzzled Cunningham. A strand can mean a tress or filament of hair: here it suggests that the hair of the eyebrows was coarse and thick.

94. *Siluer-street*. S. of N. Intermean 3, 3.

99. *a great Germane clocke*. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 180-4:

A woman, that is like a German clock,
Still a-repairing, ever out of frame,
And never going aright, being a watch,
But being watch'd that it may still go right.

Dekker and Webster, *Westward Hoe*, I. i (1601, A2^v): 'no German Clock, no Mathematicall Engine whatsoeuer, requires so much reparation as a womans face.' Middleton, *A Mad World, my Masters*, IV. i (1608, F1^v), where 'clock' is misprinted 'cloak':

What is she, tooke asunder from her clothes?
Being ready, she consists of an hundred peeces,
Much like your German clock, and nere allyed.
Both are so nice, they cannot goe for pride.

102. *done me right*. *E.M.O.* v. iv. 79.

103 (margin). *Shee falls vpon him*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, iv. i (1616, H1), a reference to the scolding waiting-woman Abigail: 'Tye your she Otter vp, good Lady Folly, she stinkes worse then a beare-bayting.'

123. *Mrs. Mary Ambree*. Also alluded to *T. of T.* i. iv. 22. She is unhistorical, the heroine of a ballad in Percy's *Reliques*, quoted in *F.I.* 393-7. The reference there is to the effort made in 1584 to recapture Ghent with the aid of English volunteers after Parma's successes in the Netherlands. With the text compare Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, i. i (1602, B4), where Mellida addresses Rosaline, who has been using military metaphor, 'Oh *Mary Ambree*, good, thy iudgement wench'; and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, v. iv (Folio, 1679, p. 81), 'my large Gentlewoman, My *Mary Ambree*'.

124. *Stentors*. Stentor was a herald of the Greeks at Troy; his 'iron voice' was as loud as the shout of fifty men (*Iliad*, v. 785-6). *S. of N.* v. vi. 49.

an ill May-day, so named from the London riots on May-day 1517 when the prentices attacked privileged foreigners from motives of trade jealousy.

126. *the Gally-foist*, the state-barge in which the Lord Mayor went to Westminster to be sworn in on Lord Mayor's day. Cf. Dekker and Wilkins, *Iests to make you Merie*, 1607, The 36. Iest, p. 11: 'A country Gentleman comming downe Westward by water to London, vpon the day when my Lord Maiors Galley Foist was in all her holliday attire, and seeing such triumphing on the Theames, but not knowing the cause, demanded of his Watermen, why there was such drumming, and piping, and trumpetting, and wherefore all those Barges (like so many Water-pageants) were caryed vp and downe so gaylie with Flags and Streamers? It was told him, the Lord Mayor went that day to be sworne, to Westminster.'

140. *Is't not on*. The bumps his wife has made on his head (cf. Albius' fate, *Poet.* II. i. 36-7).

143. *Ratcliffe* in Stepney parish. Then an important place of resort owing to the highway of the river (*Alch.* iv. vii. 125, v. iv. 76). Ratcliffe Highway has been renamed St. George Street.

iv. iii. 13. *In sadnesse*, seriously.

14. *I'll call you Morose*. So *D. is A.* iv. ii. 21-2. It was the etiquette among ladies. The Countess of Bedford, Jonson's patron, addressed Lady Cornwallis in fifteen extant letters as 'Dear Cornwallis' (*The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis, 1613-1644*, 1842).

24-5. *to Bed'lem . . . to the Exchange*. Cf. *Alch.* iv. iv. 47-8, Dame Pliant is to have her coach

To hurry her through *London*, to th'*Exchange*,
Bet'lem, the *China*-houses.

Bedlam continued to be a promenade up to 1770, deriving a revenue

of £400 a year 'from the indiscriminate admission of visitors' (Cunningham). In Fletcher's *The Pilgrim* (III. vii), acted at Court in 1622, the pilgrim is taken to a madhouse as one of the sights. A curious instance of the way it laid itself out to attract them is noticed in *Kind-Harts Dreame* by H. Chettle, 1600? E2^v: 'Expeld (quoth you) that hath been pretily performd, to the no smal profit of the Bouling-alleyes in Bedlam and other places, that were wont in the after-noones to be left empty, by the recourse of good fellows vnto that vnprofitable recreation of Stage-playing.'

the China houses. I. iii. 36.

the Exchange. Cf. Massinger, *The City Madam*, III. i (1658, p. 33):

I am sterv'd,
Sterv'd in my pleasures. I know not what a Coach is,
To hurrie me to the Burse, or old Exchange.

32-9. Ovid, *A.A.* iii. 93-8:

Quis vetet adposito lumen de lumine sumi?
quisve cavo vastas in mare servet aquas?
Et tamen ulla viro mulier 'non expedit' inquit?
Quid nisi quam sumes, dic mihi, perdis aquam?
Nec vos prostituit mea vox, sed vana timere
damna vetat: damnis munera vestra carent.

40-5. *Ibidem*, 59-70:

Venturae memores iam nunc estote senectae:
sic nullum vobis tempus abibit iners.
Dum licet et vernos etiamnum educitis annos,
ludite: eunt anni more fluentis aquae.
Nec quae praeteriit iterum revocabitur unda,
nec quae praeteriit hora redire potest.
Utendum est aetate: cito pede labitur aetas,
nec bona tam sequitur quam bona prima fuit. . . .
Tempus erit quo tu, quae nunc excludis amantes,
frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus.

48. *anagrammes of our names.* Shirley in his poem to Elizabeth, Countess of Ormond (*Poems*, 1646, p. 36), 'I never learn'd that trick of Court to . . . Anagram upon her Name'.

60-1. *Many births* . . . Ovid, *A.A.* iii. 81-2:

Adde quod et partus faciunt breviora iuventae
tempora: continua messe senescit ager.

IV. iv. 1. *instructed*, appointed. *Sej.* I. 441.

13. *the cock-pit.* *Volp.* III. v. 7 n. Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London*, 1811, p. 531, quotes from a 'Journey through England', 1724: 'There is always a continued noise amongst the spectators in laying wagers upon every blow each cock gives. . . . If an Italian,

a German, or a Frenchman, should by chance come into these cock-pits, without knowing beforehand what is meant by this clamour, he would certainly conclude the assembly to be all mad, by their continued outcries of six to four, five to one, ten pounds to a crown, which is always repeated here, and with great earnestness, every spectator taking part with his favourite cock, as if it were a party-cause.'

14. *the fall of a stag*, a noisy scene enough with the clamour of the hounds, often assisted by the echoes of wood or valley till 'every region near Seem'd all one mutual cry' (*Mids. N.D.* iv. i. 113-14), and lastly the horns of the huntsmen sounding 'the mort o' the deer' (*Winter's Tale*, i. ii. 118).

the tower-wharfe, 'with the noise of the ordinance' (i. ii. 15-16).

15. *Paris-garden*. III. i. 16 n.

Belins-gate, Billingsgate, 'a large Watergate, Port or Harbrough for shippes and boats, commonly arriuing there with fish, both fresh and salt, shell fishes, salt, Oreniges, Onions, and other fruits and rootes, wheate, Rie, and graine of diuers sorts for seruice of the Citie, and the parts of this Realme adioyning' (Stow, *A Suruay of London*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 206). The spelling is due to the fable, as Stow well calls it, that the gate was 'builded by King *Beline* a Briton, long before the incarnation of *Christ*'.

17. *nothing but fights at sea*. A play which is a continuous sea-fight is of course a delirious suggestion of Morose, but there are naval scenes which would have afflicted him. The second part of Thomas Heywood's *If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody*, 1606, ends with the 'famous Victorie' over the Armada, but it is described, not acted. The fourth act of Heywood and Rowley's *Fortune by Land and Sea*, 1607, has 'great Alarums' and three scenes of fights with the pirates Purser and Clinton. Robert Daborne's play *A Christian Turned Turk*, c. 1610, dramatizes 'the tragicall lyffes and deathes of the 2 famous pyrates Ward and Danseker'.

18. *target*. The prologue to *King Henry VIII* (l. 15) warns spectators who come to hear 'A noise of targets' that they will be disappointed; similarly Shirley in his prologue to *The Doubtful Heir* (*Narcissus*, 1646, p. 154):

No shews, no frisk, and what you most delight in,
(Grave understanders) here's no Target fighting
Upon the Stage, all work for Cutlers barrd.

23. *Strife and tumult* . . . Ovid, *A.A.* ii. 155, 'Dos est uxoriam lites', and Herrick's echo in the *Hesperides* (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 49), 'Single Life most secure':

Suspicion, Discontent, and Strife,
Come in for Dourie with a Wife.

39, 40. Libanius, op. cit., p. 6: ἀναστὰς ἄπειμι περὶ τὴν προμνηστρίαν· καὶ τί τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡρώτων. νυμφὴ ῥήματα ἀφίησιν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νυκτός. ναί, φησι, φίλτροῦ

σημείον τοῦτό ἐστι, καὶ ἅμα τῆς φωνῆς ἐπιδείξῃς· σὺ δ' ἀγριώτερος εἶ, ἐχρῆν δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχειν. πείθομαι πάλιν.

56-8. *how his eyes . . .* Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 828-30:

Viden tu illic oculos virere? ut viridis exoritur colos
Ex temporibus atque fronte, ut oculi scintillant, vide!

59. *melancholy*, in the ancient sense of the word, passion, frenzy, or aberration. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, III. v. 11, 'quem nos furorem, μελαγχολίαν illi vocant'. Cf. Prior, *Alma* 210-11:

Just as the melancholic eye
Sees fleets and armies in the sky.

79, 80. *Shee is like a conduit-pipe . . .* Libanius, op. cit., p. 19: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς κρούνοὺς ἐπισχόντες, εἴτ' ἀφελόντες τὸ κωλύον, σφοδροτέραν εἰργάσαντο τὴν φοράν· οὕτως ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἀναστείλας τὴν φωνήν, μείζον ἐπεσπασάμην τὸ ρεῖθρον.

85. *Dones philosophie*. The Fables of Pilpay, an old collection of Oriental apologues, were translated about the middle of the eleventh century out of the Persian or Arabic into Greek by Simeon Seth; thence into Latin, and finally into Italian from the Latin of Doni. Sir Thomas North translated this last into English in 1601 as *The Morall Philosophie of Doni: drawne out of the ancient writers. A worke first compiled in the Indian tongue, and afterwards reduced into diuers other languages: And now lastly englished out of Italian*. Sir Amorous alludes to this, and confuses it with the popular old fable of *Reynard the Fox*, printed by Caxton in 1481.

98. *Aristotles Ethicks*. In 1547 Richard Grafton printed *The Ethiques of Aristotle, that is to saye, preceptes of good behauoure and perfighte honestie, now newly translated into English* from the Italian, by John Wilkinson.

108. *the Sick-mans salue*. E.H. v. ii. 57 n.

Greenes groates-worth of wit. Published 1592; reprinted 1596 and later. Cf. Fletcher's lines prefixed to Jonson's *Catiline*, 1611, on those who lay Jonson by for

Mad Pasquil,
Or Greene's dear *Groats-worth*, or Tom Coryate.

In E.M.O. II. iii. 227, Jonson suggests that Greene is little read.

120. *preach folke asleepe*. Cunningham quotes Latimer's *Syxtie Sermon*, 12 April 1549: 'I had rather ye shoulde come (to church) as the tale is by the Gentlewoman of London. One of her neyghbours mette her in the streate, and sayed mestres whether go ye, Mary sayed she, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the sermon, I coulde not slepe al thys laste nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer fayled of a good nap there.'

138-9. Suggested by Libanius, op. cit., p. 14, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ γυνή μοι μέθυσος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δεινόν; εἰ γὰρ ἐμέθυσεν ἐκάθειδεν, εἰ δὲ ἐκάθειδεν, ἴσως εἰσὶγα.

140. *ladanum*, *laudanum*.

144. *snores*. Libanius, op. cit., p. 5, οἶδας γάρ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὸν ἐμὸν τρόπον, ὥς οὔτε ῥέγγων ἄνθρωπος ἐμοὶ φορητόν.

porcisce. *Sej.* v. 622.

165. *set me i' the nicke*, put the 'main' down for the stake, won by casting the 'nick'. Thus in the game of Hazard, 'if seven be the *Main*, and the *Caster* throws eleven, that is a *Nick*, and sweeps away all the money as is on the Board' (Cotton, *The Compleat Gamester*, 1674, p. 169). For the 'main' see III. iii. 34. La Foole's phrase 'set me in' the nicke seems to mean 'put me in a tight place', with a suggestion of dishonesty. Grose in his *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 1785, has '*Set*, a dead set, a concerted scheme to defraud a person by gaming', but this refers to more than one player. La Foole may mean merely 'nicked me again and again', 'kept on nicking me'.

167. *swabbers*. *Alch.* iv. vii. 25. (1) Literally one who swabs the deck; hence (2) a low rank of sailor. So a term of contempt.

192. *cast*, a couple, 'cast off' in pairs.

kastrils or *kestrels*, wild hawks, lacking in courage; the 'windfuckers' of I. iv. 79: see Madden, *The Diary of Master William Silence*, p. 159.

IV. v. The efforts of Sir Toby and Fabian in *Twelfth Night* (III. iv) to bring about a quarrel between Sir Andrew Aguecheek and the disguised Viola resemble so closely the tactics of Truewit with Daw and La Foole that one of these scenes must be a copy of the other. Gifford, believing *Twelfth Night* to have been written in 1614, credited Shakespeare with being the borrower; but we now know from Manningham's *Diary* that this play was performed at the Temple on 2 February 1602, so that Jonson copied Shakespeare.

9. *Babouns*. *C.R.* I. iii. 5.

10. *liue vpon posts*, run on errands like a lackey.

11. *three sutes*. Like Otter, III. i. 40.

24. *scratch*, scratch each other's faces, fight.

30. *couple of studies*. See line 82 where Daw is locked in one of them. These were the two side-doors of the stage. Cf. *Histrion-mastix* (1610, F4), '*Enter Lyon-rash to Fourchier sitting in his study: at one end of the stage: At the other end enter Vourcher to Velure in his shop*'.

31. *the Guelphes, and the Ghibellines*, the factions of the Popes and the Emperors which distracted Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An English play with this title is mentioned in Gayton's *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 271.

33. *the chorus* usually explained the action of the play: here Truewit treats it as an interested spectator.

the arras, 'the ordinary Elizabethan name for a hanging of tapestry used as a wall decoration, and often projected from a frame so as to leave a narrow space, valuable to eavesdroppers and other persons in need of seclusion, between itself and the wall' (E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii, p. 80).

41. *taken vp*, made up. *E.M.O.* III. vi. 19.

46. *the wedding the Centaures were at*. At the marriage of Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, with Hippodamia, Hylaeus, a drunken Centaur, insulted the bride, and the wedding ended in a fight.

70. *errandst*. A seventeenth-century form of 'errantest' (arrantest).

72. *so protested a coward*. Fletcher and Massinger, *The Little French Lawyer*, I. i (Folio, 1647, p. 51):

Thou wouldst not willingly
Lie a protested coward, or be call'd one.

100. *set out to take possession*. 'When estates were litigated, or, as was too frequently the case formerly, transferred to a hungry favourite, this was a service of some danger; and the new owner set forth with his attendants and friends well armed' (Gifford).

109. *two-hand-sword*. An old-fashioned national weapon. 'It was a right-down pleasing and sturdy implement recalling in good steel the vernacular quarter-staff of old. It required thews and sinews, and, incidentally, much beef and ale' (*Egerton Castle*).

112. *peitronells*, more correctly *petronells*, horse-pistols. 'Petrionel', *E.M.I.* III. i. 145.

calliuers, the lightest kind of musket, except the pistol.

like a Iustice of peaces hall. Malcolm, *Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London*, I, p. 220: 'The halls of the justice of peace were dreadful to behold. The skreen was garnished with corselets and helmets, . . . with coats of mail, launces, pikes, halberts, brown bills, bucklers.'

116. *Saint Pulchres parish*. *Ep.* cxxxiii. 174. Morose lived here?

117-18. *victuall himself . . . in his breeches*. J. M., *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen*, 1598, F2^v: 'His habite must now be fashionate in proportion and colour: Northeren Carsies not now wearable in Breeches, for it will shrink, and the fashion is now to haue Venetians of the largest sise: yf they will not holde a bushell a breetch, they are not saleable in Birtchen lane.' T. Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, 1601, p. 298: 'Some times I haue seene *Tarleton* play the Clowne, and vse no other breeches than such sloppes, or sliuings, as now many Gentlemen weare; they are almost capable of a bushell of wheate, and if they bee of sacke-cloth, they woulde serue to carrie mawlt to the Mill. This absurde, clownish, and vnseemly attire, onely, by custome nowe is not misliked, but rather approoued.' Butler, *Hudibras*, canto I, 342-4, of Arthur's Round Table:

Though 'twas no Table, some suppose,
But a huge pair of round Trunk-hose;
In which he carry'd as much meat
As he and all his Knights could eat.

166. *attone*, reconcile.

174. *in snuffe*. *E.M.I.* IV. ii. 99.

178. *walkes the round*. *Alch.* III. iii. 2 A military metaphor from the patrol which goes round a camp or a fortress, to see that the sentries are vigilant.

201. *sir A-jax*. *Ep.* cxxxiii. 196. The pun started with Harington's treatise on sanitary reform, *A New Discourse of a Stale Subiect, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, advocating the adoption of water-closets; and the jest is repeated *ad nauseam* through the literature of the period.

234. *whiniling*, whining. 'Whinnel', in use from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth, is a form of 'whindle', to whimper. So the noun 'whinnel': *O.E.D.* quotes Trapp on 1 Thessalonians v. 16, 'Rejoice evermore' (1647) 'A duty . . . little practised by many of Gods whinnels, who are ever puling and putting finger in the eye'.

257. *carpet*, table-cover of tapestry work. *S. of N.* I. iv. 2; Heywood, *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse*, III. ii (1607, D4^v), 'A pair of Cards Nicklas, and a carpet to couer the table, wheres Sisly with her Counters and her box'. Middleton, *The Phœnix*, IV. i (1607, H2), 'Boy. Oh Maister, Maister, your abhominable next neighbor came into the house, beinge halfe in drink, and tooke away your best Carpet. . . . *Quieto*. Oh, Ile give him the table too . . .'. 'Carpets were not at this period laid on the floor; except occasionally to kneel on, or for purposes of state' (Gifford).

262. *magis patiendo* . . . Untraced: cf. J. Wybarne, *The New Age of Old Names*, 1609, p. 28: 'Fortitude, which is . . . taken *a Ferendo*, not *a feriendo*, *nam patiendo*, *male non faciendo*, *fortes sumus*.' For the idea cf. *M.L.* III. vi. 180-4.

273. *butter-teeth*, front teeth.

293. *sixe kicks* . . . *Seneca*. Shadwell, *The Virtuoso*, 1676, p. 11: 'Pox on him, he has read *Seneca*: he cares not for kicking; he never scap'd kicking in any disguise he ever put on.'

324. *at the blunt*, 'with a weapon whose point is capped, like a fencer's'—Dyce (MS. note). Cf. G. H., *The Priuate Schoole of Defence*, 1614, A8^v: 'how comes it (then) that an ignorant handler of a Weapon meeting with an ordinarie Professor of *Defence* at *Foyles*, can neyther certainly giue offence, nor auoid it. They will answer me, that at blunt, a man comes boldly on, and is not troubled with any such considerations, as at sharpe must of necessitie disorder his remembrance, and put him out of fight.'

341. *All hid*. The cry at hide-and-seek. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 74, 'All hid, all hid, an old infant play'; Dekker, *Satiromastix*, v. ii (1602, L2^v), 'Our vnhandsome-fac'd Poet does play at bo-peepes with your Grace, and cryes all-hidde as boyes doe'.

343. *blow his nose off*. In Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize*, II. i (Folio, 1647, p. 103), Moroso complains to Livia's father that she has struck him: 'A Box o'th'eare do you say. *Mor.* Yes sure a sound one, Beside my nose blown to my hand.'

347. *Damon & Pythias* cited as a type of loyal friendship. Pythias,

condemned to die for plotting against Dionysius of Syracuse, obtained leave to go home to settle his affairs, and Damon took his place prepared to die if he did not return. Richard Edwards wrote a play on the subject in 1567; a text of 1571 survives. Chettle wrote another in 1600; this is lost.

348. *raknesse*. Ironical, as if their assumed friendship were a disease.

iv. vi (Heading). &c. So in the Quarto; unusual in the Folio. It means Clerimont, Daw, and La-Foole.

4. *utter'd*, made current, passed.

28. *faces set in a brake*. *Und.* II. ix. 40. A 'brake' was the frame for vicious colts while they were shod. Chapman has the image: *Bussy D'Ambois*, I. i (1607, A3):

Or (like a strumpet) learne to set my lookes
In an eternall Brake, or practise iuggling,
To keepe my face still fast, my hart still loose.

And *Byron's Tragedie*, IV. i (1608, M4^v): 'See in how graue a Brake he sets his vizard' (i.e. visage).

41. *lock*, love-lock, often ribbanded. In Lyly's *Midas*, ed. Bond, III. ii. 43-4, a fop is to be asked if he will have his 'loue-locks wreathed with a silken twist, or shaggie to fal on (his) shoulders?'

47. *vnbrac'd*, disclosed, exposed.

104. *gold handle*. Cf. Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, quoted on *E.M.I.* II. iv. 76.

iv. vii. 2. *to been*. *E.M.O.* v. v. 77.

5-7. *beg'd . . . for man-slaughter*. 'The laws regarding manslaughter with *weapons* had just before this time (1609) been made particularly stringent, "on account", says Blackstone, "of the frequent quarrels, and stabbings with short daggers, between the Scotch and the English at the accession of James the First". The legislation was so particularly aimed at swords and daggers that Blackstone goes on to say, "It hath been resolved that killing a man by throwing a hammer, or other weapon, is not within the statute; and whether a shot with a pistol be so, or not, is doubted". Book iv. c. 14' (Cunningham).

15-18. Libanius, op. cit., p. 3: εἰς ἀγορὰν οὐ σφόδρα ἐμβάλλων, διὰ τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα τῶν δικῶν ὀνόματα, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, διαδικασία, παραγραφὴ, ἃ καὶ οἷς οὐδέν ἐστι πρᾶγμα φιλοῦσιν ὀνομάζειν.

48. *without wronging the dignitie*. A reference to the trouble caused by the satire on lawyers in *Poetaster* (I. ii. 117-32 n.). Similarly in *M.L.* 2 Chorus, 5-9.

v. i. 11. *a pen-and-inke*. So *D. is A.* v. i. 41.

19. *squire*, square.

23. *Nomentack*, an Indian chief of Virginia, a trusty servant of Powhattan, was brought to England as a hostage in 1605, an English follower

of Captain Smith being left in his place; he was taken back to his own country by Sir G. Somers in 1609, but murdered by an Indian at the Bermudas in 1610 before he could get home.

24. *the Prince of Moldavia*, Stephano Janiculo, who pretended to the hand of Lady Arabella Stuart. The following words 'his mistris' seem to have been interpreted as a reference to Lady Arabella, though it should have been perfectly clear that 'his mistris' meant Daw's mistress, not Janiculo's. See the textual introduction to the play (vol. v, pp. 144-7) for a full discussion of the question.

44-5. *come . . . from Tripoly*. *Ep.* cxv. 11, 'Can come from *Tripoly*, leape stooles'. It appears to have been an indoor sport. The only explanation of the phrase is that offered by Nares, 'To vault and tumble with activity. It was, I believe, first applied to the tricks of an ape or monkey, which might be supposed to come from that part of the world.' Cf. Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas*, iv. ii (Folio, 1679, p. 399):

Get up to that window there, and presently
Like a most compleat Gentleman, come from *Tripoly*.

53. *vellet petticoates, & wrought smocks*, worn by prostitutes of the highest class. *B.F.* iv. vi. 19, 20.

64. *the great bed at Ware*, made about 1580 of carved oak with inlaid panels and painted decoration, 10 feet 9 inches square, 7½ feet high, but the height has been reduced probably to fit a lower room at one of its moves. It would accommodate twelve people. After leaving Ware it was taken to the Rye House, Hoddesdon; in 1931 it was acquired for the Victoria and Albert Museum. Cf. *Tw. Night*, III. ii. 43, 'as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England, set 'em down'.

70-1. *Our bath cost vs fiftene pound*. *Alch.* III. iii. 16, 20-1, 65-6. Cf. Barry, *Ram-Alley*, 1. i (1611, A3^v):

Dost think this petti-coate,
A perfum'd smock, and twice a weeke a bathe,
Can be maintain'd with halfe a yeares reuenews.

77. *comming*. *Volp.* III. v. 127.

96. *mad oxe*. *N.I.* 1. iii. 152.

v. ii. 3. *make out*, manage, make shift (to tell you). *O.E.D.* s.v. 'make', 91. c (b).

24. *a Fidelia*, i.e. Trusty lives up to her name.

31. *make any credit to her*, give her any credit (Lat. *fidem facere*).

36. *pargets*. *C.R.* palinode, 22.

38. *by candle-light*. *Und.* xlix. 32, of the Court Pucelle, 'Her face there's none can like by Candle-light'.

51. *you must not tell*. It was thought dangerous to reveal any gift made by the fairies; the penalty was personal misfortune. Cf. *Ent. Althorp*, 146-7, the Fairy giving a jewel, says:

Vtter not; we you implore,
Who did giue it, nor wherefore.

The Winter's Tale, III. iii. 112-20: 'Shepherd. It was told me I should be rich by the fairies. . . . What's within, boy? Clo. . . . Gold, all gold! Shep. This is fairy gold, boy, and 'twill prove so: up with't, keep it close: home, home, the next way. We are lucky, boy; and to be so still requires nothing but secrecy.' Massinger, *The Fatall Dowry*, IV. i (1632, H4):

But not a word of it, 'tis Fairies treasure;
Which but reueal'd, brings on the blabbers, ruine.

68. *reformados*. *E.M.I.* III. v. 17.

v. iii. 5, 6. *one dore . . . another . . . in the midst*. The Blackfriars theatre had three doors, as we know from the opening stage-direction of *Eastward Ho*.

10. *l'enuoy*. Here simply 'conclusion', as in *Und.* xlii. 75, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 66; Massinger, *The Bashful Lover*, v. i (1655, F6v), 'Long since I look'd for this Lenvoy'.

twanging. Cf. Massinger, *The Roman Actor*, II. i (1629, E3):

An old foole to be guld thus! had he died, . . .
It had gone off twanging.

O.E.D. compares the slang use of 'stunning', 'ripping'.

25-31. Libanius, op. cit., p. 4, καὶ μὴν ἐκείνο δεῖν ἐξελάσαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τὸ τῆς προσήσεως. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν εἰς τὸν βίον ἐπελθόν, τὸν δεῖνα χαίρειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὁρῶ τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ κέρδος. οὐ γὰρ ὧ γε λύπης ἀξίως ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, βελτίῳ παρὰ τὸ χαίρειν ἀκοῦσαι γίγνεται.

So Molière's Arnolphe in *L'École des Femmes*, III. iv. 847-52:

Hé! mon Dieu! n'entrons point dans ce vain compliment:
Rien ne me fâche tant que ces cérémonies,
Et, si l'on m'en croyait, elles seraient bannies.
C'est un maudit usage, et la plupart des gens
Y perdent sottement les deux tiers de leur temps.
Mettons donc sans façon.

44. *circumstances*, subordinate matters, points of detail.

48-59. Libanius, op. cit., p. 3, ἐμοὶ δ' ὁ πατήρ, ὧ βουλή, παρήνει τὸν νοῦν συνάγειν καὶ συνέχειν, καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν διαχεῖσθαι· διορᾶν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τά τε ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ μὴ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔχεσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀπέχεσθαι· τιμᾶν τὴν ἡσυχίαν, φεύγειν τὰς ταραχάς. ἂ καὶ ποιῶν, ὧ βουλή, διατελῶ· τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ μάλα κοινωνῶν, οὐ διὰ τὸ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς τῶν οὐ δυναμένων σιγῆσαι βοὰς ῥητόρων.

53. *Endeare my selfe to rest*. Cf. *C.R.* IV. iii. 3, 'endeare your selfe to her affection'.

63. *at Eltham*, also alluded to *Ep.* xcvi. 2. See the autograph diary of Hans Jacob Wurmsser von Vendenheym (B.M. Additional MS. 20001),

who accompanied the Duke of Wurtemberg on a diplomatic mission to England in 1610 on behalf of the German princes; on 1 May 'S.E. alla au parc d'Ethon pour veoir *la perpetuum mobile*. L'inventeur s'appelle Cornelius Trebel, natif d'Alkmar, homme fort blond et beau et d'une très douce façon, tout au contraire des esprits de la sorte. Nous y vismes aussy des Espinettes, qui jouent d'ellemesmes.' Cornelis Drebbel was a scientific inventor patronized by James I and by Rudolph II of Germany. He introduced microscopes, telescopes, and thermometers into England. He published at Hamburg in 1621 *Corneli Drebbeli, Chemici et mechanici summi, tractatus duo: prior de natura elementorum, . . . Posterior de quinta essentia, . . . Editi curâ Joachimi Morsi. Accedit Ejusdem Epistola ad sapientissimum Britannicæ Monarcham Iacobum, de perpetui mobilis inventione*. Thomas Twynne in 1612 had published *A Dialogue philosophicall, wherein Natures secret closet is opened. . . . Together with the wittie invention of an Artificiall Perpetuall Motion*; it has an engraving of the device. It is mentioned in H. Peacham's preliminary verses to Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611—'that heauenly motion of Eltham'—as one of the chief contemporary sights.

73. *excursions*, 'rambles from the subject' (Dr. Johnson).

103. *obstancy*, from the late Latin *obstantia*, 'in medieval Latin "juridical opposition" (Du Cange)'.—*O.E.D.*

104. *Alas, sir, what a hope . . .* Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos*, 250, 'Vae mi misero, quanta de spe decidi!'

109. *seruitudes are sublatae*. Otter flings his law-terms about wildly: 'seruitudes' strictly relate to landed property.

118. *discipline*, church system. The Puritans regularly used the phrase: cf. *Alch.* II. iv. 31, III. i. 32; *B.F.* I. vi. 1. So Moria's metaphor 'a reform'd discipline', *C.R.* II. iv. 6.

203. *Hæc socianda vetant . . .* Dr. Henry quotes the twelve impediments enumerated in the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, 1619, 'Supplementum ad Tertiam Partem':

Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen,
cultus disparitas, vis, ordo, ligamen, honestas,
si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibis,
haec socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant.

Gifford cites as a serious parallel to the fooling of this scene the discussion on the Earl of Essex's divorce in 1613. 'If it were not ascertained beyond a doubt that the *Silent Woman* appeared on the stage in 1609, four years at least prior to the date of that infamous transaction, it would be difficult to persuade the reader that a strong burlesque of it was not here intended. The bishops Neal and Andrews are the very counterparts of Otter and Cutbeard; nor does Morose himself display more anxiety for the fortunate termination of his extraordinary suit than the garrulous and ever-meddling James exhibited on that occasion for the success of his unworthy favourite.'

237. *in foro conscientiae*, at the bar of conscience. A law proverb.

v. iv. 7. *eare-wigs*. Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive*, v (1606, H3), 'neuer looke to haue any action sort to your honor, when you suffer such earewigs to creepe into your eares thus'. Latorch in *The Bloody Brother* is described (Folio, 1679) in the list of characters as 'Rollo's Earwig'.

22. *mankind*. Not 'masculine', as Pallas is called 'mankind Maid' in *For.* x. 13, but a separate word connected with 'mankeen' and meaning 'infuriated', 'mad'. Chapman, *Al Fooles*, iv. i (1605, H), 'Good Signior Cornelio, be not too mankinde against your wife'; Massinger, *The City Madam*, III. i (1657):

Shavem. Let him come on
I'll scoure it in your guts, you dog.
Ramble. You brach,
Are you turn'd mankind?

26. *as fine a gentleman of his inches*. The earliest example in the *O.E.D.* is Thomas Brown, *The Saints in Uproar*, 1687 (*Works*, 1730, i, p. 73), 'A notable fellow of his inches, and metal to the back'.

32. *the marks of the plague*.

49. *uncarnate*. A laxly formed adjective: the form should be 'unincarnate', and 'incarnate' means 'made flesh' or 'embodied in flesh'.

53. *comment*. The word is 'sometimes . . . taken for a lie or fayned tale'—*Bullokar*, 1616, quoted without examples in the *O.E.D.* So the Latin *commentum*, and the participial adjective *commentus*: 'dat gemitus fictos commentaque funera narrat' (Ovid, *Met.* vi. 565).

129. *beaten Knights*. A knight proved by wager of battle to be recreant 'was no longer accounted *liber et legalis homo*; and being by the event supposed to be forsworn, he was never put upon a jury, or admitted as a witness in any case. It is to this custom that our poet alludes' (Gifford, who cites Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iii, p. 337, iv. p. 340).

156–7. Libanius, *op. cit.*, p. 2, γίνεσθε ταχεῖς πρὸς τὴν χάριν. εἰ γὰρ παρούσης ἐκείνης, καὶ λεγούσης, ἀποθνησκοίμι, ἀναιρήσει τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς τελευτῆς ἢ φλυαρία τῆς γυναικός.

195. *crocodile*. Epicoene is weeping.

204. *you haue married a boy*. There is a similar trick in the *Casina* of Plautus. Two slaves, Olympio a bailiff, egged on by his master Lysidamus, and Chalinus, egged on by his master's son Euthynicus, are bent on marrying a fellow slave Casina. If Olympio secures her, his master is to share her with him. Cleostrata, the wife of Lysidamus, foils the intrigue. Chalinus, dressed up as Casina, fools Olympio by a mock-marriage and gives him and his master a drubbing. Casina proves to be free-born and marries Euthynicus. There is thus a point of contact with *Epicoene*, but Jonson need not have drawn upon the *Casina* for his solution. The assumed silence of the bride is the main feature of his plot; when this fails, he caps it quite naturally with the second fiasco of the assumed sex.

224. *lurch'd . . . of the garland.* *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 96-9:

His pupil age
Man-enter'd thus, he waxed like a sea;
And in the brunt of seventeen battles since
He lurch'd all swords of the garland.

229. *Sir Daw, and sir La-Foole.* So 'sir Mammon' in *The Alchemist* (II. iii. 246 and elsewhere). The address without the Christian name is common at this period.

235. *beate you now thriftily.* *Disc.* 1628-30, 'How often have I seen these' parasites 'undertaken by some honest *Rustick*, and cudgel'd thriftily'. Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, 1596 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 75): 'He would haue had the Maids of Honor threftily cudgeld belike, and *lambeakt one after another.*' Lord Strafford, *Letters and Dispatches* (1739, ii, p. 208), 1638, 'Nor that they will . . . be brought into their right Wits, till they be well and thriftily cudgelled back into them'.

237-9. *You are they . . .* Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, ii. 633-4:

Corpora si nequeunt, quae possunt, nomina tangunt,
famaque non tacto corpore crimen habet.

341. *trauel to make legs and faces.* Cf. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, v. iii (Folio, 1647, p. 170), to a 'vaine glorious foole', who 'belied the noble Name of Courtier':

Ye have travel'd like a Fidler to make faces,
And brought home nothing but a case of tooth-picks.

245. *insectæ.* *Insecta*, formerly used for 'insects', was a Latin neuter plural; this was treated as a feminine singular, making plural forms *insectae* and *insecta's*. In the *O.E.D.* Jonson is cited as the first to make this blunder.

248. *a'most.* *Sej.* IV. 278.

THE ALCHEMIST

JONSON had read alchemical literature sufficiently to talk intelligently about the chemical processes employed by the experts real or supposed. Of course he knew well such literary sources as *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* of Chaucer and the dialogue 'Alcumista' in the *Colloquies* of Erasmus.¹ And he used the *Disquisitiones Magicae* of Martin Delrio, which he had found useful for the witchcraft of *The Masque of Queens*; the debate of Subtle and Surly in Act II, scene iii, lines 131-207 is taken wholly from this work. Jonson may

¹ See vol. ii, pp. 98, 99 n., where the details are given.

also have used the first three volumes of the *Theatrum Chemicum* of Lazarus Zetzner, a collection of alchemical treatises published in 1602; later volumes followed in 1613 and 1622. He quotes Arnold of Villa Nova's *Rosarium Philosophorum*,¹ Geber's *Summa Perfectionis*,² Paracelsus's *Manuale de Lapide Philosophico*,³ and Robertus Vallensis's *De Veritate et Antiquitate Artis Chemicæ*.⁴

Jonson's satire on the Puritans also can be fully illustrated from their literature, as Hugh Broughton learnt to his cost. Jonson had already said in *Volpone* (II. ii. 117-18) that the mountebank's jargon in that play had no parallel 'but *Alchimy*, . . . or BROUGHTONS bookes'.

Margaret of Newcastle in *The Description of a New World, called the Blazing World*, 1666 and 1668, worked out, as she imagined, the personal satire of the play; describing people who conversed with spirits, she ends by saying,

'but yet they proved at last but meer Cheats, and were described by one of their own Country-men, a famous Poet, named Ben. Johnson, in a Play call'd The Alchymist, where he expressed Kelly by Capt. Face, and Dee by Dr. Subtle, and their two Wives by Doll Common, and the Widow; by the Spaniard in the Play, he meant the Spanish Ambassador, and by Sir Epicure Mammon, a Polish Lord. The Emperess remembred that she had seen the Play, and asked the Spirits whom he meant by the name of Ananias? Some Zealous Brethren, answered they, in Holland, Germany, and several other places. Then she asked them, who was meant by the Druggist? Truly answered the Spirits we haue forgot, it being so long since it was made and acted.' (*The Blazing Star*, 1668, p. 66.)

This theory carries its own refutation, but Gifford in a note on IV. i. 90 was inclined to accept the 'indenture tripartite' of Subtle, Face, and Dol as a presentment of Dee, Kelley, and their confederate Laski, the young Pole. 'Subtle', he says, 'was beyond question meant for Dee', the 'more daring' Face suits Kelley, and Dol is a counterpart of Laski because in their seances he played the part of an angel. 'But enough of such folly', as Gifford himself remarks.

For the fraud practised on Dapper (III. v), introducing him to the Queen of the Fairies, Professor C. J. Sisson has found in the archives of the Public Record Office a contemporary parallel.⁵ The evidence was given in Chancery in November-February 1609-10 in a suit *Rogers v. Rogers* (C 24/341/47; C 24/343). Young Thomas Rogers,

¹ II. i. 39, 40, 65-7; iii. 106-14.

³ II. ii. 25-8, v. 28.

² II. v. 35-6.

⁴ II. i. 101-4.

⁵ Joseph Quincy Adams, *Memorial Studies*, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, 1948, pp. 739-41, 'A Topical Reference in *The Alchemist*'.

of a distinguished Dorset family with their seat at Hinton Martel, brother-in-law to Sir George More, Donne's father-in-law, fell into the hands of Sir Anthony Ashley and his brother Saul, who found means to profit by Rogers's wealth. 'Rogers is described as "a very phantasticall and humerous fellowe by his behaviour", and everything points to an epileptic and degenerate condition which made him an easy prey to the Ashleys.' A tool of theirs, Greene, got into touch with Rogers and promised that he should be introduced to the Queen of the Fairies and that, with Greene's favour, he should marry her. Meanwhile he was to give Greene five or six pounds in gold to be offered 'to the Fayrees' to ensure his welcome. 'Rogers did so, and it is one of the counts, in a complicated suit dealing mainly with landed property, that this minor fraud was committed.' Jonson raises the bid a little (I. ii. 172-3):

'Tis but your bestowing
Some twenty nobles, 'mong her *Graces* seruants,

he tells Dapper, and adds ritual touches about clean linen, fasting, drops of vinegar, and pronouncing the magic words 'hum' and 'buz'.

We record a later swindle of the same kind in the notes on III. v.

On the general question whether, apart from the knavery of pretenders, the manufacture of gold was possible, Jonson would probably have accepted the verdict of Bacon in the *Sylva Sylvarum* (1626, p. 86):

'The World hath beene much abused by the Opinion of *Making of Gold*: The *Worke* it selfe I iudge to be possible; But the meanes (hitherto propounded) to effect it, are, in the Practise, full of Errour and Imposture; And in the Theory, full of vnsound Imaginations. For to say, that *Nature* hath an Intention to make all Metals *Gold*; And that, if she were deliuered from Impediments, she would performe her owne Worke; And that, if the Crudities, Impurities, and Leprosities of *Metals* were cured, they would become *Gold*; And that a little *Quantitie* of the *Medicine*, in the Worke of *Proiection*, will turne a Sea of the *Baser Metall* into *Gold*, by *Multiplying*: All these are but dreames: And so are many other Grounds of *Alchymy*. . . . It is true, on the other side, they haue brought to light not a few profitable *Experiments*, and thereby made the World some amends.'

It is interesting to find Jonson in this play reverting to the freedom of metre which marked his earlier writing. He varies the strict blank verse with a looser line, sometimes a proper, and sometimes a lax, alexandrine: we called attention to this in *E.M.I.* II. i. 87. Examples in *The Alchemist* are I. iii. 86, 90, 93; III. iv. 4, v. 68; IV. iv. 30,

v. 108, vii. 24, 35; v. i. 16, v. 45, 68, 125. In one passage, a hurried aside in III. iv. 107-8, he uses the rhythmical prose much as we noted in *E.M.I.* I. i. 25-8.

PLACE AND TIME IN THE PLAY

Jonson's setting of the scene and careful dovetailing of the events of the plot are exceptionally well thought out, even for him. There is no change of scene. Everything takes place in a single room of Lovewit's house or in front of the door that opens on the lane outside. The house has a window which commands a view of the lane; Dol constantly uses it (I. i. 180, iv. 6, 7; II. iv. 20; III. iii. 76, 81, v. 50-2; IV. vii. 107-8). There is a backway by which Dapper is shown out (I. ii. 163; III. v. 78) and Mammon got rid of after the collapse (IV. v. 95). It leads into the garden (IV. i. 172, iv. 81). There is also a door into the laboratory; Face and Subtle enter by it (II. ii. 1, iii. 1). Subtle has a 'chamber of demonstrations' (IV. ii. 63), to which he takes Kastril and Dame Pliant; it is entered by one of these doors, probably by the former. How were the three doors managed? At III. v. 58 there is a stage-direction, '*He speaks through the key-hole, the other knocking*'; and Face must do this at v. iii. 71, where the speeches on the other side of the door are audible. The doors were in an interior wall built on the stage, 'for action such as speaking through the keyhole requires both sides of the door to be practicable'. The laboratory and inner rooms 'are not discovered, and no use is made of the upper stage. Jonson here is a clear innovator, so far as the English public theatre is concerned; no other play of our period reproduces this type of permanent interior setting.'¹

The time-sequence is worked out with exceptional fullness. Morning is indicated in the opening scene by Dol's oath, 'By the light that shines' (119). From this point onwards it is possible to construct a time-table.

9 a.m. Dapper, the first visitor, arrives (I. ii); he is late, has 'lent his watch' (6). He is ordered to return 'against one a clock' (164).

10 a.m. Mammon is seen coming 'at far end of the lane' (I. iv. 7); Subtle expected him 'with the sunnes rising' (12). Face tells him that projection will take place in three hours (II. ii. 4). Subtle hints at his covetousness:

you meet your time
I'the iust point: preuent your day, at morning.

(II. iii. 5, 6.)

¹ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii, p. 123.

Face makes an appointment with Surly 'some halfe houre hence' (290), and invites Mammon to return 'within two houres' (292), in order to have an interview with Dol.

11 a.m. Ananias is threatened if he does not return 'quickly', prepared to pay more money (II. v. 77); later the time is defined as one hour.

Face may be late for Surly (II. vi. 94).

12 a.m. Ananias returns just on the stroke of the hour (III. ii. 1). Face has waited for Surly and missed him (III. iii. 1, 2), but has secured a Spanish count (10) who will not come for an hour (76).

1 p.m. Dapper comes to time (III. iii. 76: see I. ii. 164).

Subtle is 'preparing for proiection' (IV. i. 2), within three hours after II. ii. 4 and two hours after II. iii. 292.

2 p.m. The disguised Surly comes a full hour after III. iii. 76 (IV. iii. 20). Projection has been held up 'this halfe houre' (IV. v. 42-3). The explosion follows (56-62).

3 p.m. Lovewit returns home: it is not yet 'deepe i'the after-noone' (v. ii. 30). Subtle had intended to get away with Dol and the stolen goods 'soone at night' (v. iv. 74).

Dedication

Mary, La. Wroth. 'Most deseruing her Name': it is also spelled 'Worth'. She was the eldest daughter of Robert, Lord Sidney, first Earl of Leicester, and his wife Barbara, *née* Gamage, and niece of Sir P. Sidney. She married Sir Robert Wroth at Penshurst on 27 September 1604. Jonson described her to Drummond as 'unworthily married on a Jealous husband' (*Conv.* 355-6). She acted in *The Masque of Blackness* in January 1605. On 13 July 1621 there was licensed her literary effort *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Vrania*. At the end of the volume were one hundred sonnets and twenty songs. Jonson addressed three flattering poems to her, *Epigrams* ciii and cv, *Underwood* xxviii—the last praising her sonnets. The third poem of *The Forest* is addressed to her husband at his seat at Durants, and she is praised as a hostess in line 55. Wither praised her as 'Arts Sweet Lover' in epigram 10 of *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613. Chapman appended to the complete *Iliad*, 1611, Gg6^v, a sonnet 'To the Happy Starre, Discouered in our Sydneian Asterisme; comfort of learning, sphere of all the vertues, the Lady WROTHE'.

1-5. *In the age of sacrifices . . .* From Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, I. vi. 2, 'Ne in victimis quidem, licet opimae sint auroque praefulgeant, deorum est honor, sed pia ac recta voluntate venerantium'.

5. *or, how might I appeare . . .* Jonson shortened the tribute in the Quarto probably in order to make the passage more compact. The Quarto continues the Seneca moralizing: 'Itaque dono tibi quod unum

habeo, me ipsum. Hoc munus rogo quaecunque est boni consulas cogitesque alios, cum multum tibi darent, plus sibi reliquisse' (ibid. viii. 1).

15. a Sidneys. So *Ep.* ciii. 4, 10.

To the Reader

The critical comments of this preface are reproduced in two passages of the *Discoveries* in which Jonson discusses the popular contempt for art, basing his criticism on Quintilian. The preface was not reprinted in the Folio.

With lines 9-15, 21-7, 31-5 of the preface compare the description of contemporary wits in *Discoveries*, 745-75: 'the Wretcheder are the Obstinate contemners of all helpes, and Arts: such as presuming on their owne *Naturals* (which perhaps are excellent) dare deride all diligence, and seeme to mock at the termes, when they understand not the things, thinking that way to get off wittily, with their Ignorance . . . and the more wilfull, and stubborne they are in it, the more learned they are esteem'd of the *multitude*, through their excellent vice of Judgment: Who thinke those things the stronger, that have no Art: as if to breake, were better then to open; or to rent asunder, gentler then to loose.

'It cannot but come to passe, that these men, who commonly seeke to doe more then enough, may sometimes happen on some thing that is good, and great; but very seldome: And when it comes, it doth not recompence the rest of their ill. For their jests, and their sentences (which they onely, and ambitiously seeke for) sticke out, and are more eminent; because all is sordid, and vile about them; as lights are more discern'd in a thick darkenesse, then a faint shadow. Now because they speake all they can (how ever unfitly) they are thought to have the greater copy; Where the learned use ever election, and a meane; they looke back to what they intended at first, and make all an even, and proportion'd body. The true Artificer will not run away from nature, as hee were afraid of her; or depart from life, and the likenesse of Truth; but speake to the capacity of his hearers.'

With lines 15-21 compare an earlier passage of the *Discoveries*, 634-42: 'Indeed, the multitude commend Writers, as they doe Fencers; or Wrastlers; who if they come in robustiously, and put for it, with a deale of violence, are received for the *braver-fellowes*: when many times their owne rudenesse is a cause of their disgrace; and a slight touch of their Adversary, gives all that boisterous force the foyle. But in these things, the unskilfull are naturally deceiv'd, and judging wholly by the bulke, thinke rude things greater then polish'd; and scatter'd more numerous, then compos'd.'

For the original passages from Quintilian translated in these extracts see the commentary on the *Discoveries*.

Is there a veiled reference to Shakespeare in this preface of 1612? Two passages bear on the question: (1) '*the Concupiscence of Daunces, and Antickes*'—a correction of '*Iigges, and Daunces*'—'*so raigneth, as*

to runne away from Nature, and be afraid of her, is the onely point of art that tickles the Spectators' (6-8); (2) the difference 'between those, that (to gain the opinion of Copie) utter all they can, how euer unfitly; and those that vse election, and a meane'. In *Bartholomew Fair* four years later there was an open attack: 'If there bee neuer a Seruant-monster i'the Fayre; who can helpe it? he sayes; nor a nest of Antiques? Hee is loth to make Nature afraid in his Playes, like those that beget Tales, Tempests, and such like Drolleries, to mixe his head with other mens heeles, let the concupiscence of Iigges and Dances, raigne as strong as it will amongst you' (Induction, 127-32). Here the allusion to Caliban in *The Tempest* is clear, and the 'nest of Antiques' is the dance of the twelve satyrs in the sheep-shearing scene of *The Winter's Tale* (iv. iv. 334). Satyrs might legitimately dance in the masque of *Oberon*, for dancing was essential in a masque. Mr. W. J. Lawrence suggested that the 'Jigs' of the original text of the preface was altered because of its technical sense—an afterpiece to a play with songs and dances (*E.M.O.* II. ii. 36-8, 'rehearst as ordinarily . . . as a jigge after a play'): Jonson was referring to a new feature of dramatic technique—the dance in *The Winter's Tale*, the masque in *The Tempest*, 'and, in all probability, to the interpolated witch songs and dances in the revised *Macbeth*' (*Pre-Restoration Stage Studies*, pp. 95-6). So in the dedication of *Catiline* to Lord Pembroke in 1611 Jonson talks of 'these Iig-giuen times', and Field in the preliminary verses he contributed to it:

But, in this Age, where Iigs and Dances moue,
How few there are, who this pure worke approue.

The second point is the reference to copiousness and indiscriminate writing in lines 31-3. F. G. Fleay suggested that this was aimed at the never-blotting Shakespeare (*Biographical Chronicle*, i, p. 375). Webster in the preface to *The White Devil* (1612), among his appreciations of fellow playwrights, praised 'the right happy and copious industry of M. Shakespeare, M. Decker, & M. Heywood'—not a very happy combination. The second parallel we have quoted above from the *Discoveries* is followed by Jonson's tribute to Shakespeare with the famous comment, '*Sufflaminandus erat*', 'he needed the drag-chain', he worked too rapidly.

Fleay went a step farther and argued that the 'mocking at the termes' of art by the 'Professors' who despised it (ll. 9-12) was a reference to the beautiful passage in *The Winter's Tale* (iv. iv. 79-103), where Perdita, giving the guests rosemary and rue, scorns Carnations and 'streak'd gillyvors, Which some call Nature's bastards':

There is an art which in their piedness shares
With great creating nature.

Polixenes replies:

Say there be,
Yet nature makes that mean: so, over that art
Which you say adds to nature, is an art
That nature makes.

He instances the art of grafting,

Which does mend nature, change it rather, but
The art itself is nature.

It is difficult to see the contempt for art which Fleay finds in this passage.

1. *an Vnderstander*. Cf. Chapman, *Seauen Bookes of the Iliads*, 1598, A6, 'To the Reader': 'I suppose you to be no meere reader, since you intend to reade Homer: and therefore wish I may walke free from their common obiections, that can onelie reade. . . . But to him that is more then a reader, I write'; and *Achilles Shield*, 1598, B1^v, 'To the Vnderstander': 'You are not euery bodie, to you (as to one of my very few friends) I may be bold to vtter my minde.'

11. *Naturalls*, mental endowment.

15. *excellent vice*. *King Lear*, I. ii. 113, 'the excellent fopperry of the world'.

17. *robustuously*: 'robustiously' in the parallel passage of *Discoveries*. Compare 'tempestuous' and 'tempestious', 'plenteous' and 'plentuous'.

32. *Copie*, copiousness.

all they can, all they know. So in Beaumont's verse-letter to Jonson, 67-8:

The wit of our young men, fellows that shew
No part of good, yet utter all they know.

35. *scatter'd . . . compos'd*, loose writing more harmonious than careful and well-arranged writing ('*sparsa compositis numerosiora*', Quintilian).

The Persons of the Play

12. *Surley*. Mammon addresses him as 'Pertinax', II. i. 79, II. 5, where this Latin adjective appears to mean 'obstinate'. *Ep.* lxix is addressed to 'Pertinax Cob'.

A Gamster. So Quarlous is described in the persons of *Bartholomew Fair*. The term usually suggested dissolute life as well as gambling, and in this sense we have the Captain Surly of *Ep.* xxviii and lxxxii.

13. *Tribulation*. Quoted by Camden, *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, 1614, p. 49, along with 'Free-gift', 'Reformation', 'The Lord is neare', as new-fangled names given 'vpon some singular and precise conceit'.

15. *Ananias*. A Puritan name: Ananias, son of Ananias Jarratt, was buried at Stepney in September 1621. The famous Puritan Alexander Leighton named his daughter Sapphira. The Puritan idea was that, as we are all tainted with original sin, children might be named after any sinner mentioned in the Bible.

From *The Alchemist*, says Sir C. Firth, 'Ananias' became the accepted nickname for a Puritan. When Strafford, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had trouble with a Dean of Limerick who opposed measures 'intended to make Irish Protestantism come up to the standard of the Church of England', Strafford told him he talked like Ananias, which meant, not that he was a liar, but that he was a Puritan.

17. *Kastrill*, named after the wild hawk.

The angry Boy. III. iv. 22, and S.W. I. iv. 17, 'the terrible boyes'.

22. *Mutes*. As Officers and Neighbours are specified, only the Chaplain of v. iv. 99 remains; he may walk out with Love-Wit at the opening of scene v.

The Argument

An acrostic, as in *Volpone*.

1. *The sickness hot*. The plague was virulent in London throughout 1609; in 1610 it was not serious till August.

11. *Selling of flyes*. See I. ii. 43, 87, v. iv. 35-9.

flat bawdry, with the stone. II. iii. 265, 'Their stone is lecherie inough, to pay for'.

12. *in fume*. IV. v. 57-8:

O sir, we are defeated! all the *workes*
Are flowne *in fumo*.

Prologue

1. *that fauours fooles*. E.M.O. I. ii. 178-9.

these two short houres. So *Romeo and Juliet*, prologue, 12, 'the two hours' traffic of our stage'; *King Henry VIII*, prologue, 13, 'in two short hours'. The play usually began at 2 o'clock; and Jasper Mayne in *Jonsonus Virbius*, 76, of hostile critics of Jonson, 'They fill'd a Boxe two houres, but saw no play'.

9. *now call'd humors*. Against this misuse of the term Jonson protested in the induction to E.M.O. 110-17.

14. *aboue their cure*. From the preface to Livy's *History*, 4, 'Ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est'. Cf. *Cat.* IV. 893-4.

23-4. *They are so naturall follies . . .* E.M.O. Induction, 140-3.

1. i. 1. *I fart at thee*, like the Latin *oppedo* and the Greek *καταπέρδω*.

3. *lick figs*. Upton elucidated from a story of Frederic Barbarossa in Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv, ch. xlv: 'Les Milanois s'estoient contre luy absent rebellez, et auoient l'Imperatrice sa femme chassé hors la ville ignominieusement montée sus vne vieille mulle nommee Thacor à cheuachons de rebours: sçauoir est le cul tourné vers la teste de la mule et la face vers la croppiere. Frederic à son retour les ayant subiuguez et resserrez feist telle diligence qu'il recouura la celebre mule Thacor. Adoncques on mylieu du grant Brouet par son ordonnance le bourreau mist es membres honteux de Thacor vne Figue præsens et voyans les citadins captifz: puis crya de par l'Empereur à son de trompe, que quiconques d'iceulx vouldroit la mort euader, arrachast publicquement la Figue avecques les dens, puy la remist on propre lieu sans ayde de mains. Quiconques en feroit refus, seroit sus l'instant pendu et estranglé.'

10. *All that the taylor has made.* *S. of N.* I. ii. 110-11:

thence comes your prouerbe,
The Taylor makes the man.

So the Greek εἴματα ἀνὴρ in Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. 1. lx (ed. Stephanus, 1558, col. 748).

16. *livery-three-pound-thrum*, i.e. a shabbily dressed, poorly paid underling. 'Livery' is the badge of a dependant; 'thrum' is the loose end of a weaver's warp and is used for tufts of coarse woollen or hempen yarn; 'three-pound' is a sneer at Face's wages. Subtle means, 'Your takings in a whole year were only three pounds', as contrasted with the 'lucky day' of III. iii. 26-30 and the 'eight score' pounds earned before that, Mammon's contribution (v. iv. 108, v. 61), and the 120 pounds received from the Puritans (II. v. 68-70). A servant usually wore a blue livery, and 'loose ends' could not describe the material for it; but Face is now resplendent in a captain's uniform, and Subtle reminds him that he once wore something less startling.

17. *friers*, Blackfriars.

19. *translated*, transformed, as Bottom was with the ass's head (*Mids. N. D.* III. I. 108).

Suburb-Captayne. The commission of Captain Pistol (2 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 130-41).

22. *countenanc'd*. *E.M.O.* III. vi. 152.

23. *collect*, recollect—a rare use perhaps influenced by the Latin *colligo*.

24. *heare well*. For the play on words see *Volp.* dedication, 11, *Cat.* IV. 823.

25. *pie-corner*. *B.F.* I. v. 155; Iacke Dawe, *Vox Graculi*, 1623, C4, 'such as walke snuffing vp and downe in *Winter Euenings* through *Pie-corner*, yet haue not one crowne to replenish their pasternes'. The approach to West Smithfield: between Newgate and St. Sepulchre's, says Stow, 'is a way towards Smithfield, called Guilt spurre, or Knight-riders streete, . . . replenished with buildings on both sides vp to Pie corner, a place so called of such a signe, sometimes a fayre Inn for receipte of trauellers, but now diuided into tenements' (*Survay*, ed. Kingsford, ii, p. 22).

26. *your meale of steame*. *Maroccus Extaticus*, 1595, 'To the Reader': 'Such a peece of filching as is punishable with ribroast among the turne spits at pie corner, where a man of an ill minde may breake his fast with the sent of a peece of beefe puld piping hot out of the furnace.'

27-37. *the father of hunger* is Catullus' 'Aureli, pater esuritionum' (xxi), whom Jonson appears to have confused with his friend Furius (xxiii), adding parallel touches from Martial, I. xcii. 7-10:

Cerea si pendet lumbis et scripta lacerna
dimidiasque nates Gallia braca tegit,
pascaris et nigrae solo nidore culinae
et bibis immundam cum cane pronus aquam.

29. *complexion, of the romane wash*. Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, IV. ii (1639, I^v), of a captain's feathers: 'these are perfum'd too | Of the Roman wash'; cf. Martial, III. iii. 1, 'Formosam faciem nigro medicamine celas'. But Subtle's sneer suggests a medicinal lotion for skin disease caused by disreputable habits.

31. *th'artillerie-yard*. *E.M.I.* III. v. 150. In 1610 the practice of arms in the Artillery Garden was revived by Lieutenant Philip Hudson: see Stow, *Annales*, 1631, p. 995. For another contemporary reference see Webster, *The White Divel*, 1612, ed. Lucas, v. vi. 160-1, 'How cunning you were to discharge! Do you practise at the Artillery yard?'

poulder-cornes, grains of powder.

36. *a felt of rugg*, a hat made of coarse frieze.

45. *fornace*. The common form in Jonson (Lat. *fornax*).

53. *dole-beere* and 'dole-bread' were regularly distributed at the buttery-hatch of old English houses to poor dependants.

aqua-vitæ-men, distillers or sellers of spirits. Fletcher, *The Beggars' Bush*, III. i (Folio, 1647, p. 83): 'Enter Gerrard like a blinde Aquavitæ-man. . . . Buy any brand-wine, buy any brand-wine?' For the object in selling the dole-beer to aquavitæ men see *D. is A.* II. i. 4-7. In 1601 'inventors' of substitutes for aqua vitae secured a patent for it (as well as for vinegar) and forced those who had stocks of it to sell out (D'Ewes, *The Journals of the Parliaments of Elizabeth*, 1682, p. 644).

54. *christ-masse vailes*. These would go into the butler's box: cf. J. Taylor, *Wit and Mirth*, 15 (*Works*, 1630, p. 180), 'One asked a fellow what Westminster-Hall was like; marry, quoth the other, it is like a Butlers Box at Christmas amongst gamesters, for whosoever loseth, the Box will bee sure to bee a winner'. Prynne in the dedication of *Histriomastix*, 1633, to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn speaks approvingly of their stopping dice-play in the Hall, 'which cannot more dishonour it selfe, than in turning a professed *Christmas Dice-house*, or publike *receptacle of all sorts of Dicers*, of purpose to enrich the *Butlers*, or to defray their *Christmas Expences*'.

55. *At post and paire*. An obsolete card-game: each player had three cards and 'vied'. A 'pair-royal' of aces (i.e. three aces) was the best hand, and so on in descending order of threes. Jonson also refers to it in *L.R.* 152, *Christmas* 47-50, *G.M.* 854.

letting out of counters, 'supplying the gamesters with pieces of ivory, or base metal, to count with at play: for which the servants received a small gratuity' (Gifford).

56. *markes*. The mark was 13s. 4d.

59. *scarab*. *Poet.* IV. vii. 44.

68-71. Subtle's alchemical jargon is amusingly applied. *Third region* is modelled on the division of the air into three regions, upper, middle, and lower.

74. *othes*, a matter of scientific study in those days, calling for an expert like Bobadill (*E.M.I.* III. v. 131-4).

quarrelling dimensions. Cf. II. vi. 65-9, and the lesson to Kastril,

iv. ii. 16–33. *Dimensions*, literally ‘measurements’, showed how far the quarrelling could go with safety.

78. *thanke*. Cf. Caxton, *The Game & Play of the Chesse*, III. vii, ‘To thende that they might haue a thanke’.

83. *equi clibanum*, as Subtle translates, ‘the heat of horse-dung’, the *Fimus equinus* of III. ii. 139. ‘CLIBANVS, Graecis, κλίβανος, sive κρίβανος, est instrumentum ex ferro aut opere figlino, aut alia materia confectum, sub quo non solum panis, sed aliud quidvis coqui potest. . . . Differt autem a furno, tum quia mobile sit, tum quia minus, aliaque insuper materia constet. Ita Gorraeus. At abusive pro furno vox haec postmodum sumpta.’—Ducange.

85. *deafe Iohn’s*. Unknown.

90. *colliar*. Colliers were in bad repute for cheating their customers by giving false weight; Greene exposed them in his *Pleasant Discouery of the coosnage of Colliers*, appended to his *Notable Discouery of Coosnage*, 1591. Their black appearance also suggested the proverb, ‘Like will to like, quoth the Devil to the collier’: cf. *Tw. Night*, III. iv. 111–12, of Satan, ‘Hang him, foul collier!’

93. *Write thee vp . . . in Paules*. Cf. *E.M.O.* III. i. 1, iii. 33–65.

94. *cosning with a hollow cole*. Chaucer in *The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale* (C.T. G 1158–64) tells how the Canon fooled a priest:

This false chanoun—the foule feend hym fecche!—
Out of his bosom took a bechen cole,
In which ful subtilly was maad an hole,
And therinne put was of silver lemaille
An ounce, and stopped was withouten faille
The hole with wex, to kepe the lemaille in.

‘Lemaille’ means ‘filing’, Jonson’s ‘scrapings’. And Erasmus, *Colloquia Familiaria*, Πρωχολογία, of an unthrift posing as an alchemist: ‘*Misoponus*. Fucus omnis est in uno carbone in hoc parato. Excavo carbonem; in eum infero liquefactum argentum quantum praedico reddendum: post infusum pulverem, sic instruo vas ut non solum inferne et a lateribus cingatur prunis, verum etiam superne: persuadeo hoc esse artis. Inter carbones qui superne imponuntur unum admisceo qui tegit argentum aut aurum. Id vi caloris liquefactum defluit in reliquam materiam quae liquescit, puta stannum aut aes: repurgatione facta invenitur quod admixtum est.’

95. *with a siue, and sheeres*. A common device: Cardan, *De Sapientia*, 1543, iv, p. 226, ‘Coscinomantia forcipe et cribro fit, urbibus ac villis notissima. Nam pendente inter duos digitos forcipe, cui cribrum circumvertitur (plures enim ac omnes suspectos nominant) is creditur sceleris auctor fuisse’; F. Grose, *A Provincial Glossary*, 1811, p. 118, ‘To discover a thief by the sieve and shears: Stick the points of the shears in the wood of the sieve, and let two persons support it, balanced upright, with their two fingers: then read a certain chapter of the Bible, and afterwards ask St. Peter and St. Paul if A. or B. is the thief, naming all the

persons you suspect. On naming the real thief the sieve will turn suddenly round about.'

96. *Erecting figures*, making a diagram of the position of the planets in order to cast a horoscope. Cf. iv. iv. 92.

houses, the signs of the zodiac 'considered as the seat of the greatest influence of a particular planet' (O.E.D.), the 'twelve houses' of *S. of N.* II. iv. 76, *Merc. Vind.* 162.

97. *taking in of shaddowes*, with a glasse, usually a crystal or a beryl, the reflections of which were supposed to answer the required questions and had to be read by a virgin of pure life, in this case Doll! Dr. Dee's show stone, a globe of polished crystal, given him by an angel, is in the British Museum.

98. *Told in red letters*. Alluding to the rubricated titles and headings of old books.

99. *Gamaliel Ratsey*, a highwayman commemorated in two unique pamphlets—(1) *The lyfe and death of Gamaliel Ratsey, a famous theefe of Englande executed at Bedford 27 marcij 1605*, entered on the Stationers' Register on 2 May; a copy is in the Malone collection of the Bodleian; (2) *A pretty Prancke played by Ratsey vpon certaine Players*, entered on the Stationers' Register 31 May 1605; a copy is in the Rylands Library. Ratsey is said to have robbed in a particularly hideous mask; hence the description of an old painted lady in *Hey for Honesty*, iv. iii (1651, p. 38):

Take but the white-lome from this old mud-wall,
And she will look worse then *Gamaliel Ratsey*.

'*Gamaliell Hobgoblin*', which occurs in a list of vituperative expressions meaning ass or scarecrow in Gabriel Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation* (*Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, p. 246), is explained as a similar reference to Ratsey. The Malone tract is said to have had a picture of him on its title-page, but it is missing in the surviving copy.

103. *trencher-raskall*. Modelled on 'trencher-friend' (*Timon of Athens*, III. vi. 96).

dog-leach. Cf. the sneer in *S. of N.* II. iv. 97, 'Thanke your dog-leech craft', where Cunningham comments, 'In the days of bear-baiting and bull-baiting the poor dogs had a sorry time of it, and their "leeches" on the bank drove a roaring trade'. As a term of contempt in Ford, *The Lovers Melancholy*, iv. ii (1629, p. 57), 'O these lousy close-stoole Empiricks, that will vndertake all Cures, yet know not the causes of any disease. Dog-leaches.'

106. *too heauy o' the basket*, eating more than his share of the scraps and broken meat sent from the sheriff's table to feed the prisoners. *E.H.* v. iii. 54.

107. *Witch*. Applied to a man in *B.F.* II. vi. 33.

110. *your republique*, i.e. our common-weal, our joint interests.

111. *brach*, bitch. *D. is A.* iv. iv. 229.

112-13. *the statute . . . Of Harry the eight*, in 1541. Really earlier, in 1403; Lord Coke described it as the shortest act of Parliament he had

ever met with. 'None from henceforth shall use to multiply gold or silver, or use the craft of multiplication, and if any the same do, he shall incur the pain of felony.' This was confirmed by the statute of 1 James I, c. 12, and repealed in 1689.

114. *laundring . . . and barbing*, washing off the surface and clipping.

120. *marshall*, the provost-marshal of 170. II. iii. 299, and *Volp.* IV. ii. 62.

121. *dog-bolt*. A word of uncertain origin: (1) a blunt-headed arrow, 'perhaps one of little value that might be shot at any dog' (*O.E.D.*); (2) a term of contempt, perhaps 'Mere tool to be put to any use'. The earliest citation in the *O.E.D.* is a letter of Margaret Paston, 1465, in the *Paston Letters*, no. 533, ii. 249, 'Sir John Wyndefeld and other wurchepfull men ben mad but her doggebolde'.

127. *apocrýphall*. Cf. *S. of N.* I. v. 8, 'Into Authentically, and Apocrýphall'.

128. *a puritane, in black-friers . . . for a feather*. A common taunt against the Puritans: *B.F.* v. v. 85-6; in Dekker and Webster's *Westward Hoe*, v. i (1607, G3^v), Mistress Tailbush proposes that a city party shall be 'as fantasticke and light headed to the eye, as fether-makers, but as pure about the heart, as if we dwelt amongst em in Black Fryers': the opening of Randolph's *The Muses Looking-Glasse*, 1630, 'Bird a Featherman, and Mrs Flowerdew wife to an Haberdasher of small wares; the one having brought feathers to the Play-House, the other Pins and Looking-glasses; two of the sanctified fraternity of Black-friers.'

Flo. Indeed it something pricks my Conscience
I come to sell 'em Pins and Looking-glasses.

Bird. I have their custome too, for all their feathers:
Tis fit that we which are sincere Professors,
Should gain by Infidels.

135. *The venter tripartite*. v. iv. 131. Cf. R. Brome, *The City Wit*, III. i (1653, C7^v): 'Cras. Yes, yes, we must all agree, and be linckt in Covenant together. Crac. By Indenture Tripartite, and 't please you, like Subtle, Doll, and Face.'

136. *perpetuall curres*. *West-ward Hoe*, 1607, H1^v, 'you perpetual Ragamuffins'.

149. *thrattell*, throttle. A sixteenth- and seventeenth-century form.

151. *fermentation*, the sixth process in the conversion of metals into gold, 'the mutation of any substance into the nature of the ferment, after its primary qualities have been destroyed. *Cibation* (the seventh process) is feeding the matter in preparation with fresh substances, to supply the waste of evaporation, &c.' (Gifford). 'Cibatio, id est, corporatio' (M. Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiæ*, 1612).

152. *Sol, and Luna*, gold and silver.

helpe me to throttle him.

156. *commune*, Lat. *communis*. II. iii. 149.

164. *sort*, set. *precise*, Puritanical.

165. *sin' the King came in* in 1603.

167. *ride*, be carted as a whore. Mistress Ursula broke the bottom out of the cart when she had a ride (*B.F.* iv. v. 80-1).

169. *pay eare-rent*, lose your ears in the pillory.

173. *crewell garter*. The same pun on 'cruel' and 'crewel' (worsted yarn) as in *King Lear*, II. iv. 7, of Kent in the stocks, 'he wears cruel garters'. Cf. *N.I.* II. i. 31-2, 'Thou art not cruell, Although streight-lac'd'.

174. *worsted*. Wearers of worsted stockings were despised by the fops who wore silk: Kent calls Oswald a 'filthy worsted-stocking knave' (*King Lear*, II. ii. 15). Gifford suggested a pun on 'worsted' in the sense of 'baffled'.

175. *Claridiana*, the heroine of *The Mirror of Knighthood* and bride of the Knight of the Sun (*C.R.* III. v. 30-3). J. C., *The Two Merry Milke-Maids*, 1620, F4^v: 'Fre . . . send thy Dromedaries in with Wine, and Glasses clear as Crystall. Host. As cleare as *Claridiana*, my braue Bullies. Fre. What, in Historie, mine Host? Host. And in Poetry too, when I am pleas'd to couple'; *Hic Mulier, Or, The Man-Woman*, 1620, B2, 'doe not become the idle Sisters of foolish *Don Quixote*, to beleeeue euery vaine Fable which you reade, or to thinke you may . . . ride astryde like *Claridiana*, or make Gyants fall at your stirops'.

188. *breake up a fortnight*. Actually they broke up that day.

189. *quodling*, codling, raw youth; originally a raw apple.

191. *In Hol'bourne, at the dagger*, famous for its pies and ale. Cf. *Churchyardes Chippes*, part i, 1575, 20b:

like maistres Grace:
That at the dagger dwelled oens,
Who made good pies of Mari bones;

Alch. v. iv. 41, *D. is A.* I. i. 66. G. Gascoigne, *Delicate diet for drinke mouthde Droonkardes* (1576), ed. 1789, p. 18: 'We must haue March beere, dooble beere, Dagger ale, Bragget, Renish wine, White wine, French wine, Gascoyne wine, Sack.' There was also a Dagger inn in Foster Lane, Cheapside, which made minced pies (R. Johnson, *The Pleasant Conceits of Old Hobson*, 1607, B2^v).

193. *rifle*, gamble, play at dice: a by-form of 'raffle'.

I. ii. 6. *lent my watch*. 'Watches, at this time, were scarce and dear, and seem to have conferred some distinction on their possessor.' Gifford, quoting R. Brome, *The Antipodes*, IV. ix (1640, I2):

The multiplicity of pocket-watches
. . . when every puny Clerke can carry
The time oth'day in's Breeches;

and S. Marmion, *The Antiquary*, I. i (1641, B2): '*Pet.* Hav' ne're a watch, 'tis the greatest solecisme in society that e're I heard of: ne're a Watch? *Lio.* How deeply you conceive of it? *Pet.* You have not a Gentleman, that's a true Gentleman, without one.'

8. *passe-time*, that which shows how time passes, a time-piece.

17. *Reade's matter*. Rymer's *Foedera*, xvi, p. 666, contains the pardon, dated 20 February 1608, of Dr. Simon Read of St. George's, Southwark, for having on 8 November 1607 invoked the spirits 'Heawelon, Fater-non, and Cleveton' to find the thief of £37. 10s. stolen from Toby Matthew, who recovered the money 'by the aid of the said spirits and demons' (Whalley).

26. *Chiause*. The word is an imperfect adaptation of the Turkish *chāush*, 'messenger', 'herald'. On 13 October 1611 the King gave £30 to 'Two Chiaus or Messengers from y^e Turke' (Exchequer accounts, E 403/2731, f. 9). W. R. Chetwood, whom Gifford took over without acknowledgement, first traced its English origin in *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Ben. Jonson, Esq.*, 1756, p. 15 n., but he blundered over the facts and the date. The true story was given for the first time in Sir William Foster's edition of *The Travels of John Sanderson*, a Levantine merchant, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1930, pages xxiii-xxxv.

A Turk named Mustafa reached England towards the end of July 1607, announcing that he was an ambassador from the Sultan, though he took no higher title than that of *Chāush*. He had left Constantinople in 1605 as a courier in attendance on the French ambassador, but he had procured from the Sultan letters to the kings of France and England. The secretary of the Levant Company warned the authorities about him. But he had been received by the French king, and they were nervous about offending the Sultan. The Levant merchants had to entertain him at a cost of £5 a day, and paid all his expenses; he made them even find the thread to mend his clothes. In September 1607 he was received at Windsor, and presented a letter complaining of the depredations in the Mediterranean of pirates sailing under English colours. He departed in November 1607.

He added a new word to the English language, 'to chouse', to cheat, because of the way he had fooled the Levant merchants. Chetwood's form of the story that Sir Robert Shirley had sent Mustafa as his agent from the Grand Signior and that he had decamped after having 'chiaused' the Turkish and Persian merchants of £4,000 is untrue.

45. *dogs-meate*, carrion, offal.

46. *cheating Clim-o'-the Cloughs*, one of the three northern outlaws in the old ballad first printed in 1536 by J. Byddell,

The one of them hight Adam bel
The other Clym of the clough
The third was William of Cloudesly
An archer good enough.

William Jaggard reprinted it in 1610.

'Cheating': had some thief adopted his name? In *The Honest Lawyer*, by S. S., 1616, C4, Curfew, inviting Valentine to join a band of thieves, says, 'Nothing my braue Clem o' the Clough, but I would thou wouldst deal with us'. In a passage of Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592, attacking drunkenness (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, p. 206), the name is given to the

Devil: 'Clim of the clough, thou that vsest to drinke nothing but scalding lead and sulphur in hell', and he is told, 'The Prouerbe gives it forth, thou art a knaue'.

Claribels. Sir Claribel, 'the lewd', is one of the six knights who contended for the false Florimel in *The Faerie Queene*, iv. ix.

47. *five-and-fiftie, and flush*, i.e. a complete sequence in the same suit of cards; for the process technically known as 'setting up a rest' such a hand was invincible. Any sequence of fifty-five was good to stand upon, but a 'flush' (or hand of one suit) put this down.

looke . . . bigge. Wye Saltonstall, *Picturæ Loquentes*, 1635, C10: 'A young Heire Is a Gamester at Noddy, one and twenty makes him out, if he have a flush in his hand, expect him shortly to shew it without hiding his cardes.'

50. *Vicar*, the vicar-general, i.e. the chancellor acting for the bishop.

54. *sixe faire hands*. See *A Booke Containing diuers sortes of hands, as well the English as French secretarie with the Italian, Roman, Chancelry & court hands* by John de Beau Chesne and John Baildon, 1571, five times reprinted.

56. *greeke Xenophon*, a ludicrous substitution for the 'Greeke Testament' of the Quarto, which was toned down to avoid scriptural phraseology; this and similar passages in the play are discussed in the textual introduction, vol. v, p. 279.

61. *veluet head*. Doctors wore velvet-caps. There is a quibble on the downy skin which covers a deer's horn while in the growing stage: cf. Turberville, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, 1575, p. 244, 'His heade when it commeth first out, hath a russet pyll vpon it, the whiche is called *Veluet*'.

63. *article*. S.W. i. i. 30.

puck-fist. E.M.O. i. ii. 159.

69. *an assumpsit*. J. Cowell, *The Interpreter*, 1607, 'Assumpsit, is a voluntarie promise made by word, whereby a man assumeth or taketh vpon him, to performe or pay any thing vnto another'; in Greene's *Neuer too late to mend*, 1590, G2^v, Infida says to her lover, 'Seruant, the Lawyers say the *assumpsit* is neuer good, where the partie giues not somewhat in consideration; that seruice is voide, where it is not made fast by some fee.'

78. *blow vp*. M.L. iii. vi. 135, 'Gamesters, quite blowne up'; Ep. cxii. 6.

79. *crackers*, the 'fire-works' of B.F. v. iv. 23.

80-90. This buying of a familiar demon to help the purchaser to win at dice Mr. L. S. Powell (quoted in the T.L.S., 27 June 1935) has illustrated by a transaction of Adam Squier, Master of Balliol from 1571 to 1580. He quarrelled with Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, who described him as 'a man of knowne infirmityes (to say no worse) and this for certayne deceyts vsed to some countrey men of his in selling them dicyng flies, and other lyke toyes' (*A Brieve Apologie*, 1601, f. 193 b). A brother of Parsons in a letter of 1612 preserved at Stonyhurst College (MS. Anglia vii. 43) gives more detail: 'But the chiefest case of Squiers mallice towards him was about a fly that Squier had geuen to twoe or

three Somersetshire men to go to dice withal, promising them after the thurd tyme they should still get; but they found the contrary, for they lost still, until ther money and little lands they had were all sold and lost.' They lodged a process of complaint with the justices of the peace at Nether Stowey, and Parsons made a stir about the matter at Oxford; Squier promised to refund the money and would have lost the Master-ship if it had not been for 'his very great friends'. In the Stationers' Register, 13 November 1598, John Brown and John Herbert enter 'Itys or Three seuerall boxes of sportinge familiars'.

89, 90. *a nagge, Of fortie . . . shillings*. Cf. Massinger, *The City Madam*, II. ii (1658, p. 29), a citizen's daughter, about to be married, stipulates for

A Nagg of forty shillings, a couple of Spaniels,
With a Spar-hawk.

109. *dead Holland, liuing Isaac*. John and John Isaac, surnamed Holland, reputed to have been the first Dutch alchemists in the first half of the fifteenth century. Their works remained in manuscript and were used by Paracelsus. *Magistri Ioannis Isaaci Hollandi, viri in Philosophia, potissimum vero in Chymia celeberrimi Opera mineralia, siue de Lapide Philosophico omnia duobus libris comprehensa* was published at Middelburg in 1600, and reprinted in Lazarus Zetzner's *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1602, iii, pp. 320-564; *De Triplici Ordine Elixiris et Lapidis Theoria* was published at Berne in 1608. In the *Opera Mineralia* written for his son, whom he frequently apostrophizes, John Isaac says, 'ego Isaac pater tuus ipse hoc opus mea manu egi, ac plura alia' (iii, p. 532). The complete works were published at Vienna in 1746. The late date of publication seems to have misled Jonson into speaking of 'living ISAAC', and Torbern Bergman in *Historiae Chemiae medium aevum* puts the pair as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century; Antonio Neri, in *L'Arte Vetraria*, 1612, v, cap. xci, p. 79, speaks of having taken a paste to imitate gems from Isaac Hollandus in Flanders. See John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*.

112. *to a cloake*, 'i.e. strip them to the cloak; the last thing which a gallant parted with, as it served to conceal the loss of the rest' (Gifford).

113. Cf. Massinger, *The Parliament of Love*, 1624 (Malone Soc. reprint, 862-4):

tis a strange fate
Some men are borne to, & a happie starr
that raign'd at yo^r nativitie.

119. *happy, rich, like the Latin beatus*.

118. *Thinke him trustie, . . .* Fletcher, *Loves Pilgrimage*, I. ii (Fol. 1647, p. 5), Theodosia, disguised as a man, hesitates to tell Philippo her secret:

You wil be noble.
Phil. You shal make me so
If you'l but think me such.

128. *borne with a caule*. A sign of luck perpetuated in the French proverb *né coiffé*. Herrick, *Hesperides* (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 167), of Oberon's bed:

For either sheet, was spread the Caule
That doth the Infants face enthrall,
When it is born: (by some enstyl'd
The luckie Omen of the child).

There is an old superstition that wearing it saves from drowning; *The Observer* of 29 August 1915 quotes a notice in a shop-window near the London Docks, 'To Sailors: A Child's Caul for Sale'. *David Copperfield*, ch. i, written in 1849, records of the hero, 'I was born with a caul, which was advertised for sale, in the newspapers, at the low price of fifteen guineas.'

137. *I-fac's no oth*. 'An allusion perhaps to the petty *salvos* by which the Puritans'—or rather the middle-class Londoners—'contrived to evade the charge of swearing' (Gifford, who aptly quotes Sir Henry Herbert's examination of *The Wits* of Davenant, which Charles the First overruled). 'The kinge', writes Sir Henry, 'is pleas'd to take *faith, death, slight*, for asseverations, and no oaths, to which I doe humbly submit as my masters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and submission' (Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare*, iii, p. 235).

146. *the Queene of Faerie*. Cf. III. v, opening note.

147. *to night*, last night.

151. *resolue you*. *E.M.I.* i. v. 44.

166–9. For vinegar to sharpen the senses cf. *E.M.I.* III. vi. 50.

169–70. *hum . . . buz*. A ludicrous suggestion of magic formulae.

175. *clean linnen*. So III. iv. 138–9. The fairies enforced cleanliness: see *Ent. Althorp*, 58–63.

1. iii. 4. *Free of the Grocers*, admitted to the Grocers' Company. Grocers, apothecaries, and chandlers all sold tobacco, as well as inn-keepers and specialists like Drugger.

9. *plot*, groundplan.

14. *wish'd*, recommended.

22–7. Cf. Dr. W. Barclay, *Nepenthes, Or The Vertues of Tobacco*, Edinburgh, 1614, A4^v: 'Some others haue *Tabacco* from *Florida* indeede, but because either it is exhausted of spiritualitie, or the radicall humor is spent, and wasted, or it hath gotten moysture by the way, or it hath been dried for expedition in the Sunne, or carried too negligently, they sophisticate and farde the same in sundrie sortes with blacke spice, *Galanga, aqua vitæ*, Spanish wine, Anise seedes, oyle of Spicke and such like.'

29. *french beans*, as H. C. Hart notes, not the kidney bean, then hardly known, but the broad bean with its fragrant violet-tinted white flowers. He compares Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1593, ed. Feuillerat, p. 18, 'O breath more sweete, then is the growing beane'.

28–31. Tobacco-shops were also smoking-academies, where professors like Cavaliero Shift taught the art: see his advertisement in *E.M.O.* III. iii. 47–65. Abel's shop was of the fashionable kind. The *lily-pot*, originally a flower-pot, is here an ornamental jar. The *maple-block* was for shredding the tobacco leaf; the *tongs* (or 'ember tongs', as they were called) for holding the lighted coal—they differed from other tongs by having a tobacco stopper riveted in near the axis of the tongs (L. Lloyd in *N. & Q.* 9th series, vi. 332). The *fire of juniper* was for customers to light their pipes: *Batman vppon Bartholome*, 1582, XVII, 84, p. 298, records the old superstition about it, 'For if it take fire, it keepeth and holdeth it long time, so that if coales be raked in the ashes thereof, it quencheth not within a yeere, as it is sayd'.

31. *Winchester pipes*. Famous throughout the seventeenth century; in the latter half of it they were called 'Gauntlett pipes' after the name of their maker, who stamped them with a glove, or gauntlet. (A. H. Dunhill in *N. & Q.*, 1942, vol. clxxxii, p. x.)

32. *no gold-smith*, no usurer. Goldsmiths at this period were also bankers and money-lenders: cf. Guilt-head in *The Devil is an Ass*.

36. *of the clothing*, wear the livery.

37. *call'd to the scarlet*, be made sheriff. *E.H.* iv. ii. 68.

40. *fine for't*, pay the fine for refusing the office.

43. *amus'd*, puzzled.

44. *metoposcopie*, the art, once elaborately practised, of judging a man's character or telling his fortunes from his forehead or his face (Greek μέτωπον, forehead, and σκόπος, observer).

46. *chestnut*, or . . . *oliue-colour'd face*. Richard Sanders, *Physiognomie and Chiromancie, Metoposcopie*, 1653, pp. 166–7, 'The colours of the Body, and especially of the face, denote the Humour and inclination of the person; . . . Those that be chestnut or olive colour are Jovialists and honest people, open without painting or cheating.'

47. *long eare*. Paracelsus, *De Signatura Rerum Naturalium* (*De Natura Rerum*, ix), 'Aures magnæ indicant probum auditum, bonam memoriam, attentionem, diligentiam, sanum cerebrum & caput, &c.'

48–9. *teeth . . . naile*. Cardanus, *De Subtilitate*, 1554, XVIII, pp. 736–8: 'Sunt etiam in nobis vestigia quædam futurorum euentuum in vnguibus, atque etiam in dentibus. In quibusdam euentus maculæ hæ ostendunt, in aliis solùm spes inanes: sed pro manus natura, & digitorum in quibus fiunt, & colorum, & mutatione earum. In pollice honores & voluptates, in indice lucra, in minimo circa parua negotia, in medio cogitationes & labores, in annulari dignitatem, nigræ quidem euertunt, & calamitates nunciant, albæ felicitates, magnæ magnas, & nitidæ manifestas, paruæ paruas.'

About the teeth Cardan is vague: he discusses the time in which they change. Those who have pure white teeth have 'anima valde solers atque sagax'; 'Nam dentium maculæ plus pollicentur quo ad naturam . . . referuntur, sicut vnguium ad fortunam.' Cf. J. B. Porta, *Coelestis Physiognomia*, 1603, v, ch. xiii, 'Maculæ in vnguibus quid

præiudicent': the astrologers 'digitos Planetis ascribunt. . . . Videlicet Veneri pollicem, indicem Ioui, Saturno medium, anularem Soli, Mercurio minimum. . . . Si in minimo punctus albus, ostendet merces, scribas, senatus.'

55-6. *lord* . . . *Libra*. The sign of the zodiac ascending on the eastern horizon at the time of one's birth governed the 'first house' of the horoscope; the planet which ruled it was lord of the horoscope. If *Libra* governed the house of life, Venus ruled *Libra*, and not Mercury. Subtle traded on Drugger's ignorance; to make a commercial appeal he substituted Mercury, the god of business men.

64-7. Quoted, as Gifford pointed out, from the *Heptameron, seu Elementa magica Pietri de Abano philosophi* appended to Cornelius Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, Paris? 1567? p. 576, 'Angeli secundi coeli regnantes die Mercurij, quot aduocare oportet a quatuor mundi partibus.

Ad Orientem	Mathlai Tarmiel Baraborat. . . .
Ad Septentrionem	Thiel Rael Iariahel Venahel Velel Abuicri Veirnuel.'

69. *a load-stone*. Cf. Fletcher, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, II. ii (Fol., 1647, p. 35), of attractions to draw customers, 'In *England* you have severall Adamants, to draw in spurres and rapiers'; Randolph, *Hey for Honesty*, II. ii (1651, p. 11), 'In the dayes of my poverty all my friends went on crutches; they would come to me as fast as black Snails: but now they can outrun Dromedaries. This 'tis to be rich and happy. Now I have a rich Load-stone lyeth under my Threshold that draws in all their Iron Spurs.'

71. *seeme*, be seen. *E.M.I.* IV. vi. 31 n.

72. *puppet, with a vice*, a doll worked by screws or wires. Chapman, *The Gentleman Vsher*, III. ii (1606, D1^v):

Euerything
About your house so sortfully disposde,
That euen as in a turne-spit, calld a Iacke,
One vice assists another; the great wheeles
Turning but softly, make the lesse to whirre
About their businesse.

Cf. Stow, *Annales*, 1592, p. 971: 'The 24 of February being sunday (1538), the rood of Boxley in Kent', i.e. Bexley, 'called the Roode of Grace, made with diuers vices, to mooue the eies and lips, was shewed at Paules Crosse by the preacher, which was the Bishop of Rochester, and there it was broken, and plucked in pieces.'

76. *Vitriol*, sulphuric acid. *sal-tartre*, carbonate of potash, formerly prepared from cream of tartar. *argaile*, crude cream of tartar, deposited as a hard crust on wine-casks. *alkali*, soda-ash.

77. *Cinopar*, cinnabar, the red or crystalline form of mercuric sulphide.

79. *give a say*, make a fair attempt.

87. *portague*, a Portuguese gold coin, varying in value at different times from £3. 5s. to £4. 10s. Harrison, *The Description of England*, II. xxv, ed. Furnivall, p. 364, 'Of forren coines we haue . . . the portigue, a peece verie solemnlie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abused with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited'. 'It was very common in this country not many years since,' says Gifford, writing in 1816, 'and principally on those parts of the coast most addicted to smuggling.'

95. *ill-dayes*. A superstition which can be traced back in written literature as far as Hesiod. Cf. *M.L.* IV. II. 26-32.

100. *persecuter of nature*. Agrippa, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, 1609, ch. xc, of alchemy, 'siue ars, siue fucus, siue naturae persecutio dici debeat'. Earle, *Micro-cosmographie*, 1628, no. 52, 'A Plodding Student is a kind of Alchymist or Persecuter of Nature'.

102. *beech-coale*. See II. II. 23.

103. *crosse-lets*, melting-pots.

cucurbites, retorts, originally gourd-shaped (late Latin *cucurbita*, a gourd). See II. I. 98 n.

I. IV. 3. *Lambeth*. At this time a disreputable quarter: cf. S. Rowlands, *The Knaue of Harts*, 1612, C, of a 'whoring Knaue', 'From Lambeth-Marsh he newly is transported', and J. H., *The House of Correction*, 1619, D2^v, of a whore, 'shee is gone to *Lambeth* to take the ayre'.

5. *trunke*, tube. *S.W.* I. I. 190.

10. *presently make readie*, dress at once.

14. *magisterium*. III. II. 130, *E.H.* IV. I. 228.

20. *walking more-fields for lepers*. Stow, *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, II, pp. 145-7, gives a list of the lazar-houses in London. Lepers were forbidden to reside in the city, but the present passage suggests that they could beg in the fields outside it.

21. *pomander-bracelets*. Cf. *E.M.O.* II. I. 98, 'pomander chaines'. W. Bullein in *A Dialogue . . . against the Feuer Pestilence*, 1573, pp. 72-3, gives the receipt for a pomander against infection from the plague.

23. *spittle*. *E.M.I.* I. II. 93.

Act II

Charles Lamb quoted the first two scenes in his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, with this comment: 'The judgement is perfectly overwhelmed by the torrent of images, words, and book-knowledge with which Mammon confounds and stuns his incredulous hearer. They come pouring out like the successive strokes of Nilus. They "doubly redouble strokes upon the foe". Description outstrides proof. We are made to believe effects before we have testimony for their causes; as a lively description of the joys of heaven sometimes passes for an argument to prove the existence of such a place. If there be no one image which rises to the height of the sublime, yet the confluence and assemblage of them all produces an effect equal to the grandest poetry. Xerxes'

army that drank up whole rivers from their numbers may stand for single Achilles. Epicure Mammon is the most determined offspring of the author. It has the whole "matter and copy of the father, eye, nose, lip, the trick of his frown". It is just such a swaggerer as contemporaries have described old Ben to be. Meercraft, Bobadil, the Host of the New Inn, have all his "image and superscription"; but Mammon is arrogant pretension personified. Sir Sampson Legend, in *Love for Love*, is such another lying overbearing character, but he does not come up to Epicure Mammon. What a "towering bravery" there is in his sensuality! He affects no pleasure under a sultan. It is as if "Egypt with Assyria strove in luxury".

11. i. 4. *Salomons Ophir*. Solomon had the stone (11. ii. 36) and made gold with it in far-away Ophir; he did not make it at Jerusalem because he could not trust his courtiers with the secret (J. J. Becher, *Physica Subterranea*, 1703, pp. 697-9).

Salomon, the common form of 'Solomon' in Jonson's day: so the Vulgate *Canticum Canticorum Salomonis*.

5. *Three yeares*. 1 Kings x. 22.

ten months. 'Tempus quo lapis vel albore candoreque, vel rubore consummetur, definitum non esse. Hoc est artificis ita & naturæ est opus. Cuius quam sit lentus, quamque maturatus progressus, nemo non videt. Interdum mensibus novem, duodecim, aut duodeviginti perficitur, sed perraro: interdum, quod solet, plus minus triennium cunctatur' (Jo. Chrysippus Fanianus in *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1602, i, p. 48).

8. *spectatissimi*, specially looked up to.

9. *hollow die*, leaded dice: *E.M.O.* III. vi. 154-5 n.

11. *liuery-punke*. Massinger, *The City Madam*, I. iii (1658, p. 12):

Now, cause I am a Gamester and keep Ordinaries,
And a Liverie punk, or so.

12. *Seale*. *E.M.I.* II. v. 40, 'Baite 'hem with the yong chamber-maid, to seale!'

16. *veluet entrailles, for a . . . cloke*. *Ep.* xcvi. 4, 'His cloke with orient veluet quite lin'd through'; and Barry, *Ram-Alley*, III. i (1611, D4):

With that mony
I would make three seuerall cloakes, and line them
With black, Crimson, and Tawny three pyl'd veluet,
I would eate at *Chases* Ordinary and dine at *Antonies*.

17. *Madame Augusta's*. The name may have been suggested by Juvenal's 'meretrix Augusta', of the Empress Messalina (*Sat.* vi. 118). Cf. 'madame Cæsarean' (v. iv. 142).

23. *punquettees*. Cf. 'punquetto', *C.R.* II. ii. 101. *O.E.D.* suggests 'punquettes' here, but the accent falls on the last syllable, and it may be quasi-comic slang.

26. *fire-drake*. The senses are (1) a fiery dragon (mythical), (2) a fiery

meteor (G.M. 266), (3) a kind of firework. Humorously applied to the drudge who worked for the alchemist.

27. *lungs*, the alchemist's assistant who blew the coals (II. ii. 21). Cf. *Und.* xliii. 76. Gifford notes that Cowley required for his Philosophical College 'Two Lungs, or Chemical Servants'. The classical equivalent *Zephyrus* is found in the Quarto text of II. iii. 249.

28. *firke . . . vp*, stir up.

29. *faithfull*, ready to believe. *Ep.* civ. 6.

33. *Lothbury*, in Coleman-street Ward. 'This streete is possessed for the most part by Founders, that cast Candlestickes, Chafingdishes, Spice morters, and such like Copper or Latton workes, and do afterwarde turne them with the foot and not with the wheele, to make them smooth and bright with turning and scrating (as some do tearme it) making a lothsome noyce to the bypassers, that haue not beene vsed to the like, and therefore by them disdainfully called Lothberie' (Stow, *Survey*, 1598, p. 220 b). Cf. S. Rowlands, *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614, B, of a would-be alchemist, '*A Foole and his Money is soone parted*':

Lothburie where the Brasiers doe abide,
He could make ten times richer then *Cheap-side*.

35. *Cornwaile*, the old form of the name: Spenser, *F.Q.* II. x. 12.

36. *make them . . . Indies*, change all their tin and copper into gold.

39, 40. Gifford compares Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 272-6;

The bodies sevene eek, lo! hem heer anoon:
Sol gold is, and Luna silver we threpe,
Mars yren, Mercurie quik-silver we clepe,
Saturnus leed, and Iupiter is tin,
And Venus coper, by my fader kin!

This notion of naming metals after the planets is attributed to Geber.

With the statement of these lines cf. Arnold of Villa Nova, *Rosarium Philosophorum*, II, ch. xxviii, 'Proiice ergo vnum pondus de ipso' [i.e. of the red elixir] 'supra mille partes Lunæ vel Mercurij abluti cum sale, & aceto, et fiet Sol verissimus, in omni examinatione, & melior valdè, quàm de minera productus, quia aurum & argentum ipsius elixiris excedit aurum & argentum mineræ in omnibus suis proprietatibus.'

47-68. Cf. Paracelsus, *Opera*, 1658, II, f. 18b, of the stone: 'Homines in suavitate et iuventute conservat, repellendo ab eis cunctos languores: . . . lepram depellit, caducum morbum et alias multas fere incurabiles infirmitates mulcet atque etiam removet. Et hæc omnia operatur plus quam omnes medicorum medicinæ, vel potiones vel confectiones quæcunque. . . . Lapis hic Philosophorum cor purgat omniaque membra capitalia, nec non intestina medullas et quidquid ipso corpore continetur. Non permittit aliquem in corpore pullulare morbum, sed ab eo fugiunt Podagra, Hydropisis, Icteritia, Colica passio, nec non a quatuor humoribus ægri tudines omnes provenientes eicit, corpora quoque repurgat, ut similia reddantur ac si tum primo nata sunt.'

47-8. *the flower of the sunne, The perfect ruby*. Libavius, *Commentationes Metallicæ*, 1597, p. 145, 'Si vis ad solem operari'—i.e. make gold, and not merely silver—'diutius coque medecinam ad ignem, donec rubescat. Rubedo enim est perfecta digestio.'

52-63. Repeated in a humorous form in the masque, *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*, 86-104.

51. *valure*, valour. Cf. iv. vii. 38, *Cat.* i. 432, *Hym.* 920, *Ep.* xvi. 9: where 'valour' is found in Jonson's text, it is perhaps a printer's spelling.

57. *Philosophers*, the alchemists as adepts in occult science. So Chaucer's alchemist canon talks of his 'philosophy' (*The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 505).

58. *Patriarkes*. 'Noë hanc Philosophorum medecinam tenebat, et quingentesimum annum agens generavit Sem, Cham, et Iaphet' (Vincentius Monachus, *Naturalia*, v, quoted in *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1602, i, p. 3). So Giovanni Bracesco's treatise *Il Legno della Vita, vel quale si dichiara la medecina per la quale i nostri primi padri vivevano nove cento anni*, Rome, 1542.

62. *Pickt-hatch*. *E.M.I.* i. ii. 93.

64. *nature*, *naturis'd*. The schoolmen distinguished between *Natura naturans*, the Creator, who endowed with their natural properties all created things, hence called *Natura naturata*.

65-7. Arnold of Villa Nova, *Rosarium Philosophorum*, ii. xxxi, 'Sic etiam habet virtutem efficacem super omnes alias Medicorum medecinas omnem sanandi infirmitatem, . . . et ex sene facit iuvenem, et omnem eorum expellit ægritudinem. . . . Et si ægritudo fuerit vnus mensis, sanat vna die: si vnus anni, in duodecim diebus: si verò fuerit aliqua ex longo tempore, sanat in vno mense, & non immediate.'

69, 70. *to fright the plague Out o' the kingdome*. Whalley refers to Francis Anthony's *Medecinæ Chymicæ, et veri potabilis Auri assertio*, ch. vii (Cambridge, 1610), 'In epidemicis & Peste correptis Catholicon est Remedium, si tempestivè sumatur. Grassante nuper Peste in hac Civitate, testimonia apparebant satis ampla.' Critics jeered, so in his *Apologia Veritatis Illuciscentis*, 1616, he cites cases of cure from the plague on pages 68, 87, 91.

71. *the players*. For fear of spreading infection theatres were closed when the number of plague-cases reached a statutory limit variously given as thirty and forty. Cf. Middleton, *Your Five Gallants*, iv. ii (1608, F2^v), ''tis e'en as vncertaine as playing, now vp now downe, for if the Bill rise to aboue thirty, heer's no place for players'; and Barry, *Ram-Alley*, iv. i (1611, F4):

For I dwindle at a Sargeant in buffe,
Almost as much as a new Player does,
At a plague bill certified forty.

76. *water-worke*. Stow, *Survay*, 1598, p. 18: 'Thames water conueyed into mens houses by pypes of lead from a most artificiall forcier standing neare vnto London bridge and made by Peter Moris Dutchman in the

year 1582 for seruice of the Citie, on the East part thereof. . . . One other new Forcier was made neare to *Broken wharfe* to conuey *Thames* water into mens houses of west *Cheape*, about *Powles*, *Fleetstreete*, &c. by an English Gentleman, named *Beuis Bulmar* in the yeare 1594.'

81. *Moses*. Cf. line 83 n.

his sister. 'Tres feminas lapidem illum philosophicum composuisse, Cleopatram, Taphuntiam, et Iudææ gentis Mariam, cuius liber passim circumfertur.'—Barbarus, *Corollarium in Dioscoridem*, v (quoted in *Th. Chem.*, 1602, i, p. 24). Miriam's work was printed as *Practica Mariæ Prophetissæ in Artem Alchemicam in Auriferæ Artis quam Chemicam vocant, Antiquissimi Authores*, Basel, 1572, p. 34. A German translation appeared in *Opus Aureum D. Arnoldi de Villa Nova*, Frankfort, 1604.

82. *Salomon*. To be read in Condeesyanus's *Harmoniæ Inperscrutabilis Chymico-Philosophiæ Decas*, ii, p. 309, with the title *Salamonis Regis Sapientis Liber De Lapide Minerali quam Philosophorum appellant*, translated from the Arabic. *The Song of Solomon* was by some regarded as an alchemical allegory of the 'Sun' and 'Moon' (Delrio, *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, i, p. 66).

83. *Adam*. An extensive list of Adam's literary efforts, Noah's speeches, &c., is given in J. A. Fabricius's *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1713, p. 32. He quotes Martin Delrio, *Disquisit. Magic.*, 1599, i, ch. v, p. 65, 'Chrysopœiæ originem quidam nobis valde faciunt antiquam, qui præclaro Adami titulo libellum quendam insignem obtrudunt: vt et alij Moysis, & Mariæ Sororis eius, & Solomonis, & Hermetis Trismegisti, & Aristotelis, & Pythagoræorum quorundam libros venditant.'

84. *in high Dutch*. Gifford quotes R. Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, 1605, p. 190: 'Among others that haue had great speculation herein',—i.e. in the German language—'*Ioannes Goropius Becanus*, a man very learned and phisitian vnto the Lady Marie Queen of *Hungarie*, Regent of the Netherlands and Sister vnto the Emperor *Charles the fift*, fel theirby into such a conceit that he letted not to maintaine it to bee the first and moste ancient language of the world; yea the same that Adam spake in *Paradise*.' Goropius's arguments and proofs were published in his *Origines Antuerpianæ*, Antwerp, 1569, and in Simon Fabricius's edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus, Augsburg, 1580.

88. *Irish wood*. Cf. *The Honest Man's Fortune*, III. i (Beaumont and Fletcher Fol., 1647, p. 159), 'as on Irish Timber your Spider will not make his web'; and R. Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615, p. 57:

Ripe was his wit, and well he vnderstood,
Who rouf't *Westminster Hal* with Irish wood.
That Iustice there profest, should like appeare,
Suffring no venemous creature to come neere
Her sacred throne: no Spider, worme, nor moth,
But that like vertue should accrue to both.

A note adds, 'This peculiar vertue the superstitious Irish haue ascribed

to the power of Saint Patrick'. (Actually Westminster Hall was roofed with English oak from Kingston-on-Thames and St. Albans.)

89. *Iasons fleece*. Suidas, s.v. Δέρας. τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρας, ὅπερ ὁ Ἰάσων διὰ τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης σὺν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις εἰς τὴν Κολχίδα παραγερόμενοι ἔλαβον, καὶ τὴν Μήδειαν τὴν Αἰήτου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτερα. τοῦτο δ' ἦν οὐχ ὡς ποιητικῶς φέρεται, ἀλλὰ βιβλίον ἦν ἐν δέρμασι γεγραμμένον, περιέχον ὅπως δεῖ γενέσθαι διὰ χημείας χρυσόν. Cornelius Agrippa, *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*, 1609, ch. xc, 'Sunt tamen qui aurei velleris pellem interpretentur fuisse librum Alcu-misticum veterum more in pelle conscriptum, in quo auri conficiendi scientia contineretur.'

92. *Pythagoras golden thigh*: Volp. i. ii. 27. Delrio, *Dis. Mag.* i, p. 67, after referring to the Golden Fleece and Suidas, 'Addunt alij, hoc illud aureum fuisse femur, χρυσοῦν μηρόν, siue (vt corrigunt alij) χρυσοῦν ροῦν, aureum flumen, à Pythagorâ in Olympijs ostensum'.

Pandora's tub. Delrio, *ibid.*, p. 66, 'Item qui Pandorę poculum hoc esse contendunt, ab Hesiodo notatum'.

98-9. *Iason's helme*, (*th'alembeke*). The old apparatus for distilling consisted (1) of a gourd-shaped vessel, the cucurbit (Lat. *cucurbita*, a gourd), containing the substance to be distilled; (2) above this, a cap, or alembic proper (hence called 'helm' in the text), the beak of which conveyed the products in a state of vapour to a receiver in which they were condensed. Cf. 'ouer the helme', ii. iii. 60, and the amusing meta-phor in 255; in the masque of *Mercury Vindicated*, 183-4, the second antimasque appears 'with helmes of lymbecks on their heads'.

101-4. From Robertus Vallensis, *De Veritate et Antiquitate Artis Chemicæ*, Paris, 1561: 'Nam fabulas de dracone quem Cadmus interfecit, qui postea admonitu Palladis interfecti dentes sevit, vnde extiterunt illi terrigenæ fratres. . . . De Medea, quæ Æsonem filium Iasonis (*sic*) in iuventutem restituisse fingitur. . . . De Ioue qui sese convertit in pluuiam auream. . . . De oculis Argi in pauonis caudam conuersis. . . . De Mida, qui annuente Baccho, quicquid tangeret, in aurum conuertebat. . . . De Demogorgone, vt scribit Boccatus, abauo omnium deorum gentilium & ab omni parte circumdato tenebris, nebulis, caligine, habitante in medijs terræ visceribus, qui ubi natus fuerit, vestitur quodam viridi pallio, humiditate quadam aspersus, et non prognatus ab aliquo, sed æternus, et parens omnium rerum . . . & similia poëtarum & philoso-phorum antiquorum figmenta, et ænigmata, Eustathius, Suidas, et alij auctores grauissimi, ad Chemicam artem referenda esse interpretantur' (*Th. Chem.*, 1602, i, pp. 16, 17).

103. *Boccace* in the first book of his *Genealogia Deorum* makes Demo-gorgon exist from eternity and describes him as the father of Strife (Homer's Ate), Pan, the Fates, Heaven, Earth, and Night.

ii. ii. 3. *crimson*. Cf. ii. i. 48.

5. *proiection*, the twelfth and last process in alchemy.

8. *give lords the affront*, look them boldly in the face: for the idea cf. *Cat.* i. 470-1.

9. *bolts-head*, 'a globular flask with a long cylindrical neck' (O.E.D.).
 19. *restore . . . thy complexion*. There are several references in Chaucer's *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale* to the effect of the furnace on the complexion, as when the Host asks the Yeoman in the prologue, 111,

Why artow so discoloured of thy face?
 Peter, quod he, god yeve it harde grace,
 I am so used in the fyr to blowe
 That it hath chaunged my colour, I trowe.

23. *not beech*. A crucial point in alchemy. When the Canon's Yeoman's 'pot to-breketh', various defects are suggested: one is 'Bycause our fyr ne was nat maad of beech' (l. 375). So in the *Alcumista* of Erasmus, explaining initial failure: 'Caussabatur erratum in emendis carbonibus: quernos enim emerat cum abiegnis esset opus aut columnis.'

24. *to keep your heat, still euen*. Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1626, § 326, 'We conceiue indeed, that a perfect good *Concoction*, or *Digestion*, or *Maturation* of some *Metalls*, will produce *Gold*'. The chief secret of the matter is a 'Heat, that doth not rise and fall, but continue as *Equall* as may be'.

- bleard-eyes*. Chaucer's Yeoman again says (l. 177), 'And of my swink yet blered is myn ye', which means 'I am hookwinked', but Jonson probably took it literally of the effect on the eyes, especially as the context just before was

And wher my colour was bothe fresh and reed,
 Now is it wan and of a leden hewe.

- 25-8. *The seuerall colours* show various degrees of fermentation. Martin Ruland, *Progymnasmata Alchemiæ*, 1607, p. 225, 'Tres sunt colores, *albus*, *niger*, & *rubeus*, cui interdum adiungitur *citrinus*, sicut *cinereus* albo affinis, & *plumbeus* nigro suo apparet ordine. Nominatur & *cæruleus* seu *cælestis* in hydrargyri apparatu, & *viridis* in leone viridi. . . . Ita cum conspicitur cauda pavonis, in fermentatione scilicet, quam colores sunt finiti, tamen infiniti appellantur, quod numerari nequeant, & subinde alter in alterum mutetur.' Paracelsus in *Manuale de Lapide Philosophorum* (*Opera*, 1603-5, part vi, p. 319) describes the shifting colours in the process of fixation, beginning with black: 'Hoc atramentum est Auis, quæ noctu volat sine alis, quam & primus Ros cælestis perpetua coctione & ascensione descensione in nigredinem capitis coruini transmutauit, quæ caudam pauonis assumit, & deinceps pennas cygni acquirit, & postremo summam rubedinem totius mundi accipit, . . .' Full instructions for the green lion are given in Paracelsus's tract *De Leone Viridi* (*Opera*, *ibid.*, p. 295). 'Per leonem viridem solem intelligit philosophus, qui per vim suam attractivam virescere facit, & totum mundum gubernat' (Ripley, quoted in J. S. Weidenfeld's *De Secretis Adeptorum*, 1684, p. 172).

33. *seraglia*. A seventeenth-century form side by side with 'seraglio'.

41. *beds, blowne vp*. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 25, 'Multis vilioribus

amicis folles pro accubitis sternebat'. Ibid. 19, 'Nec cubuit in accubitis facile nisi iis quae pilum leporinum haberent aut plumas perdicum subalares, saepe culcitas mutans.'

43-4. *Tiberius* . . . *From Elephantis*. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 43, 'Cubacula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornavit librisque Elephantidis instruxit, ne cui in opera edenda exemplar imperatae schemae deesset.' Elephantis was an amatory writer known only from the references in Suetonius and Martial ('molles Elephantidos libelli', *Ep.* xii. xliii. 4).

44. *Aretine*. *Volp.* iii. iv. 96.

45. *glasses*. From Seneca's account of the impurities of Hostius Quadra, *Naturales Quaestiones*, i. xvi, 'cum illi specula ab omni parte opponerentur, ut ipse flagitiorum suorum spectator esset'.

48. *succubæ*. *N.I.* iv. iii. 81.

mists. In the Golden Palace of Nero the dining-rooms were lined with movable ivory plates, which concealed silver pipes to rain perfumes on the guests (Suetonius, *Nero*, xxxi).

52. *gossamour and roses*. Massinger, *The Maid of Honour*, iii. i (1632, F3), 'Quilts fill'd high With gossamire and roses'.

58. *fathers, and mothers*. Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 304-6:

Prodiga corruptoris
improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes:
tanta in muneribus fiducia.

59. *Best of all others*. A Greek idiom also copied by Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 323-4:

Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

60. *the pure, and gravest, purest and gravest*. *Cat.* i. 338, 'this great, and goodliest action': so *Hadd. Masque* 313, *Love Freed* 77, *For.* xi. 50. It was a colloquial Latin idiom: Plautus, *Captivi*, 278, 'Quod genus illist unum pollens atque honoratissimum'.

63. *writ so subtly*. *Ep.* cxxxiii. 108. In Ashmole MS. 36-7, f. 131, it is headed 'A discussion in the House of Commons on the peculiar manner in which Henry Ludlow said "noe" to a message brought by the Serjeant from the Lords'; it is dated 1607 in Harleian MS. 5191, f. 17. Printed by Sir John Mennis and James Smith in *Musarum Deliciae*, 1656.

66. *belye Ladies*, like La Foole and Daw in the dénouement of *Epicoene*.

68. *begge*, as was done with fools or lunatics.

75. *tongues of carpes*. *C.R.* v. iv. 96 n.

dormise. The *glis esculentus* was a delicacy in Roman times (Varro, *de Re Rustica*, iii. 15; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 223).

camels heeles. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 20: 'Comedit saepius ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum et cristas vivis gallinaceis dem-

ptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum, quod qui ederet a pestilentia tutus diceretur.'

76. *dissolu'd pearle*, as Cleopatra did, and before her Clodius: Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 122, 'Prior id fecerat Romae in unionibus magnae taxationis Clodius, tragoedi Aesopi filius, relictus ab eo in amplis opibus heres . . . ut experiretur in gloria palati quidnam saperent margaritae; atque, ut mire placuere, ne solus hoc sciret, singulos uniones convivis quoque absorbendos dedit.' *Volp.* III. vii. 191-3 (Cleopatra).

77. *Apicius*. Marcus Gavius Apicius, a gourmand of the early empire, who, for fear of starving, killed himself when his fortune was reduced by his excesses to a paltry £75,000. The collection of recipes in ten books entitled *De Re Culinaria* dates from about the third century A.D.; Jonson probably accepted it as genuine: see *S. of N.* iv. iv. 89. The author was an Apicius Caelius.

79. *Headed*. 'The spoons of Jonson's time (and I have seen many of them) had frequently ornamented heads; usually small figures of amber, pearl, or silver washed with gold. Sir Epicure improves on this fashionable luxury' (Gifford).

80. *caluerd salmons*. Apparently salmon cut into slices while it was still alive. It was a fashionable luxury: Massinger, *The Maid of Honour*, III. i (1632, F2^v):

Did I ever thinke . . .
That my too curious appetite, that turn'd
At the sight of godwits, pheasant, partridge, quales,
Larkes, wood-cocks, caluerd sammon, as course diet,
Would leape at a mouldy crust?—

and *The Guardian*, IV. ii (1655, p. 67):

Great Lords sometimes
For change leave calvert Sammon, and eat Sprats.

81. *knots*, 'rather larger than a Snipe, but with a short bill and legs' (Sir T. Browne, *Works*, ed. Wilkin, iv, p. 319, 'Gnatts or Knots'). Esteemed a great delicacy: Newton quotes the entries in the Northumberland and Le Strange Household Books, and a British Museum MS. (Sloane 1592), 'The maner of kepyng of knotts, after Sir William Askew & my Lady, given to my Lord Darcy, 25 Henry VIII'.

godwits. *S.W.* I. iv. 48.

82. *The beards of barbels*. The 'barbel' was a fish of the carp tribe, named from the fleshly filaments which hang from its mouth. Helio-gabalus used to eat it: 'Barbas sane mullorum tantas iubebat exhiberi ut pro nasturtiis, apiasteris, et faselaribus, et foenograeco exhiberet plenis fabatariis et discis' (Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 20).

83-4. *paps Of a . . . pregnant sow*. Holland's *Pliny*, 1601, XI. xxxvii, p. 344, says sows were killed 'euen vpon the point of their farrowing, and being readie to Pig [as our monstrous gluttons doe nowadaies, because they would haue the teats soft, tender, and full of milke]'.

Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 81, 'qui meminit, calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae'.

87. *be a knight*. A sneer at the indiscriminate creation of knights by James I: cf. *E.H.* iv. i. 178, and Sharpham, *The Fleire*, 1607, D4^v, 'He it was, was knighted, when so few scapt the sword.'

89. *taffeta-sarsnet*. 'Sarcenet, a fine, thin, soft silk fabric of taffeta weave, was originally made by the Saracens. . . . Sarcenet was made in both "single" and "double" quality, that is, thin, and heavy. . . . The softness and semi-transparency of single sarcenet is shown by Mammon, . . . who plans a wardrobe having shirts of taffeta-sarcenet as soft and light as cobwebs' (Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama*, pp. 121-2).

93. *gloues of fishes, and birds-skins*. A flight of Sir Epicure's imagination: cheverel or silk gloves would be too hard for his sensitive hands.

97-8. The need of piety in the seeker after gold was much insisted upon by the teachers of alchemy: see the opening chapter of Theobald de Hoghelande's *De Alchemiae Difficultatibus*, 'De Impedimentis artificem remorantibus' (*Theatrum Chemicum*, 1601, i, p. 136), 'Fili moneo ante omnia te Deum timere, in quo dispositionis tuæ nisus est. Animum præterea contritum habeas et a peccatis abhorrentem.' Thomas Norton, *The Ordinall of Alchimy*, ed. Ashmole, 1652, p. 94: an alchemist working on a good scale should have eight servants; four work while four sleep or go to church:

And while thei worke thei must needes eschewe
All Ribaudry, els thei shall finde this trewe,
That such mishap shall them befall,
Thei shall destroy part of their Works or all.

11. iii. 6. *preuent*, anticipate.

10. *ungovern'd hast*. Dr. Hathaway quotes Norton's *Ordinal*, p. 30:

All Auctors writing of this *Arte*,
Saye haste is of the *Devils* parte,

adding 'a hasty Man shall never faile of woe.'

19. *preuaricate*. Used in its etymological sense, *praevaricari*, 'to walk crookedly', for instance of a farmer making a crooked furrow.

26. *caustive of believe*. So in Jonson's 'Character of the Authour' prefixed to Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, 'he hath not bene costive of acquaintance to any' (*U.V.* xi. 19); *S. of N.* II. iv. 27, 'costive . . . i' thy curtsie'; *Ent. Highgate*, 217, 'loose, or costive of laughter'.

30, 31. *the triple Soule, The glorified Spirit*. Norton, *Ordinal*, ed. Ashmole, 1652, pp. 81-2:

For like as by means of a treble Spirit,
The Soule of Man is to his Body knit,
Of which three Spirits one is called Vitall,
The Second is called the Spirit Naturall.
The third Spirit is Spirit Animall. . . .

The Spirit Vitall in the Hert doth dwell,
 The Spirit Naturall as old Auctors tell
 To dwell in the Liver is thereof faine,
 But Spirit Animall dwelleth in the Braine:
 And so long as these Spirits three
 Continue in Man in there prosperitie:
 So long the Soule without all strife
 Woll dwell with the Body in prosperous life,
 But when theis Spirits in Man maie not abide,
 The Soule fortwith departeth at that tide:
 For the suddill Soule pure and immortall,
 With the grosse Body maie never dwell withall,
 He is so heavie, and She so light and cleane,
 Were not the suddilnesse of this Spirit meane.
 Therefore in our worke as Auctors teach us,
 There must be *Corpus, Anima & Spiritus*.

On page 350 Ashmole engraves an emblematic picture of 'Spiritus, Anima, Corpus'.

32. *Ulen Spiegel*, 'Owlglass', knave. *Poet.* III. iv. 139 n.

33. *register*, the sliding plate, which on being pushed forward increased the heat of the fire in small chimneys by quickening the draught. So the opening stage-direction of *Mercury Vindicated*, 'Vulcan looking to the Registers'.

35. *Aludels*, a series of pear-shaped pots of earthenware, open at both ends so as to fit into each other.

36. *Bolts-head*. II. ii. 9.

37-8. *Infuse vinegar To draw his . . . tincture*. Full directions in G. Baker's *New and old phisicke*, 1599, II, ch. i, 'Of Vinegar distilled'.

39. *feltred*, 'filtred', *Merc. Vind.* 56.

40. *Gripes egge*. (1) A griffin's egg, large, like an ostrich's; hence (2) a vessel shaped like this.

Lute, enclose in clay (Lat. *lutum*) to protect the vessel against the direct action of heat. *Merc. Vind.* 122.

41. *in balneo*. (1) The sand-bath, when the substance to be heated was placed in a vessel immersed in sand (l. 58); (2) the water-bath, *balneum Mariae* or *bain Marie*, in which hot water was used instead (l. 61 n.). In either process the heat was more gradual than in a direct exposure to the fire.

42. *canting*, thieves' slang. Harrison, *The Description of England*, II, ch. x (ed. Furnivall, I, p. 218), speaking of the growth of beggars: 'Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name "*Canting*", but other, "*pedlers French*", a speach compact thirtie yeares since,'—Harrison wrote in 1577—'of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand.'

64. *calx*, 'powder or friable substance produced by thoroughly burning or roasting ("calcining") a mineral or metal, so as to consume or drive off its volatile parts, as lime is burned in a kiln' (O.E.D.). Geber, *Summa Perfectionis*, li, 'Calcinatio, rei per ignem puluerizatio, per priuationem humiditatis partes consolidantis'.

salt of Mercury, oxide of mercury.

66. *reuerberating*, heating in a fire where the flames are beaten back from the top upon matter placed at the bottom.

Athanor. See line 45.

68. *crowes-head*. Libavius, *Commentationes Metallicae*, iv, p. 139: 'Calor enim agens in humidum, primo generat nigredinem, quae est caput corvi, & principium operis nostri, quo dissoluitur lapis in mercurium, vel aquam mercurialem.' Cf. II. ii. 25-8 n.

71. *hay*, snare: literally, a net stretched before rabbit-holes, in which the rabbit was 'bolted' (see line 88), or driven, by the ferret.

73. *Bolts-head*. II. ii. 9.

75. *liquor of Mars*, molten iron.

78-9. *Pellicane, And sign'd with Hermes seale*. Ruland, *Lexicon*, 1612, 'Pelecanus est vas circulatorium, a figura Pelicani pectus suum rostro fodientis, pullosque suos refarcientis nuncupatum, amplo ventre sensim in angustius collum vergente; quod retortum & curuatum os rursus in ventrem immittit. Hoc vas in fundo canalem, per quem liquor infunditur, habet, qui liquore infuso, Hermetico sigillo occluditur, & calori admouetur.' Cf. the 'Turris circulatorius' of III. ii. 3.

79. *sign'd with Hermes seale*, hermetically sealed by heating the neck of the vessel and then twisting it.

80. *amalgama*, a mixture of metals with mercury.

84. *inceration*. Ruland, op. cit., 'Inceratio est mistio humoris cum re sicca, per combi(bi)tionem lentam ad consistentiam ceræ remollitæ.'

88. *bolted*. Line 71 n.; N.I. III. i. 36, v. v. 83.

97. *fixation*. II. v. 24 n.

98. *ascension*, distillation, evaporation.

99. *oil of Luna*, the white elixir. Libavius, *Alchemia*, 1597, II, pp. 308-9, after remarking 'E mineralibus non pinguibus diuersi eliciuntur liquores, olei nomine passim appellati, quanquam improprie', gives the recipe for 'oleum argenti'.

Kemia. 'Chymia', E.H. IV. i. 224 n.

100. *the philosophers vinegar*. Ruland, op. cit., 'Acetum philosophorum, id est lac virginis, siue aqua mercurialis, qua metalla soluuntur, hydor sophorum'. Cf. line 62 above.

101. *sallad*. The compound of gold, salt, sulphur (= oil), and regenerate mercury (= vinegar) was seriously likened to a salad by some alchemists.

102. *be not hastie*. A stock warning to the dupe which Subtle had already given in line 10. His high moral code comes frequently into play, and he has shrewdly calculated the gullibility of Mammon who has to pay for the delay.

106-14. *how oft I iterate.* Arnold of Villa Nova, *Rosarium Philosophorum*, II. xxix, gives directions 'De multiplicatione Medecinæ', concluding, 'Proiice ergo supra quodvis corpus, et ex eo tantum, quantum vis: quoniam in duplo multiplicabitur tinctura eius. Et si vna pars sui primò conuertit cum suis corporibus centum partes, secundò conuertit mille, tertiò decem millia, quartò centum millia, quintò mille millia in solificum & lunificum verum. Vnde est notandum, quòd quantò plus soluitur medecina, & sublimatur, & congelatur, tantò melius, & abundantius operatur: quoniam in omni sua imbibitione, & sublimatione acquirit sibi decem in proiectione.' John Gee, *New Shreds of the Old Snare*, 1624, p. 22, speaking of a Jesuit Wainman, who professed to have the stone and who cheated a knight, says, 'An *Alchymist* vsually answers his deluded scholler with expectation of *Proiection*, and tells him the more his *Materials* be multiplied, the stronger will the *Proiection* be; especially if it come to the maintenance of an hundred pounds.' A marginal note adds '*Vid. The Play of the Alchymist.*' Cf. Ripley, *The Compound of Alchimy*, 1591, K2^v:

Ten if thou multyplie first into ten,
One hundreth that number maketh sickerly,
If one hundreth into an hundreth be multiplied, then
Ten thousand is that number if thou count it wittely,
Then into as much more ten thousand to multyplie,
It is a thousand thousand; which multyplied ywys,
Into as much more a hundred millions is.

109. *loose*, loosening, i.e. solution.

116. *andirons*. *Poet.* II. i. 135.

122. *gent'man*. *Poet.* III. iv. 2.

128. *egges, in Egypt*. Pliny, *Naturall Historie*, 1635, transl. Holland, x. liv, 'there be some eggs that will come to be birds without sitting of the hen, euen by the worke of Nature only, as a man may see the experience in the dunghills of Egypt.' G. Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey in the East begun An. Dom. 1610, 1615*, p. 125: 'Then Cairo no Citie can be more populous, nor better serued with all sorts of provision. Here hatch they egges by artificiall heate in infinite numbers; the manner as seene thus briefly. In a narrow entry on each side stood two rowes of ouens, one ouer another. On the floores of the lower they lay the offals of flaxe; ouer these mats, and vpon them their egges, at least sixe thousand in an ouen. The floores of the vpper ouens were as rooffes to the vnder: grated ouer like kilnes, onely hauing tunnels in the middle with couers vnto them. These gratings are couered with mats: on them three inches thick lieth the drie, and puluerated dung of Camels Buffaloes, &c. At the hither and farther sides of those vpper ouens are trenches of lome; a handfull deepe, & two handfulls broad. In these they burn of the foresaid dung, which giueth a smothering heate without visible fire. Vnder the mouthes of the vpper ouens are conueyances for smoake: hauing round rooffes, and vents at the top to

shut and to open. Thus lie the egges in the lower ouens for the space of eight days: turned daily, and carefully lookt to that the heate be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them between a lampe and the eye) which are two parts of three for the most part. Two dayes after they put out the fire, and conuey by the passage in the middle, the one halfe into the vpper ouens: then shutting all close, they let them alone for ten daies longer; at which time they become disclosed in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of Ianuary vntill the midst of Iune, the egges being then most fit for that purpose.'

131-6. Subtle's argument is from Delrio, *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, i. 83: 'Ex ouis calore fornacis Cayri solent pulli educi, non secus quam fotu matris: cur non & hîc fornax suppleat vteri terræ vicem? si dicas, ouum naturâ ordinari ad pullum, & esse pullum potentiâ: contendunt alchymici idem esse plumbum auri respectu, imo & argenti. . . . Sed & ouum quoque magis differt à pullo, quam inter se metalla.'

134. *in potentia*. D. is A. v. iii. 28.

137-65. This again is from Delrio, much of it verbally: see *ibid.*, pp. 73-5: 'Non agitur nunc de materiâ remotissimâ, quæ est materia prima. . . . sed agitur, de materiâ secundâ; quæ iam certis formis est imbuta. hæc rursus est, quædam remotior, & quædam propinquior. non enim statim ab vltimâ ad primam hîc immediatus est transitus. capiamus ergo exempli gratiâ, aurum. hoc aurum materiam remotiorem habebit, exhalationem quandam humectam ex vna parte; quæ materia liquida à quibusdam vocatur, vel aqua intrinsecus vnctuosâ, ab alijs vnctuosum aqueum incorporatum, vel humidum liquidum; ex alia parte habebit terræ portionem crassam & viscosam: sic huic terræ aqua illa pinguis & aërea commista, corporatur in primam & (vt sic vocem) elementarem auri materiam. Sed hæc materia non est adhuc propria auri materia, sed est materia communis omnium metallorum, & etiam lapidum. etenim si plus habeat ariditatis, deficiente humiditate, fit lapis; si plus habeat pinguedinis humidæ, exit in metallum; & propter copiam huius humidi, nitidi, puri ac solidi, splendida adeò ac nitida sunt metalla. . . .

'Censuerim itaque illam materiam remotam non subito prætermittis medijs ab extremo ad extremum progredi, & quod dici solet, per saltum promoueri: sed primò gigni imperfectiora quædam, & sic naturam progredi ad perfectiora. Ex illâ materiâ remotâ primum gigni sulphur, & argentum viuum siue *ὑδράργυρον*: illud potissimum coalescere ex illo pingui & aëreo (ideò adeò mobile est); ex terræ verò pinguedine seu viscositate potissimum, gigni *ὑδράργυρον*. Sulfur illud postea in metalli generatione fungi vicem viri, *ὑδράργυρον* vicem feminæ volunt Chymici; hoc parum refert, crediderim potius, vtrumque agere & pati in inuicem, reactione.'

157. *meanes*, intermediate stages.

172-6. From Delrio, *ibid.*, p. 83: 'primùm ars potest gignere vespas, scarabæos crabronesque, ex cadaueribus, & ex stercore animalium; imò

& scorpiones ex herbâ Basilico ritè positâ & collocatâ certis locis: sed viventia hæc, sunt excellentiora metallis.' Gifford well comments, 'while the doctrine of equivocal generation was in fashion, this was a powerful argument. Alchemy has now lost one of its principal props.'

174. *an herbe*, basil. Pliny, *N.H.* xx. 119, 'Addunt quidam tritum (ocimum) si operiatur lapide, scorpionem gignere.'

180. *game*. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 849-51:

Lo, swich a lucre is in this lusty game,
A mannes mirth it wol torne unto grame,
And empten also grete and hevy purses.

182-207. From Delrio, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70: 'Primò argumentantur ab artis ipsius incertitudine & dissensione artificum; quia chymici inter se nec conueniunt in modo loquendi, nec in modo operandi, nec de materiâ aut nomine sui lapidis. Conueniunt beneficio lapidis hanc transformationem tribuendam: sed hunc ipsum lapidem, quo appellant nomine non conueniunt. Longum sit omnia Merculini, Treuisani, Faniani, Valensis, Rosarij & aliorum nomina congerere, quæ sunt significationis plane diuersæ. ex paucis cetera possunt diiudicari. vocant χρυσόσπερμον, aquam vivam, aquam vitæ, aquam siccam, lignum vitæ, sanguinem humanum, lac virginis, Mercurium philosophorum, draconem, coruum, laton, elixir, medecinam morborum omnium, id de quo qui bibit non moritur, & similia partim ridicula, partim pugnancia, partim irreligiosa. . . . Sed de lapidis materiâ forte saltem consentiunt? nihil minus. sunt qui ferriscoriam, sunt qui salem, alumen, magnesiam, cadmiam, calchantum, arsenicum exposcant: sunt qui obtrudant bufones, capillos, ouorum putamina, menstruum fluorem, vel humanum sanguinem. *Respondeo*, tam diuersis nominibus eandem rem significari; sed his vsos scriptores scientiæ oculandæ causa, quam non voluere passim intelligi. licuit sanè Ægyptijs symbola sua adhibere, licuit poetis per metaphoras & fabulas sapientiæ principia occulere, licuit Aristoteli se dictorum obscuritate vt sepia solet atramento inuoluere; ipsæ sacræ litteræ in Parabolis loquuntur. Cur culpas, si & hi diuersis nominibus lusere?'

183. Geber, *Summa Perfectionis*, cap. xii (1541, pp. 43-4), 'Alij quidem ex Argento vivo, Alij autem ex sulphure, & huic affini Arsenico, lapidem philosophorum perquiri asserunt necesse esse. Et alij quidem ex Marchesita, quidam ex Tutia & Magnesia, et ex sale Ammoniaco quidam.' Geber refutes these theories in chapters xiii-xvi.

185. *chrysosperme*, seed of gold (Greek, taken from Delrio).

188. *marchesite*, marcasite, pyrites. *tutie*, tutty, impure zinc found in the flues of furnaces in which brass is melted. Gratarolus, *Veræ Alchemiæ Artisquæ Metallicæ doctrina*, 1571, 4^v, 'Arnaldus inquit totum opus consistere in quatuor verbis: ea sunt, Sulphur, dictum Mars & Marchasita: Arsenicum, dictum Magnesia: Sal præparatum, dictum Argentum viuum: & Fumus albus, dictus Tutia.'

magnesia. Ruland, *Lexicon*, 'Magnesia communiter est marcasita, ex arte est stannum liquatum, in quod iniectus mercurius vna commiscetur

in fragilem substantiam & massam albam. Est etiam argentum mercurio mixtum & fusile metallum valde, vt cera liquabile, miræ albedinis, quod dicitur magnesia Philosophorum.'

189. Cf. Ripley, *The Compound of Alchemie*, 1591, K4:

Pale & black with false citrine, imperfect white & red,
The Peacocks feathers in colours gay, the Rainebowe which shall ouergoe,

The spotted panther, the lyon green, the crowes bil blue as lead,
These shall apeare before thee perfect white, and manie other moe,
And after the perfect white, gray, false citrine also,
And after these, then shall apeare the body red inuariale.

toade . . . crow. See on II. v. 81.

dragon. Chaucer in *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 885, says that Hermes Trismegistus understood 'By the dragoun Mercurie and noon other'.

190. *firmament*. Ruland, *Lexicon*, 1612, 'Coelum philosophorum vocatur id, quod transcendit longe naturam elementorum vulgarium, vt lapis philosophorum, medicina catholica.'

adrop, lead (Persian *usrup*, Arabic *usrub*).—J. Platt in *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., iii, p. 386. Lead, out of which the mercury is extracted for the philosophers' stone, or the stone itself, sometimes called 'saturn' or 'plumbum'.

191. *lato*. Libavius, *Comment. Metall.* 1597, p. 88, 'Porro de Azotho etiam frequenter dicitur, quod Latonem, id est, terram nigram & impuram abluat, & albedinem in eo procuret.' Ibid., p. 117, 'Lato est nutritum semen lapidis adhuc nigrum'.

azoch, quicksilver (Arabic *az-zāūg*). So explained by Paracelsus in his treatise *Azoth sive de Ligno et Linea Vitæ* (*Opera*, 1603-5, part xi, p. 66).

zernich, orpiment, i.e. trisulphide of arsenic (Arabic *zirnikh*).

chibrit, sulphur (Arabic *kibrit*). Ruland, 'Kibrith, id est, sulphur'.

heautarit, mercury (Arabic *utarid*). J. Platt in *N. & Q.*, 8th ser., x, p. 234. Ruland has 'Anterit'—a misprint for 'Autarit'—'id est Mercurius'.

192. *red man . . . white woman*, sulphur and mercury, the fixed and the volatile. Norton, *Ordinall*, 1652, p. 90:

Thei said that within the Center of incompleate White
Was hid our *Red Stone* of most delight: . . .
The Boke *Laudabile Sanctum* made by *Hermes*,
Of the *Red Worke* speaketh in this wise;
Candida tunc rubeo jacet uxor nupta marito, . . .
Understandinge thereof if ye would gett,
When our *White Stone* shall suffer heate,
And rest in Fier as red as Blood,
Then is the Marriage perfect and good;
And ye maie trewly know that tyme,
How the seminall seed Masculine,
Hath wrought and won the Victory,
Upon the menstrualls Worthily.

194. *pisse*. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 253-4, describes the alchemist working in

Unslekked lym, chalk, and gleyre of an ey,
Poudres diverse, asshes, dong, pissé, and cley.

Brandt, an alchemist of Hamburg, in his search after gold, in 1669 discovered phosphorus, which he extracted from urine.

egge-shells. II. v. 35. Aubrey says of Dee, 'He used to distill Egge-shells: and 'twas from hence that Ben. Johnson had his hint of the Alkimist, whom he meant' (MS. VI, f. 38).

195. *Haire o' the head*. So Chaucer, op. cit. 259, speaks of 'Cley maad', i.e. prepared, 'with hors or mannes heer'.

merds, ordure (Lat. *merda*).

201. *the simple idiot*. Ripley, *The Compound of Alchemy*, 1591, F2:

Our Sulphure and our Mercury been onely in mettalls,
Which oyles and waters some men them calls,
Foules and birds, with other names many one,
Because that fooles should neuer know our stone.

208. *Sisyphus*. Delrio, *Disquisit. Mag.*, i, p. 66, of alchemical theorists 'Nec minùs illi suaues, qui Sisyphium saxum extollunt, & propter huius lapidis inuentionem meruisse nomen,* quasi diuina sapientis autumant: propter promiscuam in vulgus beneficii communicationem, ad inferos detrusum semper reuolubilis saxi subuectione damnatum.' * (Marginal note) '*Sisyph. quasi σιόσοφος*'.

225. *Bradamante*. An Amazon in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Clara, the 'Martial Maid' in Fletcher's *Love's Cure*, III. iv (1647, p. 137), is so addressed when she draws on Piorato:

Hold, Maddam, Maddam . . . *Bradamante*,
Hold, hold I pray.

230. *Paracelsian*. Theophrastus of Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus (1493-1541), is important as being the first to unite chemistry with medicine. Assuming, as the science of his day held, that sulphur, mercury, and salt were the universal constituents of matter, he first included animal and vegetable bodies in the same classification, believing health to depend on a just proportion of these elements in the organism and disease to be the result of disturbing this. This is the *minerall physicke* of line 231. Wild legends gathered round his name (see *Volp.* II. ii. 132, *Merc. Vind.* 146), and he was supposed to have learnt the secret of the Stone at Constantinople. On the strength of this Gifford, in a note on the present passage, ranks him on a level with 'a quack and a puppet-showman'; it was reserved for Robert Browning to do justice to his memory.

233. *Galen, or his tedious recipe's*, i.e. the traditional animal and vegetable drugs. The introduction of chemical remedies was strongly resisted by the medical profession; for instance, it was one of the points

in dispute between Francis Anthony (II. i. 69 n.) and the College of Medicine.

238. *Broughton*. *Volp.* II. ii. 119. Cf. the *Satyrs*, p. 7, appended to Robert Heath's *Clarastella*, 1650: a 'Female Synod' of Puritans includes

a thin antiquated Chambermaid,
Run mad with reading *Dod* and *Broughton*, where
She scruples whether Aarons ephod were
Of the skie colour or seawater green.

255. *Ouer the helme*. II. i. 98 n.

256. *vegetall*: cf. I. i. 39, where it is contrasted with 'mineralls' and 'animals'. But Dr. Hathaway suggests that here Jonson was using (or confusing) it with the Latin *vegetus*, 'active, healthy'.

272. *her, brother?* In modern punctuation 'her—brother' with a pause and sarcastic emphasis on 'brother'. Cf. *Cat.* II. 18, 'make me, an errant foole'.

283. *lunary*, literally the fern called moonwort (S.S. II. viii. 31 n.). But, according to Lully, mercury: 'Tu accipe deliquore lunariæ quantum volueris (per lunariam intelligo arg. viii.)', *Liber Mercuriorum*, 1561, ed. Gratarolus, p. 183.

284. *primero*. *E.M.O.* I. ii. 46.

285. *gleeke*, a card-game for three elaborately described in *Wit's Interpreter*, 1662, p. 365. Mentioned with *primero* as one of the 'best games', V. iv. 46-7. Cf. *D. is A.* V. ii. 31, *M.L.* II. iii. 25.

lutum sapientis. Lully, *Practica*, ed. Gratarolus, p. 143, 'Sigilla luto sapientiæ facta ex argilla & pilo, vel farina & albumine oui'.

286. *menstruum simplex*, plain solvent.

287-8. *quick-siluer* used in curing the *lues venerea*; *sulphur* in curing the itch.

289. *i'the Temple-church*. Lawyers received their clients in 'the Round' (III. iii. 2 n.), and business appointments were made there. T. M., *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1604, C2^v, 'for aduice twixt him and vs, he had made choyse of a Lawyer, a Mercer, and a Merchant, to whom he was much beholding, who that morning were appointed to meete in the Temple-church.'

306. *fall*, the falling band, which lay flat upon the dress as distinct from the stiff ruff.

320. *king of Bantam*. Bantam was the capital of the old kingdom of Bantam in Java, a powerful Mohammedan State whose sovereign extended his conquests in Borneo and Sumatra. When Drake circumnavigated the globe, he was splendidly entertained there in 1580 and brought home reports of its unbounded wealth. It became a decayed vassal state under Dutch control till it was incorporated in the Dutch government in the nineteenth century. In 1606 Edmund Scott, a former resident there, published *An Exact Discourse Of the Subtillties, Fashions, Pollicies, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians, as well Chyneses as Iauans, there abyding and dwelling. Together with the manner of trading with those people, aswell by vs English, as by the Hollanders: as also what*

hath happened to the English Nation at Bantam in the East Indies, since the 6. of October 1605. An English factory was established there in 1603.

326. *bite thine eare.* Cf. *E.M.O.* v. iv. 43.

329. *chaine*, worn by the steward in a great house. Middleton, *A Mad World*, II. i (1608, B4), 'cal in my chief gentleman, i'th chaine of gold'.

331. *Count-palatine*. Chester and Lancaster are counties palatine, and the Earls of Chester and the Dukes of Lancaster bear the titles of Counts or Earls Palatine. Jonson in his 'Character' of Coryat prefixed to the *Crudities* of 1611, says 'He hath been . . . à *Delicijs* to the Court . . . where he hath not bene costie of acquaintance to any, from the *Palatine* to the *Plebeian*.'

II. iv. 6. *statelich*, the German 'statlich' (now 'stattlich').

11. *Sanguine*. Suggested by the sanguine 'humour' or 'complexion' (*C.R.* II. iii. 127) and suitable to her amorous disposition.

18. *gudgeons*, gulls, people that will swallow anything.

20. *Anabaptist*. *E.H.* v. ii. 33.

21. *gold-end-man*. *E.H.* v. i. 132. One of the cries of London was 'Have ye any ends of gold or silver?' (Fletcher and Massinger, *Beggars' Bush*, III. i). Cf. Brathwait, *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 90, of a metal-man: 'The Embleme of him is exprest in the hollow charnell voyce of that walking Trunkhos'd goblin, *any ends of gold or silver?*'

26. *Ma-dame*. So 'Madám', *S.S.* I. ii. 4. But the accent varies: cf. *For.* xiii. 21, 'I, *Madame*, am become your praiser. Where . . .'.

II. v. 1. *recipient*, like *Receiver* (IV. v. 61), a vessel for receiving and condensing the product of distillation.

2. *phlegma*, 'any watery inodorous tasteless substance obtained by distillation' (*O.E.D.*).

3. *cucurbite*. I. iii. 103, II. i. 98 n.

4. *macerate*, soften by steeping.

5. *Terra damnata*, 'in chymistry, the same with *Caput Mortuum*; that is, the earthy part, or mass, remaining at the bottom of the retort, &c., after all the other principles have been drawn out of the body by fire' (Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, 1738). Cf. the metaphor in *T.* I. v. 68-70.

8. *Lullianist*, a follower of Raymond Lully.

Ripley. Sir George Ripley, canon of Bridlington (died 1490?), popularized the works of Lully. His own chief works are *The Compound of Alchemie*, 1471, dedicated to Edward IV, but not printed till 1591, and *Medulla Alchemiæ*, 1476.

10. *sapor pontick? sapor stiptick?* *Batman vppon Bartholme*, 1582, xix, ch. xlii, 'De Saporibus', quotes Isidorus, 'of sauours be eight diuers: sweet, vnctuous, salte, bitter, sharpe, sower' (= *acetosus*), 'lesse sower' (= *ponticus*), '& yet lesse sower' (= *stipticus*). . . . Ch. I, 'De Sapore Pontico', and ch. li, 'De Sapore Stiptico', treat them fully.

13. *Knipper-Doling*. Bernt Knipperdollinck, a draper of Munster, was one of the leaders of the Anabaptist rising there in 1534-6, when

'the Kingdom of God' was established in Munster under the sway of Jan Bockelson of Leyden, a tailor's son, known as John of Leyden (III. iii. 24). The main features of this kingdom of the saints were despotism and debauchery. It was stamped out by the Bishop of Munster. Nashe in his *Vnfortunate Traueller*, 1594, makes his hero Jack Wilton visit Munster during the outbreak (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, ii, pp. 232-41).

14. *Chrysopæia*, making of gold (Byzantine Greek, χρυσοποιία). Johannes Aurelius Augurellus' poem on the transmutation of base metals into gold, published by Froben at Basel in 1518, is entitled *Chrysopæia*.

Spagirica. A late Latin word, 'used, and probably invented, by Paracelsus' (O.E.D.). Delrio describes and gives a derivation of it: of alchemy he says, 'vt *Chymia* species quædam est: sic etiam aurifactoria, siue *Chrysopæia*, species est *Alchimia*, quæ in extrahendo siue separando, & in congregando siue coagulando ex alijs metallis auro tota occupatur: vnde non malè *Spagiricam* vocant nonnulli, παρὰ τὸ σπᾶν καὶ ἀγείρειν, à segregando & congregando' (*Dis. Mag.*, p. 64).

15. *pamphysick* . . . *knowledge*, the knowledge of all nature (derived from παμ- and φυσικός). Not found elsewhere.

panarchic, all-ruling, sovereign (Greek πάναρχος). Not found elsewhere.

17. *the Hebrew*. 'There is much admirable humour', says Gifford, 'in making this zealous botcher disclaim all knowledge of, and all esteem for, the language of the New Testament. . . . To judge from the common discourse, the sermons, and controversial writings of the Puritans during the Usurpation, it might almost be concluded that no such book . . . was in existence: since their language, though interlarded with Scripture phrases, even to profaneness, scarcely ever borrows a word from it.' Hebrew acquired a peculiar sacredness from the theory that it was the language spoken by Adam in Paradise, handed down after the confusion of Babel, through the descendants of Shem, including Heber, the supposed progenitor of the Hebrews. The theory, started in the Talmud, was once widely accepted; Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei*, xvi. xi, xviii. xxxix, and Dante in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, vi, held it. Its effect upon the Puritans was to make them wish to enforce Hebrew as the universal language.

20. *vexations*. Humorously treated in *Merc. Vind.* 56-65.

21-4. The stages up to fixation are recorded by Laurentius Ventura in his *De ratione conficiendi Lapidis philosophici*, 1571, pp. 129-30, beginning with solution into a liquid: 'Ista autem aqua salit in caput vasis per fumum, . . . et postea iterum descendit ad fundum vasis, & soluit materiam & reliqua paulatim in aquam. Et sic simul est *sublimatio* & *dissolutio* Lapidis, & vtrumque ascensus & descensus dicitur *dissolutio*. Postea incipit ingrossari & conuerti in terram: & paulatim terra stans super aquam, descendit ad fundum vasis, & efficitur nigra & foetulenta. Et tunc dicitur *putrefactio*. Post vero longum tempus terra nigra calore solis & aquæ ablutionis demittit colorem & odorem foetidum. Et tunc vocatur *Ablutio* seu *Mundatio*. Deinde vero aqua diminuitur,

& terra per temperatum solem desiccatur, & tunc vocatur *Ceratio*, quia tunc tota materia convertitur in terram. . . . Conversa vero tota materia in terram strictam stantem, nec se fundentem vocatur tunc *congelatio*. . . . Materia vero coagulata, & per maiorem Solis decoctionem perfectè desiccata, incipit dealbari, & fundi vt oleum album: Ita quòd illa albedo sit super omnes albedines, tunc vocatur *Dealbatio*: & tunc Lapis est perfectus ad album. Quo facto continuandus est ignis, quousque Lapis non varietur amplius de colore in colorem, sed teneat firmum & invariabilem colorem & rubicundissimum. Et tunc vocatur *Fixio*.'

21. *Putrefaction*, decomposition caused by chemical action.

22. *Ablution*, washing away impure accretions.

23. *Cohobation*, redistillation, pouring the liquid back again and again upon the matter from which it has been distilled.

Calcination. II. iii. 64 n.

Ceration, 'the action of covering anything with wax, or of softening a hard substance . . . not capable of being liquefied; also, the fixation of mercury' (Sydenham Society's *Lexicon*).

24. *Fixation*, reducing a volatile spirit, such as mercury, to a permanent bodily form by amalgamation or combination. II. iii. 97.

25. *Mortification*, 'alteration of the form of metals; destruction or neutralization of the active qualities of chemical substances' (O.E.D.). *Vivification* is then the restoration of metals to their original shape.

27. *Aqua Regis*, 'a mixture of nitric and hydrochloric acid, so called because it can dissolve the "noble" metals, gold and platinum' (O.E.D.). A valuable solvent for gold; Geber prepared it from nitric acid (*aqua fortis*).

28. *trine circle of the seven spheres*. Paracelsus, *Manuale de Lapide Philosophico* (*Opera*, 1575, i, p. 570), 'Scias autem quod nulla solutio fiat in tuo electro, nisi circulum septem sphærarum perfecte ter percurrerit: hic enim numerus decet illud, quem et complere debet.' Libavius, *Comment. Metall.*, 1597, ii, p. 65, explains: 'Ternarius ille numerus accommodari variè poterit. Sit iam nobis repetita ter præparatio eaque ante solutionem in mercurium eius corporis quod est soluendum. Per septem sphæras accipiamus secundum mobile, quasi non acquirat astralem conformemque aquæ minerali naturam, & dispositionem ad solutionem perfectam, nisi ter in isto cœlo fuerit, seu insitum illi.'

29. *Malleation*. Malleable iron is 'iron which has been decarbonized by oxidation under prolonged heat and rendered capable of being malleated in a slight degree' (O.E.D.). E.H. IV. i. 215.

30. *ultimum supplicium auri*. An untraced phrase from an alchemical work.

Antimonium. Originally the alchemists' term for native trisulphide, their proteus, leo ruber, plumbum nigrum, lupus metallorum (O.E.D.).

32. *fugitiue*. Ruland, 'Seruus fugitiuus, i.e. Mercurius. Hermes propter humiditatem fugitiuam sic nominat.' Compare the opening of *Mercury Vindicated*.

34. *suscitabilitie*, excitability.

35-6. *calce* *talck*. From Geber, *Summa Perfectionis*, xlv (*De*

Alchemia, 1541, pp. 88–9): ‘Nunc verò totam intentionem sublimationis arg. viui determinemus. Est igitur completa, summa illius depurgatio terreitatis, & remotio aqueitatis illius. . . . Dicimus igitur quòd ingenium separationis superfluæ terræ ipsius est, ipsum commiscere rebus, cum quibus affinitatem non habet, & sublimationem eius reiterare ab eis multoties. Et horum genus est talk, & calx corticum ouorum, & marmoris albi.’ *Talck*: III. ii. 36.

36. *magisterium*. I. iv. 14.

40–1. *a stone, and not A stone*. Ruland, *Lexicon*, 1612, ‘Auicenna & Kodar asserunt, quod lapis non sit Elixir, vnd heist lapis, das er tingirt oder gefärbet wirdt / non lapis, darumb dass er gegossen wirdt.’

41. *a spirit, a soule, and a body*. *Bernardi Trevirensis ad Thomam de Bononia Responsio*, 1564, p. 57b, ‘Quòd autem dicis in lapide tuo esse tria, corpus, spiritum, & animam . . . Philosophi . . . similitudinariè quidem & experimento intellexerunt. Terram enim vocauerunt corpus et ossa eius. . . . Aquam autem & aërem, spiritum dixerunt. . . . Aërem autem & ignem, animam vocauerunt.’ Cf. ‘the triple Soule’ of II. iii. 30.

57. *Sincere professors*. Contrast Randolph, *The Muses Looking-glasse*, I. i; two Puritan women are the speakers:

Flo. Indeed it somthing pricks my Conscience,
I come to sell ‘em Pins and Looking-glasses.

Bird. I have their custome too, for all their feathers:
Tis fit that we which are sincere Professors,
Should gain by Infidels.

70. *one at Heidelberg*. Unknown outside this play; he was a Puritan (III. i. 36).

80. *piger Henricus*, a composite furnace constructed round a central compartment and fed by one fire through apertures conducting the heat to the side furnaces. Ruland, *Lexicon*, ‘*Furnus acediæ siue incuriæ* (III. ii. 3), vbi vno igne, & paruo labore diuersi furni fouentur. Nomen trahit a pigritia, inde et a Germanis *Ein fauler Heinke* vel piger Henricus appellatur.’

81. *Sericon*, the red tincture. ‘Sericon, id est, minium’ (Ruland). The O.E.D. quotes from *Turbæ Philosophorum alterum exemplar* printed in *Artis Auriferæ quam vocant volumen primum* (1593), 138, where ‘sericon’ is mentioned along with ‘magnesia’ (II. iii. 188) as one of the ingredients in ‘the ferment of gold’.

Bufo, the ‘toade’ of II. iii. 189 (Lat. *bufo*, toad), is the black tincture. Cf. Ripley, *The Compound of Alchymy*, 1591, D, of the black colour shown in calcining,

one token trewe,
Which first in blacknes to thee will shewe.
The head of the Crowe that token call wee,
And some men call it the Crowes bill;
Some call it the ashes of *Hermes* tree,
And thus they name it after their will:
Our Toade of the earth which eateth his fill.

83. *th' Antichristian Hierarchie*. Cf. John Udall, *A Demonstration of the trueth of that Discipline which Christe hath prescribed* (1588), 3b, 'Yet is there none in the whole worlde so far out of square as Englande, in reteyning that popishe hierarchie, firste coyned in the midst of the misterie of iniquitie, and that filthie sinck of the Canon law, which was inuented and patched together, for the confirming and increasing of the kingdome of Antichrist.'

84-6. *The Aqueitie* . . . i.e. the clarified mercury shall be spoilt. Penotus, *Quæstiones et Responsiones Philosophicæ* (*Theatr. Chem.*, 1602, ii, p. 146), 'Mercurij præparatio philosophica, est vt eius obscuritas plumbea tota tollatur. . . . 2. ut eius terræ grauitas nimia subtrahatur: quare nimia terrestreitas & aqueitas impedit eius vires. 3. vt eius ab igne volatilitas quoque tollatur. Hæc sunt superflua in Mercurio quæ impediunt eius perfectiones. Et sic, per depurationem per artem fit sal philosophorum.'

11. vi. 2. *mates*. Often used contemptuously: cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, I. i. 58.

Baiards. Originally of the magic horse given by Charlemagne to Rinaldo, one of the four sons of Aymon; then a colloquial name for a horse. Subtle alludes to the proverb 'As bold as blind Bayard'. Cf. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 860-3:

Ye been as bold as is Bayard the blinde,
That blundreth forth, and peril casteth noon;
He is as bold to runne agayn a stoon
As for to goon besydes in the weye.

And *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, C: 'Then (being a proper personable man) woulde he like bold *Bayard*, intrude himselfe into such places?'

11. *The Ballance*. I. iii. 56-7.

19. *a bell*. Cf. the device of a bell used by the printer Abel Jeffes, e.g. in Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, no. 253).

20. *Dee*. John Dee (1527-1608), mathematician and astrologer, a curious mixture of scholar and quack, who was employed by Queen Elizabeth. His portrait is at the end of H. Billingsley's translation of *Euclid*, 1570, to which he contributed a preface.

21. *rugg gowne*. *E.M.O.* III. vii. 21.

22. *anenst*, opposite, facing, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 75.

snarling Er. Cf. *Engl. Gram.* I. iv. 143 n.

23. *That's his signe*. Rebuses of this kind were common: cf. *N.I.* I. i. 18-19. In the parish church of Christchurch on the monument of Robert Harys (who died in 1525) is an R with a hare below it, from whose mouth issues a label with the letters *ys*. Larwood and Hotten, *The History of Signboards*, 1900, pp. 85-6, record the sign of Abel Drugger at Peter Cockburn's, tobacconist, 146 Fenchurch Street.

30. *bona roba*. Face is as blundering as Sogliardo in *E.M.O.* v. ii. 70: the words should express a well-dressed wanton.

31. *nineteene*. Dame Pliant was born in 1591 (iv. iv. 30).

33. *A hood*, a French hood. Court ladies wore hats at this date.

a cop, 'on high' (O.E.D.). The French hood was 'worn over the back of the head as far as the ears' (Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama*, p. 233).

34. *fucus*, paint for the complexion. Nab 'deals' in it, and in love-philtres (55), hence Face's insinuation: for 'deal' cf. *Volp.* II. v. 22.

54. *so many, o' the citie, dub'd*. Cf. the marginal note on cuckolds in *Cornu-copiæ, Pasquils Night-cap*, 1612, C2^v: 'Knight of the Forked Order, and not inferior to some new Knights.' *M. Christmas*, 290, 'Hauing so many knights, o'the Shop'. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 4 June 1617 (S.P.D. Jas. I, xcii. 61) that many knights had been made in Scotland, including the Earl of Montgomery's barber and the husband of the Queen's laundress.

61. *to liue by his wits*. Unnecessary, with his three thousand a year.

64. *by line*, with methodical accuracy. Cf. 'by line and level'.

66. *a table*. Developed in Act III, sc. iv. 28 foll. Cf. the 'Master of the Dependancies' in *D. is A.* III. iii 106 foll.

79. *gooddest*. *B.F.* IV. iii. 120. The form occurs 'in jocular or playful language' (O.E.D.).

89. *graines*. Dr. Hathaway compares Dryden, *The Conquest of Granada*, part II, Epilogue:

None of 'em, no not *Johnson* in his height,
Could pass, without allowing grains for weight.

III. i. 7. *marke of the Beast*. Revelation xvi. 2, xix. 20.

18. *about the fire*. J. Earle, *Micro-cosmographie*, 1628, no. 25, '*A Cooke*': 'The Kitchin is his Hell, and hee the Diuell in it, where his meate and he frye together. . . . Cholerick hee is, not by nature so much as his Art. . . . Hee is neuer good Christian till a hissing Pot of Ale has slak't him, like Water cast on a fire-brand, and for that time he is tame and dispossess.''

27. *giue*, concede. Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, liii, 'Dare we to this fancy give?'

32. *beauteous discipline*. A cant phrase, also on the lips of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in *B.F.* I. vi. 1.

38. *silenc'd Saints*. *S.W.* II. ii. 80.

41. *Aurum potabile*. *Volp.* I. iv. 73.

III. ii. 3. *Furnus acediæ*, 'the furnace of sloth', which required less watching: explained II. v. 80 n.

Turris circulatorius. Ruland, *Lexicon*, 'Circulatorium, est vas vitreum, vbi infusus liquor ascendendo & descendendo quasi in circulo rotatur. Vsus enim in subtiliationibus & circulationibus positus est. Varia huius generis vasa a variis ingeniis sunt excogitata, ex quorum numero duo dumtaxat magni momenti & vsus nobis placent. Pelicanus nimirum & Diota.' For the 'pelican' see II. iii. 78.

4. *Bolts-head*. II. ii. 9.

10, 14, 18. *qualifie! . . . qualifies more! . . . qualifies most!* Randolph, *The Jealous Lovers*, III. vi (1632, F4^v):

Sim. I will abjure all pleasures, but in thee.

Asot. This something qualifies. *Sim.* It shall be my sport
To maintain thine: thou shalt eat for both,

And drink for both.—*Asot.* Good: this will qualifie more.

Sim. And here I promise thee to make a joynture
Of half the Land I have to this fair Lady.

Asot. This qualifies all: you have your pardon, Sir.

31. *incombustible stuffe*, an oil so called. Cf. Ripley, *The Compound of Alchimy*, D3^v:

So out of our stone precious, if thou be witty,
Oyle incombustable, and water thou shalt draw.

G. Baker in *New and old phisicke*, 1599, iv, ch. xviii, gives the recipe
'To make an oil incombustible, which is miraculous'.

36. *oyle of Talck*. *For.* viii. 33, *Und.* xxxiv. 11, and Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 1662, ii, p. 95, Sussex: 'Talc is a cheap kind of mineral, which this county plentifully affords. . . . It is *white* and *transparent* like Chrystall, full of *strokes* or *veines*, which prettily scatter themselves. Being calcined and variously prepared, it maketh a curious *White wash*, which some iustify lawfull, because *Clearing* not *Changing* the Complexion.' Nabbes, *Tottenham Court*, 1638, C3:

She is faire;
Upon her person all the graces waite,
And dance in rings about her. . . .
Her white and red she borrows not from any
Cosmetique drugs; nor puzzles the invention
Of learn'd practitioners for oyle of Talc
To blanch an Ethiops skin.

38. *bone-ache*, 'the Neapolitan bone-ache' of *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 17, the *lues venerea*.

43. *Christ-tide*. Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 199, 'A Zealous Brother': 'Hee holds all Bands bearing date at *Lammasse*, *Michaelmasse*, *Candlemasse*, or any *Masse* whatsoever, to be *frustrate* and of no effect; but by changing *masse* into *tide*, they become of full force and vertue.' Cf. *Volp.* I. ii. 46.

45. *parcell guilt*, silver ware partly gilded, e.g. the inside of a bowl.

51. *oppone*, the precursor of 'oppose': cf. 'depone' and 'depose'.

55. *ha and hum*. For this feature of a Puritan sermon cf. *B.F.* I. iii. 97-8, 'a sober drawne exhortation of six houres, whose better part was the *hum-ha-hum*'; *News from the New World*, 206-7, the doppers 'have leave onely to hum, and ha, not daring to prophesie'; and John Taylor, *A Swarme of Sectaries*, 1641, p. 9, of Sam How, the preaching cobbler, preparing to preach—

His eyes (most whitest white) to heaven directed:
His hum, his stroking of his beard, his spitting,
His postures, and impostures, done most fitting.

61. *Bells are prophane.* Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 206: 'There is nothing now that troubles him'—i.e. the Puritan—'so much in his sicknesse, as that the Bells shall ring for him after his death. Which to prevent, hee hath taken course with his *Executour* to give the Sexton nothing; purposely to put the *Belfrey* to silence.'

69. *to winne widowes.* Dame Purecraft inverts the process in *B.F.* v. ii. 53-5.

71. *to rob their husbands.* Ibid. 61-3.

72. *bonds.* So Rabbi Busy, *ibid.* i. iii. 140-1.

79. *hawke, or hunt.* Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, ed. Furnivall, i, p. 181: 'And as for hawking & hunting vpon the sabaoth day, it is an exercyse vpon that day no lesse vnlawful than the other; For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much lesse euery day in his life, as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: . . . I neuer read of any, in the volume of the sacred scripture, that was a good man and a Hunter. *Esau* was a great hunter, but a reprob; *Ismaell* a great hunter, but a miscreant; *Nemrode*, a great hunter, but yet a reprob and a vessell of wrath.'

81. *may lay their haire out.* Ibid., p. 67: 'Then followeth the trimming and tricking of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frised and crisped, laid out (a World to see!) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other.' Details follow of wires, gold and silver wreaths, bugles. 'But God giue them grace to giue ouer these vanities, and studie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue & true Godlynesse.'

weare doublets. Ibid., p. 73: 'The Women also there haue dublets & Ierkins, as men haue heer, buttoned vp the brest, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is for all the world; & though this be a kinde of attire appropriate onely to man, yet they blush not to weare it. . . . It is written in the 22 of *Deuteronomie*, that what man so euer weareth womans apparel is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accursed also. Now, whether they be within the bands and lymits of that curse, let them see to it them selues.'

82. *idoll Starch.* Ibid., p. 70: 'The Women there vse great ruffes, & neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerick, . . . then, least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the deuils liquore, I mean *Starch*.'

86. *libell 'gainst the Prelates.* An historic case is that of Alexander Leighton, whose *An Appeal to the Parliament; or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie*, 1628, brought the author before the Star Chamber in 1630; he was sentenced to be fined, pilloried, flogged, and deprived of his ears.

88. *grace.* *B.F.* i. iii. 87-91.

89. *to please the Aldermen.* The City magistrates frequently showed

a bias against plays. On 12 April 1580 the Lord Mayor, reporting to the Lord Chancellor a 'great disorder' which had taken place at the Theatre on the previous Sunday, says players, tumblers, and such-like, are 'a very superfluous sort of men, and of such facultie as the lawes haue disalowed, and their exersise of those playes is a great hinderance to the seruice of God' (*Remembrancia*, in Malone Society's *Collections*, part i, p. 46). Jonson girds at the Puritanism of the magistrates in *C.R.* i. iv. 93-5, *D. is A.* v. viii. 64-80.

90. *custard*. *B.F.* III. iii. 30-1.

95. *wood*. *S.W.* II. ii. 82.

104-5. *the diuine secret . . . west*. An untraced quotation.

113. *botcher*, a tailor who did repairs: Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night*, 1594, to the Reader (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, p. 343, 'they would rather be Tailors to make, than botchers or cobblers to amend or to marre'). Jasper Mayne, *The City Match*, II. i (1639, p. 10), applies the term to the Puritans:

the brethren,
Botchers I mean, and such poore zealous saints
As earne five groats a week under a stall,
By singing Psalms.

128. *siluer potate*, liquefied silver.

129. *citronise*. Richardus Anglicus, *Correctorium* (appended to Geber's *Works*, Berne, 1543), xii: 'Citrinatio non est aliud quam completa digestio. Nam calor agens in humidum, primo generat nigredinem, & agens in siccum generat albedinem, quam albedinem ignis transcendit, agens in eo purissimam citrinitatem causat.'

131-2. Fifteen days hence would give 17 November as the date here; this is inconsistent with v. v. 102-3, which would give 24 October.

137-40. Ruland marks the degrees of heat needed for the work: 'Primus gradus est lentissimus instar teporis ignauiusculi, vocaturque calor balnei mitis, aut fimi, vel digestionis, circulatorius, &c. . . . Secundus gradus est intensior, adeo vt iam euidenter feriat tactum, neque tamen vim afferat organo. Appellant calorem cinerum. . . . Tertius gradus est cum læsione tangentis, & confertur arenæ feruenti, vel scobi ferreæ, vt dicatur ignis arenæ, vel limaturæ ferri, &c. Quartus est summus gradus, & plerunque destructiuus. Nominant ignem reuerberii, & viua flamma lignorum, vel congestarum prunarum, follibus alacriter inflatarum, procuratur' (*Lexicon*, p. 261).

139. *Fimus equinus*. I. i. 83-4.

balnei. II. iii. 41.

cineris. Ibid. 85.

144. *make you . . . Dutch dollars*. In the *Domestic State Papers* of Elizabeth's reign, cclxxi. 103, under the date 21 July 1599 is the examination of a metal-worker John Beish about his dealings with an alchemist named Scory, 'sometyme dwelling in Petticoate lane', author of a scheme 'concerning the counterfeiting and making of dollers in Turkie'. The coin was to be forged in England, and then circulated

in Turkey by a merchant Mallarie, who had dealings there, just as Ananias and the Elect would do with Subtle's Dutch dollars.

150. *We know no Magistrate*. *Disc.* 60-4. In the Confession of Faith of the English Baptists at Amsterdam in 1611 one article was that 'the magistrate is not to meddle in religion or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and conscience'. It is easy to see how this developed with fanatical preachers.

151. *This's forraine coyne*. Puritan casuistry was a favourite butt of dramatic satire: for instance, in *The Puritaine, or The Widdow of Watling-streete*, 1. iv (1607, C^v), where the Puritan servant Nicholas is asked to steal his master's chain, worth £300: 'Pray do not wish me to bee hangd, any thing else that I can do, had it beene to rob, I would ha don't, but I must not steale, that's the word, the literall, thou shalt not steale: and would you wish me to steale then.' Pieboard answers, 'No faith, that were too much, to speake truth: why, woulst thou nim it from him. *Nich.* That I will!'

III. iii. 2. *walk'd the round*, watched, kept a look out (as in *S.W.* iv. v. 178), with a quibbling reference to the 'round' of the Temple Church, which Face calls his 'circle' (l. 64). Butler, *Hudibras*, part III, canto iii (ad fin.):

Retain all sorts of Witnesses,
That ply ith' Temples, under trees.
Or walk the Round with Knights o'th' Posts:
About the Cross-leg'd Knights, their hosts,
Or wait for Customers, between
The Piller-Rows in *Lincolns-Inn*.

8. *maistry*, master-stroke.

black Boy. *E.M.O.* 1. ii. 210 n.

11. *compeere*, strictly 'godfather' (*E.H.* III. ii. 201), here no more than 'comrade'.

13. *sloppe*s. *E.M.I.* II. ii. 24, 'tumbrell-slop'.

14. *round trunkes*, trunk-hose, large breeches extending to the knee and puffed to an enormous size with hair stuffing. *B.F.* IV. vi. 156.

15. *pistolets*. *Volp.* II. ii. 219.

pieces of eight. *E.M.I.* II. i. 6.

16. *bath*. *S.W.* v. i. 71.

18-19. *our cinque-Port, Our Douer pire*. Dol's own metaphor of a camp (l. 33) is less pretentious.

22. *Epididimis*, the Greek ἐπιδιδυμῖς.

23. *Doxie*. Originally in thieves' slang the unmarried mistress of a beggar, as in *G.M.* 803; then a common name for a strumpet.

24. *Iohn Leydens*. See II. v. 13 n.

28. *portague*. 1. iii. 87.

31. *fortie*— For the aposiopesis filled in afterwards see *Poet.* III. iv. 165.

33. The opening line of *The Spanish Tragedy*, 'Now say L. Generall,'

41. *Dousabell*, derived through the French from 'Dulcibella'. 'Perhaps first used in some pastoral song' (O.E.D.).

46. *i' the great frost*, which lasted from December 1607 to February 1608; the Thames was frozen over.

49. *Gods-guift*, i.e. Dorothea etymologized.

50. *Adalantado*. E.M.O. v. vi. 75.

51. *Grande*. The spelling shows the pronunciation: 'Grandy' in Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1628, p. 34.

54. *Would*, 'should' in modern usage. Bacon, *Essay xxxiii*, 'Of Plantations': 'Making of bay salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience.'

69. *like a scallop*. C.R. v. iv. 534 n.

71. *Verdugo-ship*. The Spanish 'Verdugo' means 'hangman'; hence the mock title. Attempts have been made to explain the word as the name of a noble Spanish family. Fletcher in *The Woman's Prize*, iv. i, 'Contrive your beard o' the top cut, like Verdugos', and Dyce quotes (*Beaumont and Fletcher*, i, p. c) an anecdote from Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* of a commander in Friesland, 'the sonne of a hangman (for so he was, and his name importeth)'.

III. iv. 3. *dearling*. E.M.I. II. v. 22.

18. *carry a businesse*. So the 'master of the *Duel*, a carrier of the differences' in *Merc. Vind.* 148-57, says 'I will carrie the businesse'; *D. is A.* III. iii. 106-30; *H.W.* 113-15.

22. *the angrie boyes*. S.W. I. iv. 17 n., 'the terrible boyes', alias 'the roarers'. W. Goddard, in *A Neaste of Wasps*, 1615, poem 36, enumerating the qualifications for a roarer gives as the first 'Tobacco take'.

25-39. Cf. iv. ii. 18-28, B.F. II. vi. 76-7. The leading authority on the subject was Vincentio Saviolo his *Practise. In two Bookes. The first intreating of the vse of the Rapier and Dagger. The second, of Honor and honorable Quarrels*, 1595; signature R3^v is headed, 'A Discourse most necessarie for all Gentlemen that haue in regarde their honors touching the giueing and receiuing of the Lie, whervpon the Duello & the Combats in diuers sortes doth insue, & many other inconueniences for lack only of the true knowledge of honor, and the contrarie: & the right vnderstanding of wordes, which heere is plainly set downe. . . .' For evasions see Massinger, *The City-Madam*, 1. ii (1658, p. 8):

Lacie. Where got he this spirit.

Page. At the Academie of valour,

Newly erected for the institution

Of elder Brothers. Where they are taught the ways,

Though they refuse to seal for a Duellist,

How to decline a challenge.

33-5. *right line . . . halfe-circle . . . angle blunt*. Cf. Fletcher, *The Queen of Corinth*, iv. i (Fol. 1647, p. 15):

Has he given the lye
In circle, or oblique, or semy-circle,
Or direct parallel? you must challenge him.

40. *ordinarily*. A quibble on the 'ordinary' or eating-house.
41. *eating Academies*, the ordinaries. See Dekker's instructions in *The Gulls' Hornbook*, ch. v, how a young gallant should behave there.
52. *vented*, spent, got rid of; in *N.I.* i. iii. 54 in the slightly different sense, 'offered for sale'.
61. *at the Groome-porters*. An officer in the Lord Chamberlain's department, who saw to the furnishing of the king's lodgings, provided cards, dice, and bowls, and decided all disputes arising out of play. Keys, groom porter to Elizabeth, is described by Camden as 'aulicus aleatorum arbiter' (*Annales*, 1615, p. 87). Cartwright, in a scene suggested from Dapper, makes his gambler say (*The Ordinary*, II. iii):

First I will beggar all the Gentlemen. . . .
Next, I'll undo all gaming Citizens. . . .
I will ascend to the Groom Porters next.
Flie higher Games, and make my mincing Knights
Walk musing in their knotty Freeze abroad.

72. *butterd shrimps*. One of Mammon's luxuries (IV. i. 159-61).
72-3. *drinke To no mouth else*. *Ep.* xxviii. 13-14.
76. *cast*, cashiered.
79. *by most swift posts*, with the speed of a post-horse.
87. *a perspective*. Compare the 'glasse perspective' of Friar Bacon in Greene's play, scene vi, where Edward in Bacon's cell at Brasenose College sees what is happening at Fresingfield, and similarly in scene xiii.
90. *commoditie*. *E.H.* II. ii. 251-7; *S.W.* II. v. 119.
97. *woad*. *Poet.* II. i. 57.
105. *suster*. Intended as a rustic touch, but the form was in use from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries; it is in Malory, for instance. So 'Kusse', IV. ii. 53.
107. *breeds melancholy*. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, part I, sec. 2, mem. 2, subs. 1, 'Milk, and all that comes of milk, as butter and cheese, curds, &c., increase melancholy'.
113. *fat ram-mutton*. *Pickwick*, ch. viii, "'It wasn't the wine," murmured Mr. Snodgrass, in a broken voice. "It was the salmon." (Somehow or other, it never is the wine, in these cases.)'
119. *Sea-coale-lane* is off Snow Hill in the ward of Faringdon Without.
124. *For the water-worke*, i.e. for Sir Hugh Myddleton's New River: the first sod was cut on 21 April 1609, and the work was completed on 29 September 1613. Cf. Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, IV. v, 'water-works, and rumours of New Rivers'.
143. *old Harry's soueraigne* = 10s. Cf. in the 'Overbury' *Characters*, ed. Paylor, p. 60, the character of 'A Drunken Dutch-man Resident in England': 'He whoords up fayre gold . . . and loves the memory of

King *Henry* the eight most specially for his old Soveraignes.' The coinage was debased from 1543 onwards.

146. *in Maries*. Why? Whalley says to fill in the gap in the successive reigns.

III. v. In 1613 Edward Marchant published *The seuerall Notorious and lewd Cousnages of Iohn West, and Alice West, falsely called the King and Queene of Fayries. Practised very lately both in this Citie, and many places neere adioyning, to the impouerishing of many simple people, as well Men as Women; Who were Arraigned and Conuicted for the same, at the Sessions House in the Old Bayly, the 14. of Ianuarie, this present yeare, 1613*. An example is given on B1 of Thomas Moore and his wife, whom the pair had fleeced; 'they brought him into a vault, where they showed him two attired like the King and Queene of Fayries, and by them little Elues and Goblings, and in the same place an infinite company of bags, and vpon them written, this is for *Thomas Moore*, this is for his wife, but would not let him touch any thing'.

10. *neerer is her smock*. From the Latin proverb, *Tunica propior palliost*, Plautus, *Trinummus*, 1154: cf. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, I. x (1562, C4), 'Though ny be my kyrtell, yet nere is my smocke.'

12. *to wrap him in*. Proverbial: *N.I.* I. iii. 101-2.

33. *spur-ryall*. In the coinage of 1465 Edward IV struck nobles of 10s., which were called 'rials', or 'rose nobles', bearing on the reverse a blazing sun. As this symbol, when rudely represented, was not unlike the rowel of a spur, these rials of Edward IV were commonly called spur-rials. In the reigns of Elizabeth and James I their value was 15s.

34. *Ti, ti, ti, ti*. Echoed by the pretended Fairies in Randolph's *Amyntas*, III. iv (1638, p. 65). With their help Dorylas robs Jocastus's orchard. Jocastus catches him, but believes he is Oberon.

Io. Your good Grace is welcome
To any thing I have: Nay, Gentlemen,
Pray doe not you spare neither:
Elve(s). *Ti-ti-ta-te*.

Io. What say these mighty peeres; great Oberon?
Do. They cannot speake this language, but in ours
They thank you, and they say they will have none,
Elves. *Ti-ti-ta-ti, Titetatie*.

43. *By this good darke*. Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, IV. iii (1651, p. 67): Andrew, blindfolded swears 'By this light (I would say By this darkenesse) I never will.'

43-4. *a halfe-crowne Of gold*, first coined by Henry VIII; the silver crown and half-crown were first issued by Edward VI in 1551.

53. *his suit*, i.e. Face's servant's dress.

55. *Puffin*. A term of contempt for any puffed-up person, but also associated with the sea-bird of that name (cf. 'spit', l. 56), with its curiously shaped and particoloured bill.

76. *crinkle*, shrink, recoil. Strode, *The Floating Island*, 1655, III. i:

Whether the kicks were Rough or gentle (Rough
Your Crinkling sayes) . . .

iv. i. 14. *How scrupulous he is*. Developing the point made in II. ii. 97-8.

18, 21. *Ulen*. II. iii. 32. *Lungs*. II. i. 27.

23. *moderne*, ordinary, commonplace. *Poet*. v. iii. 280.

29, 30. *feeble gold* . . . So Randolph, *The Jealous Lovers*, III. vi (1632):
Ball. Melt him, Phryne, melt him: . . . Suck like a horse-leach. . . .

Sim. Thou art my better Angel.

Wilt thou eat gold—drink gold, lie in gold,
I have it for thee.

Jonson's *concumbers gold* is modelled on Juvenal's 'concombunt Graece' (Sat. vi. 191).

35. *my lip*. Cf. *S. of N*. II. v. 47.

38. *Guiny-bird*. A cant name for a prostitute: *Othello*, I. iii. 314-16,
'Ere I would say, I would drowne my selfe for the loue of a Gynney
Hen, I would change my Humanity with a Baboone.' Armin, *The two
Maids of Moreclacke*, 1609, Dr^v, a father, intercepting a love-letter to his
daughter, 'Wife coope vp our ginnie henne, that wants the treading.'

39. *fierce idolatrie*. *Poet*. v. iii. 129, 'fierce credulitie'.

49-51. Cf. *Ep*. cix. 9, 10.

56. *the Austriack princes*. Gifford quotes John Bulwer, *Anthropo-
metamorphosis*, 1650, p. 106, 'In these parts of the World, the *Austrian*
Lip at this day is by good right in high esteem; it being observed, that
all the House of *Austria* have a sweet fulnesse of the Nether lip.' So
J. Howell, *Familiar Letters*, i, section 3, ix, of the Infanta whom Charles
tried to marry, 'She is full and big-lipp'd; which is held a Beauty rather
than a Blemish, or any Excess, in the *Austrian* Family; it being a thing
incident to most of the Race.' According to Brewer (*Phrase and Fable*)
the Hapsburgs derived their thick under-lip from Cymburgis, daughter
of Ziemovitz, Duke of Masovia, and niece to the then King of Poland.

To round off the Hapsburg lip with the Valois nose and the Medici
forehead (58, 59) is a joke of Jonson's; neither feature is distinctive in
those families.

57. *an Irish costar-monger*. *Irish M*. 4-6, *Christmas*, 218-21; Dekker,
The Honest Whore, part ii, I. i (1630, A2^v): 'In *England*, . . . why Sir,
there all Coster-mongers are Irishmen.'

75. *feature*, make, composition. So 99.

83, 84. *mathematiques*, astrology; *distillation*, chemistry.

90. *Kelley*. Edward Kelley, alias Talbot (1555-95), worked his way
into the favour of the Emperor Rudolph II by boasting that he pos-
sessed the Stone. Rudolph imprisoned him in 1593 and 1595 to force
him to effect something practical; on the second occasion Kelley tried
to escape and was killed. G. Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, p. 28,
'I wondred to heare, that Kelly had gotten the Golden Fleece, and by

vertue thereof was sodenly aduanced into so honorable reputation with the Emperours maiestye.' Fletcher, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, iv. ii (Fol. 1647, p. 43): 'Tay. They say he can make gold. | Host. I, I, he learnt it of Kelly in Germany. | There's not a Chimist | In christendome can goe beyond him for multiplying.'

93. *the enuy of the Thunderer*. Aesculapius restored the dead to life, and Zeus killed him with a flash of lightning, lest men should escape death altogether.

103. *diamant*. Volp. I. v. 17.

119. *iealousie*, suspicion.

122. *maistrie*, the *magisterium* (I. iv. 14).

126. *shower*, as in the myth of Danae.

131. *the Friers*, Blackfriars.

136. *Emp'ricks*. Cf. For. viii. 29-32:

That distill their husbands land
In decoctions; and are mann'd
With ten Emp'ricks, in their chamber,
Lying for the spirit of amber.

137. *Tincture of pearle*. II. ii. 76.

141-3. *and the light* . . . Volp. III. vii. 195-7.

145. *Nero's Poppæa*. Nero 'showed his love' for her by a poem which he wrote on her 'amber tresses' (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvii. 50), but there seems little point in picking out this pair as consummate types of affection.

153. *in a loth'd prison*. Cf. iv. vii. 79-82, where locking up in the Tower is spoken of. We have cited the case of Cornelius de Lannoy in vol. ii, p. 91.

156. *mullets*. A luxury in ancient Rome in proportion to their size. A mullet weighing 4½ lb., which Tiberius sent to market, was bought for 5,000 sesterces (£50).

157. *high-coutrey wines*, wines of *le haut pays*, the mountainous part of a region as distinguished from *le pays plat*.

160. *dolphins milke*. Apparently a luxury suggested only because it would be difficult to procure, but the milk of the female dolphin is rich and abundant.

171. *Into*, more emphatic than 'in'; the sound travels into the laboratory.

iv. ii. 5. *Bony-bell*. Spenser, *The Shepheards Calendar*, August 62, 'I saw the bouncing Bellibone; Hey ho Bonibell.'

6. *suite*, 'i.e. his captain's uniform for which he is compelled to go out, while Subtle is left to take advantage of his absence and receive the lady' (Gifford).

7. *cortine*. Volp. iv. vi. 82.

9. *through both the nostrils*. Cf. Middleton, *The Widdow*, II. i (1652, D2), '2 Suiter. Is my Nose board? Ile crosse ye both for this.'

10. *Who . . . with?* v. iii. 36; *Poet.* v. i. 57, 'They see not who . . .'.

13. *terræ Fili.* Strictly a person of mean, or low birth, like 'sonnes of the earth' in *S.W.* iv. ii. 70. But Subtle humorously makes it 'landed proprietor' with a quibble on the alchemical term: Greene, *Frier Bacon*, 1594, sc. viii (Malone Society's reprint 1162-3):

those Geomanticke spirites,
That Hermes calleth *Terræ filii*.

19. *child of wrath, and anger.* *B.F.* II. vi. 146, 'childe of wrath, and heyre of anger'.

21. *afore-hand.* An important point with the vapourers, neatly retorted upon Kastril in v. v. 130.

no true Grammar. See *Vincentio Saviolo his Practise*, 1595, S3, 'For to haue the lye giuen lawfully, it is requisite that the cause whereupon it is giuen, be particularlye specified and declared'; T2, 'Of foolish Lyes'—'The common opinion is, that he who giueth the lye, looseth the election of weapons, so that hee saie vnto another that he lyeth, without hauing regarde to the manner how he doth it, wherby he thinketh to haue done great matter. And heereupon it commeth, that euerye daye there riseth from the common sorte new and strange foolishnesses, as he who wil giue the lye ere the other speake, saying: if thou saye that I am not an honest man, thou lyest in thy throate. And this is a changing of nature, for the lye beeing but an answer, in this manner it commeth to answere that which was neuer spoken.'

27. *Efficient,* . . . *N.I.* III. ii. 92-4.

40. *subtillie of her lip . . . tasted.* The word 'taste' here shows that there is a quibbling allusion to the elaborate confectionery known as a 'subtlety': cf. *The Tempest*, v. i. 123-4, 'You do yet taste Some subtleties o' the isle', where Aldis Wright cites *Fabyans Chronicle*, 1542, ii, p. 366, an account of the coronation-feast of Henry V's queen—'a sotyltie called a Pellycane sytting on his nest with the byrdes, and an ymage of Saynte Katheryne holdyng a boke and disputyng with the doctoures'.

42. *Myrobalane.* *Volp.* III. iv. 54.

43. *riuio frontis*, the frontal vein.

45. *linea Fortunæ.* 'The Table line, or Line of Fortune begins under the mount of Mercury', i.e. the little finger, 'and ends near the Index, and the middle Finger.'—R. Sanders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie*, 1653, p. 7 (design on p. 3).

46. *stella . . . in monte Veneris*, 'a star on the hill of Venus' at the root or mount of the thumb (cf. i. iii. 52). 'When this mount is fair, pretty ruddy, having few incisions or cuts, or if they be, if they be clear and distinct, they signifie the man or woman very amorous, and desirous of the act of generation, as also delighting in Dancing, Playes, Musick, and all manner of pleasure' (R. Sanders, op. cit., p. 63). Cf. *G.M.* 288 n.

47. *iunctura annularis*, the joint of the ring-finger. 'In the Annular or Ring-finger, a line rising from the Mons Solis (the mount of the Ring-

finger) straight through the joints thereof, shews honoured glory' (W. Salmon, *Polygraphia*, 1672, ch. xlix).

55. *calls me ladie*. Cf. *B.F.* v. iv. 39-42, where Mistress Littlewit is similarly humoured.

60. *dab-chick*. The little grebe, hence a synonym for daintiness.

67. *the seuerall scale*. *Poet.* v. ii. 60, 'Seeke out for seuerall shelter'.

69. *in a glasse*, the magic crystal.

iv. iii. 12. *composition*, an equivalent.

20. *Don Ion*, like *Diego*, 'James' (37, 39) a name for a Spaniard. Cf. R. Wilson, *The Three Lords and Ladies of London*, 1590, F2^v, London, expecting the Spaniards, holds feasts and triumphs:

That *Iohn* the Spaniard wil in rage run mad,
To see vs bend like Oakes with his vain breath.

Fletcher, *The Captain*, III. iii (Fol. 1679, p. 544):

And swore he look'd in his old veluet trunks
And his slic't *Spanish* Jerkin, like *Don John*.

There is no need to refer the name with Gifford to Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto.

21. 'Gentlemen, I kiss your hands.' A Spanish greeting: see *C.R.* III. iv. 29, 30 n.

24. *head in a platter*. Miss Linthicum quotes an apt parallel from Pierre de l'Estoile, *Registre-Journal*, juillet 1576, i, p. 143: 'Ces beaux Mignons portoient . . . leurs fraises de chemises de toiles d'atour empezées et longues de demi-pied, de façon qu'à voir leur teste dessus leur fraize, il semblait que ce fust le chef Saint-Jean dans un plat' (*Costume in the Drama*, p. 157).

25. *tressils*, i.e. his legs. Cf. *E. Bolsover*, 74.

27. *souse*, ear. *wriggled*, carved with a wriggly pattern, slashed.

29. *Fleming*. Nabbes, *The Springs Glorie*, 1638, B3^v, Christmas says to Shrovetide, 'Though thou be as fat as a Flemming, I'le have *Lent* choke thee with a red-herring'.

30. *In D'alua's time*. Fernando Alvarez, Duke of Alva (1508-82), was governor of the Netherlands from 1567 to 1573.

Egmonts. Lamoral, Count of Egmont, was a Flemish patriot put to death by Alva in 1568.

31. *Madril* (Quarto reading), a common form of 'Madrid'. Middleton, *The Spanish Gipsie*, II. i (1653, C2^v), 'now being enter'd *Madrill*, the enchanted Circle of Spaine'.

33. *sets*, plaits, folds of the ruff. Gifford quotes Glapthorne, *Wit in a Constable*, v. i (1640, G4^r):

Is no newes stirring neighbour? . . .
Men. 2 Wat. Marry, that twixt *Deale*
And *Dover*, one fishing for Flounders, drew

A Spaniards body up, slaine ith' late sea-fight,
And searching him for monie, found ith' sets
Of his great Ruffe the—I shall think on't presently,
Tis a hard word—the Inquisition.

34. 'Gad, a very pretty house, gentlemen.'

40. *Donzel*, squire (Italian *donzello*). *Entiendo*, 'I understand'.

47. 'If you please, may I see this lady?' *esta Sennora* should be *està Sennora*.

62-3. 'I understand the lady is so beautiful that I am anxious to see her as the chief fortune of my life.'

74-5. *winne her, And weare her, out*. The phrase 'win and wear' was specially used of winning a wife.

78. 'Gentlemen, why this great delay?' For *tanta* Gifford reads *tanto*.

80. 'Possibly you are making mock of my love.'

91. 'By this honoured beard.'

92-3. 'I fear, gentlemen, that you are practising some treachery on me.' *Tiengo* should be *Tengo*, as Gifford reads. He comments on the Spanish, 'All these speeches, though sufficiently pertinent, have greatly the air of being taken from some grammar. In this scene Jonson seems to have had the *Pænulus* of Plautus in view. Hanno, like Surly, speaks a language not understood by the rest, and is played upon by Milphio (the Face of the piece) till his patience is exhausted, and he breaks out, as he says, in Latin, "to confound the rogue".'

100. *flaw'd*, flayed.

taw'd. Literally, of dressing leather with alum, to supple it. *B.F.* iv. v. 78, and Fletcher, *The Captain*, III. iii (Fol. 1679, p. 546):

Yes, if they taw him as they do whit-leather
Upon an iron, or beat him soft like stockfish.

iv. iv. 2. *the very nick*, the critical moment, the turning-point.

10. *stoupe*, bow. *Sej.* i. 175, *T.V.* 90. For the national peculiarities in this point of etiquette see *C.R.* III. iv. 29, 30, 'the cringe Of seuerall courts, and courtiers'; Brome, *The Antipodes*, i. vi (1640, C3^v):

Who's not familiar with the Spanish garbe,
Th' Italian shrug, French cringe, and German hugge?

garbe, fashion. *E.M.O.* iv. iv. 78 n.

Spanish beard, which was only slightly peaked.

12. *Pauin* or pavan, a stately dance (Spanish *pavana*). According to Trévoux's *Dictionnaire universel*, 1721, 'a grave kind of dance, borrowed from the Spaniards, wherein the performers make a kind of wheel or tail before each other, like that of a peacock; whence the name', i.e. from the Latin *pavo*. But this etymology is very doubtful: see *O.E.D.*

13. *Spanish titillation*. Cf. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, II. i (1606, D3^v): 'Tales. Nay Ladie hee will perfume you gloues him selfe, most delicately, and giue them the right Spanish Titillation. (*Penelope*.) Titillation

whats that my Lord? *Tal.* Why Ladie tis a pretty kinde of terme newe come vp in perfuming, which they call a Titillation.' For Spanish gloves see *C.R.* v. iv. 395, *N.I.* II. v. 67. 'Perfuming gloves "after the Spanish manner" was a long process, requiring five successive immersions in preparations of wine, waters of white lilies, roses, orange flowers, oil of benjamin, powdered cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, citron, storax, civet, and ambergris. So lasting was the resulting scent, that no after-treatment could remove it' (*Linthicum, Costume in the Drama*, p. 269).

14. *Spanish pike*, the Toledo.

29. *sin' eighty-eight*, i.e. 1588, Armada year. There is an allusion to the song 'In eighty-eight, ere I was born' in Harley MS. 791, f. 59, and *Merry Drollery*, 1661. See Chappell, i, p. 160.

32. *rush*, which Face has picked up off the floor.

33. *crie straw-berries*. *Ep.* xcii. 1. She will sink to the position of a market-girl hawking fruit, or, as Subtle goes on to suggest, a fishwife.

41. *ruffled*, touzled. Dryden and Lord Newcastle, *Sir Martin Mar-all*, I. i (1667), 'You must not suffer him to ruffle you, or steal a kiss'.

45. *Vpon the knee*. *D. is A.* II. vii. 34.

46. *sixe mares*. In Massinger's *The City-Madam*, II. ii (1656, p. 26), Milliscent stipulates that she should have on marrying

my Page, my Gentleman-Usher;
My Woman sworn to my secrets; my Caroch
Drawn by six Flanders mares; my Coachman, Grooms,
Postilian, and Footmen.

So *D. is A.* II. iii. 35; IV. ii. 11; *M.L.* II. iii. 29.

47-8. *th'Exchange, Bet'lem, the China-houses*. So *S.W.* I. iii. 36-7, IV. iii. 24-5.

50. *goose-turd*, yellowish-green. Harrison, *The Description of England*, II. vii (ed. Furnivall, i, p. 172), speaking of colours, 'I might here name a sort of hewes deuised for the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as gooseturd greene, pease porridge tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie gallant, the duell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like'.

53-4. 'How is it, gentlemen, that she does not come? This delay is killing me.'

57-8. 'By all the gods, the most perfect beauty I have ever seen.'

63-4. 'The sun has lost his light with the splendour that this lady brings, God bless me!'

69. 'Why does she not come to me?'

71. 'For the love of God, why is it she delays?'

76-7. 'My lady, my person is quite unworthy to approach such beauty.'

80. 'Lady, if it is convenient to you, we will go in.'

83. *the word*, the cue to go mad.

92. *by erection of her figure*, casting her horoscope. I. i. 96.

IV. v. 1-32. Hugh Broughton (1549-1612), divine and rabbinical scholar, and a strong Puritan whose collected works were edited by

John Lightfoot in 1662. He published in 1590 *A Conccent of Scripture*, from which Dol quotes, an attempt to settle Biblical chronology. Jonson had a fling at Broughton in *Volp.* II. ii. 119.

1-4. Broughton, op. cit., F4, 'And 6 yere more *Alexan.* doth what he wil. Then he dyeth, & his house. His Captains' part the spoile: 4 are chiefe. *Perdiccas* & *Antigonus* 2 of the 4 chief were in time killed by *Ptolemy Lagi* and *Seleucus Nicator*, the two other chiefe: who ioyned powers, & continuall affinitie. This much is in *Daniel* touching *Iauan*, in the Belly & sides: Leopards foure heads, & Buck of sundry hornes. The two standyng *Seleucus* and *Pto.* make the two Legs & fourth Beast.'

5-9. From the headlines to the three columns of chronology from F4^v to G4^v in the *Conccent*—'GOG-North' 'South, Egypt' on F4^r, and so on.

10. *the fourth chaine*, the fourth of the periods into which history is divided in the *Conccent*.

11. *be starres in story*. Broughton, Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, of the witness to Christ from 'other *Ebrewes* and prophane *Greekes*'—'These helpes be starres in the story'.

12-16. Ibid., 'For this worke I endeouored to call auncient *Ebrewes* and *Greekes*, to further the buylding of iustice & peace, to come from *Salem* and *Athens*, to these endes of the earth, the possession of *Christ*: to speake in *England* the tongue of *Eber* and *Iauan*', i.e. Hebrew and Greek.

18-23. From 'The Preface. Of the Families sprung from Noahs neare posteritie', where names are given in unvowelled Hebrew with corresponding English and Greek forms (e.g. *Thogarma* = *Tigranes*), sig. A: 'A learned linguist shall see therein moreouer how the auncient vsed communion in vowellles and consonants, that wisedome which *Pythagoras* held most high to comprise all sounds of voices in few marks of letters.'

26-32. Op. cit., B4, 'By *Cittim* afflicting *Heber*, whose chiefe son *Christ* was: he'—i.e. *Balaam*—'meaneth chiefly *Italy*, whose first name was *Cittim*. With this agreeth *Ierom.* The *Hebrews*, *Onkelos*, *Iarchi*, *Aben Ezra*, *Sadaiah*, *Isaac*, *Ramban*, *Bochai*: who sayth he sealeth his prophecie in *Abaddon Cittim*: which is the power of Rome, &c. as *Paul* doth 2 Th. and Apo. 9. in *Abaddon*, & 17. *Balaam* taught of a Beast, might teach that Beast *Ap.* 11 who is that bad *Abaddon*.'

27. *Helens*. A misprint, or a blunder, for 'Hebers', as is clear from the preceding note.

28. *Thogarma*. 'Togarmah', Ezekiel xxxviii. 6.

habergeons, sleeveless jackets of mail or scale armour, dragged in here purely for the sound of the word.

29. *Brimstony*, . . . *fiery*. Wyclif's version of Revelation ix. 17, of the horsemen with the four angels: 'Thei that saten on hem hadden fijry haberious, and iacynctines, and brunstony.' Coverdale, 'brymstony'.

30. *King Abaddon, and the Beast of Cittim*. The Pope: see Broughton's *A Revelation of the Holy Apocalyps*, 1610, p. 29. 'An excellent name of

the Pope: THE ANGEL OF THE PIT: KING OF LOCUSTS, ABADDON, APOLLYON.'

31. *David Kimchi*. Kimchi, or more correctly Kimhi, was the family name of a group of Jewish grammarians and Biblical scholars who worked at Narbonne in the twelfth century. The most distinguished of the family was David Kimhi (1160–1235), who wrote a Hebrew grammar called the *Miklol* and commentaries on Genesis, Chronicles, the Psalms, and the Prophets.

Onkelos, commonly called the Proselyte Onkelos, was a scholar of the first century, distinguished by his strict observance of the Levitical laws of purity. The official Targum to the Pentateuch was called by his name.

Aben-Ezra. Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra (1092–1167), a Biblical critic and poet. He made accessible to the Jews of Christian Europe works in Arabic which he had found in Spain. He wrote commentaries on most books of the Bible, especially on the Pentateuch, in the criticism of which he was a pioneer.

55 (margin). *A great crack*. The explosion could be easily arranged. As Skeat remarks on Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 354, 'The pot to-breketh, and farewel, al is go!' the directions about 'luting' and hermetically sealing the vessels employed are so strict that 'every care seems to have been (unwittingly) taken to secure an explosion'.

61. *Pellicanes*, II. iii. 78; *Bolt-heads*, II. ii. 9.

70. *mine owne man againe*. *E.M.I.* IV. viii. 9.

85. *For some good penance*. Erasmus, *Alcumista*, 'Mutatis vitreis tertia instaurata est officina. Admonebat alcumista rem felicius succedurum si Virgini matri, quae ut scis Paraliis colitur, mitteret aliquot aureos dono: artem enim esse sacram, nec absque favore numinum rem prospere geri': he takes the offering himself.

99. *hit our heads against the roofe*. *E.M.O.* I. iii. 121.

103. *case*, his alchemist's overalls.

106. *Don Diego*. IV. iii. 20.

107. *fetch him ouer*, get the better of him. *E.H.* III. ii. 328. Day, *The Blind Beggar of Bethnall Greene*, II. ii, 'Tis he that I fetch'd over for the sattin suite, and left him in pawn for the reckoning'. There is also a quibble on the alchemical term, *Merc. Vind.* 55.

IV. vi. 3. *catch'd a . . . clap*. *M.L.* IV. iii. 7.

14, 15. Probably the lines scan 'vpon't' and 'whether' = 'where'.

20. *Donzell*, IV. iii. 40.

21. *After your coitum*. Cf. *Revenge for Honour*, I. i:

Your sage and serious courtier . . .

. . . he will be as pensive

As stallion after coitum, when he wants

Suits, begging suits, I mean.—

with a marginal note 'Omne animal post coitum triste est'.

23. *vpsee Dutch*, Dutch fashion, dull, phlegmatic (*vpsee* = Dutch *op zijn*). Cf. the drinking phrase 'vpsie freeze' (*C. is A.* iv. v. 28).

33. *parcell-broker*. For 'brokers' cf. *E.M.I.* iii. v. 32.

35. *copper rings*. *Volp.* ii. v. 11.

46. *the Faustus*. An allusion thoroughly familiar from Marlowe's play.

48. *Ephemerides*, astronomical almanacs. For their use in medicine cf. *S. of N.* ii. iv. 74: Dr. Hathaway notes that Simon Forman, when summoned by the College of Physicians in May 1593 for practising without a licence, boasted that 'he used no other help to know diseases than the Ephemerides'.

54. *answer by the eares*, be cropped in the pillory. i. i. 169.

iv. vii. 16. *foyst*. *E.M.I.* iv. iv. 17.

23. *mauther*, a young girl, but used provincially in the sense of 'awkward'. Brome, *The English Moor*, iii. i (1659, p. 39):

. . . hoping

That you will pardon my presumptuousness,
I am a Mother that do lack a service.

Quic. You have said enough. I'll entertain no Mothers.
A good Maid servant, knew I where to find one.

Phi. He is a knave, and like your worship, that
Dares say I am no Maid; and for a servant
(It ill becomes poor folks to praise themselves,
But) I were held a tydie one at home.

Quic. O th'art a *Norfolk* woman (cry thee mercy)
Where Maids are Mothers, and Mothers are Maids.

25. *Swabber*. *S.W.* iv. iv. 167.

33-4. *lotium . . . syringes*. *Poet.* iii. iv. 11.

34. *Hydra*. The many-headed water-snake of the marsh of Lerna, killed by Hercules for his seventh labour; its heads grew again twice as fast as he cut them off. Cf. *Cat.* iv. 531-3:

we must so prouide,
That, while we take one head, from this foule *Hydra*,
There spring not twentie more.

39. *It is my humour*. *E.M.O.* Ind. 110-14; *Merch. of Venice*, iv. i. 43; *B.F.* i. iv. 60.

Trig, coxcomb.

40. *an Amadis de Gaule, or a Don Quixote*. Romances for which Jonson had a contempt (*S.W.* iv. i. 56 n.). Tucca in *Satiromastix*, i. ii (1602, D2^v) rather amusingly applies the former to Horace (Jonson), 'farewell my sweet *Amadis de Gaule*, farewell'.

41. *a Knight o'the curious cox-combe*, the 'leud hat' of line 55. There is a glance at the title of Beaumont and Fletcher's play, *The Coxcomb*, which was based on *The Curious Impertinent* from *Don Quixote*.

45. *Otter*. Falstaff called Mistress Quickly an otter. '*Prince*. An otter, Sir John! why an otter? *Fal.* Why, she's neither fish nor flesh.'

Shad. The only example of the word as a term of abuse, and this has no point.

Whit. 'Captaine Whit. A Bawd' is one of the characters in *Bartholomew Fair*, and this may be the meaning of the word here.

46. *Tim.* The precise meaning is unknown. Quoted along with 'Shad' and 'Whit' in *S'too him Bayes*, 1673, p. 73.

53. *the vncleane birds, in seuentie-seuen.* History seems to require 'sixty-seven', the date of D'Alva's invasion of the Netherlands, or 'eighty-eight', the year of the Armada. The 'Spanish Fury' at Antwerp in 1576 was the great event of that year. It looks as if Jonson had misdated D'Alva's invasion. *vncleane birds*, v. iii. 47; Revelation xviii. 2.

66. *brokerly*, pettifogging.

70. *helpe it*, forward it.

71. *Hieronimo's old cloake . . . and hat* in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. That there is point in the reference to these properties is suggested by Dekker's abuse of Jonson in *Satiromastix*, 1. ii (1602, D1^v): '*Tuc.* Scorne it, dost scorne to be arrested at one of his olde Suites? *Hor.* No Captaine, Ile weare any thing. *Tuc.* I know thou wilt, I know th'art an honest low minded Pigmey, for I ha seene thy shoulders lapt in a Plaiers old cast Cloake, like a Slie knaue as thou art: and when thou ranst mad for the death of Horatio: thou borrowedst a gowne of Roscius the Stager, (that honest Nicodemus) and sentst it home lowsie, *Responde*, didst not?'

79-82. Cf. Erasmus, *Alcumista*, 'Subodorati sunt, inquit, aulici quod egimus; nec aliud expecto quam ut mox deducar in carcerem. Ad hanc vocem expalluit etiam serio Balbinus. (Nam scis, apud nos capitale esse, si quis alcumisticam exerceat absque Principis permissu.) Pergit ille: Non, inquit, metuo mortem; utinam illa contingat! metuo quiddam crudelius. Roganti quid hoc esset: Rapiar, inquit, aliquo in turrim: illic per omnem vitam cogar his laborare, quibus non libet.' Money is given him to bribe the courtiers. Delrio, *Disquisit. Magic.* i, p. 86, quotes a contemporary doctor, R. C., on Lully: 'Hunc ego inquirendo comperio apud Anglos, re quidem verâ præstitisse, quod libris suis profitetur: & in arce Londinii, iussu Regis probatissimum aurum confecisse: mihique genus nummi ostensum est, quod adhuc appellant Nobile Raymundi, auri scilicet puri & obryzi summæque iudicaturæ.'

97. *dy'd his beard*: cf. v. v. 52. A fashion of the time: see Barry, *Ram-Alley*, 1. ii (1611, B):

Tafata. Now for a wager,

What colour'd beard comes next by the window?

Adr. A black mans I thinke. *Taf.* I thinke not so,

I think a redde, for that is most in fashion.

On 27 May 1609 Sir C. Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain, reports to the Lords of the Council, 'Upon Wednesday last I visited the *Duke*'—i.e. of Lerma—'and found him at tenn of the Clock in his Bedd; not moved by Malladie, but (as I was enformed) for mending the Colour of his Beard, and taking some other Remedies that he accustometh for his Health' (Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, p. 46).

110. *quibblins*. *E.H.* III. ii. 272.

116. *the liberties*, the district beyond the city bounds subject to the municipal authority.

122. *purchase*, winnings.

125. *Ratcliffe*. *S.W.* IV. ii. 143.

v. i. 6. *Pimlico*. A noted house for cakes and 'Pimlico' ale at Hoxton. Its praises are set forth in a black-letter drollery, *Pimlico. Or Runne Red-Cap. Tis a mad world at Hogsdon*, 1609, reissued by A. H. Bullen, who notes that the name survives in Pimlico Walk, a narrow alley leading from the High Street to the Church. Massinger, *The City-Madam*, IV. iv (1658, p. 62):

Exchange-wenches,
Coming from eating pudding-pies on a Sunday
At *Pemlico*, or *Islington*.

Cooke, *Greene's Tu quoque*, 1614, F4, 'I haue sent my daughter this morning as farre as Pimlico to fetch a draught of Darby ale'; *Newes from Hogsdon*, 1598, 'Have at thee, then, my merrie boyes, and hey for old Ben Pemlicos nut-browne'.

8. *Calfe, with five legs*. Grown to a bull in *B.F.* III. vi. 7, v. iv. 84-5. *The Times* of 24 March 1916, 'News in Brief', notes 'A lamb with eight legs has been born on a South Wales farm'.

12. *no Bills*. *E.M.I.* II. i. 122-4.

14. *Babiouns*. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, I. i (1606, A2), 'tis the great Baboone, that was to be seene in Southwarke'; S. Rowlands, *Humors Looking Glasse*, 1608, B3 (the sights of the City):

Shew'd him the Lyons, Gyants in Guild-Hall,
King Lud at Ludgate, the Babounes and all—

Barry, *Ram-Alley*, I.ii (1611, B1^v), 'to see the Baboones Doe their newest tricks'.

Puppets, which Jonson held in contempt. *K. Ent.* 260-1, 'the most miserable and desperate shift of the Puppits' is 'to require a Truchman'; *Disc.* 608-11: 'But a man cannot imagine that thing so foolish, or rude, but will find, and enjoy an Admirer; at least, a Reader, or Spectator. The Puppets are seene now in despite of the Players.' Chapman agreed with Jonson: *The Reuenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, I. i (1613, C1^v):

Nay, we must now haue nothing brought on Stages,
But puppetry, and pide ridiculous Antickes:
Men thither come, to laugh, and feede fool-fat.

21. *ging*. *E.M.I.* II. ii. 31.

22. *The Frier, and the Nun*. There was a dance tune so called, given in Chappell, I, p. 286. T. Heywood, *If You know not Me*, pt. II, 1606, D3, 'But sure this is the Lane, there's the Windmill, there's the Dogs head in the pot, and her's the Fryer whipping the Nuns arse'.

Motion, puppet-show.

24. *The Boy*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, III. i (1613, F4), 'of all the sights that euer were in *London*, since I was married, mee thinkes the little child that was so faire growne about the members was the prettiest, that, and the *Hermaphrodite*'.

25. *the Fleas*. *D. is A.* v. ii. 10-13.

26. *Dog to dance*. Cf. 'the *dogges* that daunce the *Morrice*', *B.F.* v. iv. 86.

37. *strangled an houre*. Gifford interpreted 'an hour' as a vulgar and pointless expletive, the whole phrase meaning no more than 'strangled'. He compared *Meas. for Meas.* v. i. 352-3, 'show your sheep-biting face, and be hanged an hour!' and *B.F.* II. v. 71-2, 'Leaue the bottle behinde you, and be curst a while'.

v. ii. This scene is suggested by similar trickery in the *Mostellaria* (or 'Haunted House') of Plautus. Theoropides, an Athenian merchant, returns home from abroad; during his absence his son Philolaches has lived riotously in the house, and is revelling at the moment when the father returns. The slave Tranio, who has aided Philolaches, comes forward to save the situation. The home is locked up (ll. 425-6). Theoropides arrives:

Sed quid hoc? occlusa ianua est interdus.
pultabo.

He nearly breaks the door down: Tranio, frightened, intervenes (460):

Fuge huc, fuge ad me propius. tetigistin foras?

The house has been shut up for seven months (470-1); the former tenant murdered a guest, robbed him, and buried him in the house (479-82). The dead man's ghost haunts the house, and orders the inmates to quit it (497-504):

Scelestae hae sunt aedes, impia est habitatio.

The son to pay for his debauchery and to free a slave-girl whom he has bought has borrowed from a money-lender, who now appears, asking for his money. Tranio's further subterfuges, his detection, and his ultimate escape from punishment must be read in the original.

19. *threaues*, droves: so *S.S.* I. ii. 8. Literally a bundle or handful (of corn, &c.) tied up like a small sheaf: Chapman, *The Gentleman Vsher*, II. i (1606, C1^v), Bassiolo, showing rushes, says:

Look how he strowes here too: Come sir Giles Goosecap:
I must do all my selfe, lay me vm thus:
In fine smooth threaues, looke you sir, thus in threaues.

And later in the scene (C2):

Bass. Nay, see if thou canst lay vm thus in threaues.

Vin. In threaues dee call it. *Bass.* I my Lord in threaues. *Vin.* A pretty terme.

19, 20. *Hogsden*, now *Hoxton*, a favourite place of resort for City holiday-makers. For *Pimlico* cf. v. i. 6 n. *Eye-bright* is celebrated in the drollery of *Pimlico* (there quoted), D3^v:

Eye-bright, (so fam'd of late for *Beere*)
Although thy *Name* be numbred heere,—i.e. at *Hoxton*—
Thine ancient *Honors* now runne low;
Thou art struck blind by *Pimlyco*.

22. *in a French-hood*. Dame Pliant (II. vi. 33 n.).

24. *In a veluet gowne*. Dol (v. iv. 134).

44-7. Plautus, *Mostellaria*, 541-5, Tranio, when the money-lender appears:

Sed quidnam hic sese tam cito recipit domum?
Metuo ne de hac re quippiam inaudiverit.
Accedam atque adpellabo. Ei, quam timeo miser!
Nihil est miserius quam animus hominis conscius,
sicut me male habet.

v. iii. 2. *mere*, absolute.

21. *You doe mistake the house*. *Mostellaria*, 968, 'Ita dico: ne ad alias aedis perperam deueneris'.

30. *the Moone*. Gifford quotes *Othello*, v. ii. 112-14:

It is the very error of the moon;
She comes more nearer earth than she was wont
And makes men mad.

34. *cockatrice*. *E.M.O.* I. ii. 220.

35. *marshall*. I. i. 120.

41. *the fat knight, and the lean gentleman*. Mammon and Surly, but the leanness of the latter is inconsistent with iv. iii. 28; perhaps his disguise had padded him out, and he had now taken this off.

50. *punque, deuice*, arrant whore. An inaccurate extension of the phrase '*point-device*', faultlessly exact, of dress, 'a shortened form of *at point device*, with great nicety or exactitude, . . . a translation of OF. *à point devis*, according to the point [of exactitude] that is devised or imagined, i.e. in the best way imaginable' (Skeat). *T. of T.* III. vii. 76 and *E.H.* III. ii. 250 show other lax uses of the phrase.

55. *S. Katherne's*, the old hospital, founded by Queen Matilda in 1148, which was swept away to make room for St. Katherine's Docks.

67. *sets out the throate*, raises his voice. Tomkis, *Albumazar*, 1615, III. ii, 'Ha, ha, ha: hold out, hold out; lay out a Lyons throate, A little lowder'.

v. iv. 8. *FAC*. Dr. Hathaway notes that at the end of Act IV Face had his captain's beard shaved off to make him appear 'smooth Ieremie', and has not had time to procure a false beard now.

10, 11. *haunted with spirits*. This is the device of Tranio in the *Mostellaria*; actually Face had said the plague.

11. *churle*, countryman, because of his hop-yards (1. i. 184). Face is adapting himself to Subtle and Dol.

12. *triumph, and sing* . . . A quotation, or a parody, of a song? For the accent on 'triumph' cf. *T. of T.* III. vi. 1, *U.V.* xxvi. 41.

14. *coyle*, disturbance. *E.H.* IV. i. 13.

15. *dwindled*, shrank. 'Probably a misuse owing to the two senses of *shrink*' (*O.E.D.*). *D. is A.* IV. iv. 63.

35. *your Fly in a purse*. *M. of Q.* 185-6, a purse made of frog-skin to keep a spider in, where Jonson notes that it 'was meant ridiculous, to mock the keeping of theyr *Familiars*'.

41-2. *Wool-sack pies* . . . *Dagger frume'ty*. *D. is A.* I. i. 66, 'pies, at the *Dagger*, and the *Wool-sacke*'. The Woolsack was in Ivy Lane in Faringdon Ward within (Dekker, *The Shomakers Holiday*, 1610, H3^v); for the *Dagger* see I. i. 191.

frumety. 'a dish made of hulled wheat boiled in milk, and seasoned with cinnamon, sugar, etc.' (*O.E.D.*).

43. *In heauen, and hell*. Heaven and Hell were two taverns on the site of the present committee-rooms of the House of Commons. In the 'Overbury' *Characters*, 5th ed., 1614, F3, 'A meere Common Lawyer': 'No way to heauen he thinks so wise, as through *Westminster-Hall*, and his Clerks commonly through it visite both heauen and hell'; Butler, *Hudibras*, pt. iii. 224, celebrates 'False Heaven at the end of the Hall'. Hell was originally a prison of the King's debtors. John Taylor in *Part of this Summers Travels, Or News from Hell, Hull, and Halifax*, 1639, p. 33, 'Newes from Hell, with a short description of the Hell at *Westminster*'. After Pride's purge in 1648, 'the distracted forty-one', says Carlyle, 'are marched to Mr. Duke's tavern hard by, a "Tavern called Hell", and very imperfectly accommodated for the night' (*Cromwell*, II, p. 89).

44. *mum-chance*. A dice-game resembling hazard; costermongers affected it. *B.F.* IV. ii. 75; *Christmas*, 218-21; W. Turner, *The Common Cries of London*, 1662:

Ripe, cherry ripe! the costermonger cries;
Pippins fine or pears! another after hies,
With basket on his head his living to advance,
And in his purse a pair of dice for to play at mumchance.

For clerks playing with them see the 'Overbury' *Characters*, ed. 6, 1615, K2, 'A *Puny-clerke*': 'He studies false dice to cheate Costermongers'; and Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, II. iii (1651, p. 28), where Hearsay says:

Your high
And low men are but trifles: your poyz'd Dye
That's ballasted with Quicksilver or Gold
Is grosse to this— . . . For the bristle Dye it is
Not worth that hand that guides it; toies fit only
For Clerks to win poore Costermongers ware with.

tray-trip, a game that depended on throwing threes: 'trippe without a Treye makes had I wist' (*Machiavell's Dogge*, 1617, B_j^v).

45. *God make you rich*, a variety of backgammon. *Love Rest*, 154.

47. *Gleeke*, and *primero*. II. iii. 284-5.

68. *Hieronimo's cloake* . . . IV. vii. 71.

77. *Brainford*, *Brentford*.

88. *flitter-mouse*. N.I. III. i. 211, 'flicker mouse'. 'How infinitely superior', said Tennyson, 'is the provincial word *flitter-mouse* to the orthodox *bat*' (*Memoir*, by Hallam Tennyson, ii, p. 203).

89. *pigeons*. 'The Three Pigeons' in Brentford Market-place, closed 7 January 1916. The actor John Lowin, who had played the parts of Mammon and Falstaff, kept it under the Commonwealth and died there in 1653. Middleton alludes to it in *The Roaring Girl* (1611), ed. Bullen, III. i. 55, and Goldsmith lays the second scene of *She Stoops to Conquer* there, with Tony Lumpkin singing a drinking song in its honour.

114. *single money*, small coins not requiring change. R. Brome, *A Jovial Crew*, v. i. (1652), 'an old *Patrico*, an ancient Prophet, to tell Fortunes, and cozen our poor Country People of their single Money'.

116. *Ward*, a noted pirate, with headquarters at Tunis, from which he raided the Mediterranean. His exploits came prominently before the public at this period. An account of him by Andrew Barker, a ship-master who had been imprisoned by him, appeared in 1609. A play by Robert Daborne, *A Christian turn'd Turke: or, The Tragicall Lives and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates, Ward and Dansiker*, was acted in 1609 or 1610 and published in 1612. Dekker's play, *If It be not Good, the Diuel is in it*, acted between 1610 and 1612, has a scene in Hell (1612, L₄^v): Ward is not come there, 'The Merchants are not pilld nor pulld enough'.

For the inquiry of the sailor's wife compare the West pamphlet cited in III. v: the sixth chapter is 'Of Saylers wiues, that came to her, to know when their husbands should come home'.

120. *bolts*, rolls of woven fabric.

128. *you looke*. Ford, *Tis Pity*, v. v. (1633, I₄^v):

But d'ee thinke,
That I shall see you there?—You looke on mee.—
May we kisse one another, prate or laugh,
Or doe as wee doe here?

133. *back-side*. C. is A. IV. viii. 1.

136. *dock*. From Flemish *dok*, 'rabbit-hutch, fowl-pen, cage', probably at first a word of rogues' cant; its current use is largely due to Dickens. The more correct term in Jonson's day was 'bail-dock', the enclosure formerly filled with prisoners whose trial was put down for the day (O.E.D.). Cf. Warner's *Albion's England*, iii. 18 (1589, p. 76):

Sterne Minos and grimme Radamant discend their duskie roomes:
The Docke was also cleare of Gosts adiorn'd to after-doomes:
The Furies, and the deadly Sinnes, with their inuectiue Scroles
Depart the Barre.

141-2. *Mistress Amo . . . madame Cæsarean*. Two brothel-keepers: for the latter cf. II. i. 17, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 180, 'MADAME CAESAR, great PROSERPINA'. The Quarto reads '*Imperiall*' for '*Cæsarean*'.

v. v. 5. *for fayling*, as a precaution against failing. Chaucer, *The Tale of Sir Thopas*, 149-51:

And next his sherte an aketoun,
And over that an haubergeoun
For percynge of his herte;

Barry, *Ram-Alley*, I. ii (1611, B)—'Ah how light a treads For dusting his silk stockings'.

9. *ding*, strike down. Drayton, *Ballad of Agincourt* (Odes, 1619), 89-91:

This while our Noble King,
His broad Sword brandishing,
Downe the *French* Hoast did ding.

11. *collier*. I. i. 90.

12. *day-Owles*. J. C. Scaliger, *Exotericae Exercitationes*, 1557, ex. 23, p. 461, of alchemists' furnaces, 'Sunt enim <fornaculae> noctuae ad aucupia crumenarum, à quibus aurum, quod postea pollicentur aliis, sibi captent prius'.

13. *Suppository*, primarily an allusion to her study of medicine; with quibbles on (1) 'impostor' (supposititious), amusing in view of all that he had found in the 'poore Barons daughter'; (2) 'whore', as in Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan*, I. ii (1605, B2^v), '*Free*. Whore? fie whore? you may call her a Curtezan, a Cocatrice, or (as that worthy spirite of an eternal happinesse saide) a suppositarie.'

Doxey. III. iii. 23.

20. *Nun*. Facetiously applied to courtesans.

41. *poesies of the candle*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, II. iv. 147-50 (Quarto 1622, p. 29), of Megra, detected in lechery:

King. By all the gods, all these, and all the Pages,
And all the Court, shall hoot thee through the Court,
Fling rotten Oranges, make ribal'd rimes,
And seare thy name with candles vpon walls.

Herrick, *Hesperides* (Works, ed. Moorman, p. 133):

And have our Roofe,
Although not archt, yet weather prooffe,
And seeling free,
From that cheape *Candle baudery*.

42. *Dildo*, phallus.

56. *Hargubuzier*, musketeer, armed with the 'harquebus', the early type of portable gun.

59. *Choughes*, daws.

61. *these five weekes* agrees (substantially) with v. i. 28-9, but in II. i. 5 the experiments have taken ten months.

76-7. *would ha' built the citie new*. Cf. Chaucer, *The Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, Prologue, 67-73:

I seye, my lord can swich subtilitee . . .
That al this ground on which we been ryding,
Til that we come to Caunterbury toun,
He koude al clene turne it up-so-doun,
And pave it al of silver and of gold.

Norton in the *Ordinall* tells of a monk who would have made

upon the plaine
Of Salisbury glorious to be saine,
Fifteen Abbies in a little while,
One Abbie at the end of every mile.

and a curate who planned a bridge over the Thames

With Pinacles guilt shining as goulde,

and to make it shine at night

With Carbuncle Stones, to Make men wonder,
With duble reflexion above and under.

80. *tits, and tom-boyes*, young girls. Fletcher, *The Knight of Malta*, II. i (1619), 'Ye Filly, ye Tit, ye Tomboy'.

81. *mount a turnep-cart*. Cf. S. Butler, *Hudibras*, pt. ii, ed. Waller, p. 184:

As loud as one that sings his part
T'a Wheel-barrow or Turnip Cart.

85. *harken out*. C.R. III. i. 63.

103. *table dormant*, permanent side-table as distinct from a 'board', which was removable. John Cleveland, replying to a Puritan officer who complained that a soldier had absconded with £123. os. 8d., 'Thus is the summe, but why you call it the precise summe, since it is fallen away, I understand not: but how come you to reckon so punctually? Did *Ananias* tell it upon the Table Dormant? What yeare of the perfection of the Saints? I wonder you did not rather count it by the shekels, that is the more sanctified coyn.'

111. *threaten Gad*. Was Ananias thinking of Genesis xlix. 19, 'Gad, a troop shall overcome him: but he shall overcome at the last'?

117. *Harry Nicholas*. Henrick Niclaes, an Anabaptist mystic, leader of the sect of 'the Family of Love'. He was a disciple of David Joris, or George, and came over to England in Edward VI's reign. In 1574 he published *The Enterlude of Minds*. His pamphlets were translated into English by Christopher Vittel, a Southwark joiner. In 1580 Elizabeth issued a proclamation against the sect, ordering their books to be burnt and themselves to be imprisoned.

121. *Westchester*, Chester, frequently so called at this time. Camden, *Britain*, transl. Holland, 1610, p. 604, 'The noble Citie which . . . Ptolomee named Devnana . . . the Britans Caer-Legion, Caer-Leon Vaur . . . and we, more short, West-Chester, and simply Chester.'

126. *tupt* carries on the metaphor of 'yew' as if Dame Pliant was part of his farm-stock.

128. *mammet*, puppet. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, II. iii. 88-9, 'This is no world To play with mammets'.

131. *feize*, literally 'frighten away'. 'The threat "I'll feeze you" seems to have given rise to the following senses: *a. vaguely*, "To do for", "settle the business" (of a person). *b.*'—as here—'To beat, flog' (O.E.D.).

133. *old Boy*. *Poet.* I. ii. 211.

134. *change your copy*. *E.M.O.* v. v. 16.

135. *stoupe*, a term of falconry, of the hawk's swoop, appropriately addressed to a Kestrel. *T. of T.* I. i. 24, *S. of N.* III. i. 46, *Ep.* lxxxv. 7.

144. *Iouy*. *T. of T.* I. iv. 43. From the late Latin 'Iovius', but Jonson's punctuation shows that he supposed it an abbreviation of 'jovial': cf. 'melancholy', *E.M.I.* I. iii. 78 n.

152. *candor*, honour, fair repute.

159. *decorum*. The doctrine of truth to type which Jonson held as of the essence of his art. We have discussed the general principle in the introduction to *Every Man in his Humour*, vol. I, pp. 337-9, and Face's application of it in the introduction to *The Alchemist*, vol. II, p. 108. *B.F.* Induction 158-9, *M.L.* Induction 90, are other examples of it, and in *M. Blackness* 87 and *H.W.* 55 he applies it to features of the scenery. He noted the violations of it in language by Sidney, Guarini, and Lucan in *Conv. Dr.* 17-19, 64, 611-13. He discussed the special case of metaphors in *Disc.* 1889-918. R. Flecknoe, a great admirer of Ben, wrote in *A Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664, 'Beaumont and Fletcher were excellent in their kinde, but they often err'd against *Decorum*, seldom representing a valiant man without something of the *Braggadocio*, nor an honourable woman without something of *Dol Common* in her: to say nothing of their irreverent representing Kings persons on the Stage, who shu'd never be represented, but with Reverence.'

162-3. *put my selfe . . . countrey*. A reference to the legal description of a jury. O.E.D. quotes Sir T. Smith, *Commonwealth of England*, ed. 1633, p. 189: 'If hee'—i.e. the prisoner—'plead not guiltie, the clarke asketh him how hee will be tried and telleth him he must say, by God and the countrey, for these be the words formall of his triall after inditement.'

164. *quit*, acquit.

CATILINE HIS CONSPIRACY

Two tragedies on *Catiline*, which have not survived, preceded Jonson's. Stephen Gosson in his attack on stage-plays, *The Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, p. 23, pleads guilty to having written one, *Catilins Conspiracies*, 'a Pig of mine owne Sowe'; 'the whole mark which I shot at in that woorke, was to shewe the rewarde of traytors in *Catiline*, and the necessary gouernment of learned men, in the person of *Cicero*, which forsees euery danger that is likely to happen, and forstalles it continually ere it take effect'. A play of 'cattelanes consperesey', as Henslowe spells it, was entered in his *Diary* in 1598 (ed. Greg, p. 94); between 21 and 29 August he paid on behalf of the Admiral's men £1. 5s. in earnest for it to Robert Wilson and Henry Chettle. Henslowe does not record any performance of it.

Jonson would know nothing of either of these, nor, if he had known them, would he have needed to use them. His sources were Sallust's *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, Cicero's *Catiline Orations* (with occasional hints from the *Pro Sulla*, *Pro Murena*, the *Pro Caelio*, and the *De Lege Agraria*), Dion Cassius' *Roman History*, and Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*. All the Latin sources lay ready to his hand in his folio copy of Sallust now in the library of Clare College, Cambridge—*C. Crispi Salustii . . . Opera, quæ quidem extant, omnia. . . . Vnà cum doctissimorum . . . uirorum Commentarijs, Castigationibus, Scholijs, . . . nempe Laurentii Vallae. Iod. Badii Ascensij, Ioan. Chrysost. Soldi. Iacobi Bononiensis. Omniboni Leonici. Bartholomaei Zanchi. Vincent. Castilionei. Ioannis Rivii. Henrici Glareani*. [In addition the speeches of Cicero and Porcius Latro] *etiam Constantii Felicii Durantini Historia coniurationis Catilinariae, non pauca à Salustio prætermissa continens. . . . Basileæ, per Henricum Petri. 1564*. Page after page is pencil-marked at the passages which Jonson has quoted or used.¹ The book gives a vivid glimpse of Jonson's working methods.

¹ Miss Duffy in her article 'Ben Jonson's Debt to Renaissance Scholarship in "Sejanus" and "Catiline"' (*M.L.R.* xlii, p. 30) hints a doubt about these markings. 'Pencils were in use early in 1565, so that the markings might possibly have been made by Jonson. It is worth noting, however, that Jonson usually accompanied underlinings by comments and used ink.' Further she notes that the Felicius and other books in Clare College had passed through other hands before we examined them. Having examined 150 books which once belonged to Jonson, we are in a position to say that he used pencil as well as ink, that he marked books without commenting on them, and that the test is whether the marked passages are reproduced in his text; this is so with the Felicius.

Next to the original Roman authors Jonson found the history of the jurist Felicius extremely useful.¹ It was first published at Rome in 1518 with a dedication to Pope Leo X; Petri reprinted it in the Sallust folio. Felicius's excuse for writing it was that he had filled in from Cicero and other sources the gaps in Sallust's narrative. 'Quid enim gloriosius M. Ciceroni contingere potuit, quàm ut Pater patriæ nominaretur? nullum fit de hoc à Salustio uerbum. Siletur de supplicatione, qui honos tunc maximus putabatur.' He weaves into his own narrative the phrases of Cicero and Sallust, and he inserts a few speeches 'ualde temporibus ac personis accomodatae'. Thus Catiline's speech to the conspirators, in which Jonson has been content to follow Sallust (I. 326-402), is elaborately expanded by Felicius to a great rhetorical effort. Again the speech of Petreius, which opens the fifth act, is worked up into a sustained oration from the brief hint in Sallust of some soldier-like words, 'Ipse circumiens unum quemque nominans appellat hortatur, rogat ut meminerint se contra latrones inermes pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare' (*Cat.* 59, § 5). Felicius has drawn upon Cicero's second speech against Catiline where six different types of conspirator are analysed (§§ 17-23)—a classification worked out more suitably in a political speech at Rome than by a general on the battlefield. Here Jonson has copied from Felicius the first forty-nine lines of the speech he gives Petreius, and he follows Felicius in reducing the six types to three. A further point in which Jonson is closely indebted is in the account of the Allobroges and their interview with the conspirators; Felicius has an imaginative reconstruction of it, which Jonson follows.²

Berthelet published in 1541 a version of Felicius, *The Conspiracie of Lucius Catiline translated into englishe by Thomas Paynell, worthy, profitable, and pleasaunt to be red.* It was dedicated to King Henry VIII, with no hint of the original dedication to the Pope. Petri in the Folio volume inserts much spurious matter; such as Sallust's invectives against Cicero, Cicero's reply to them, and an attack on Catiline by the rhetorician Porcius Latro. Jonson refrains from using them, and he does not follow Petri's misspelling of Autronius's name as 'Antronius'.

Jonson's use of the classical historians was discussed by Adolf Vogt in his Halle thesis, *Ben Jonsons Tragödie Catiline his Conspiracy und ihre Quellen*, 1905; he also noted passages in which

¹ Constanzo Felice of Castel Durante near Ancona. Jonson's debt to him in this play has been carefully worked out by Miss E. M. T. Duffy in the article in *M.L.R.* xlii (1947), pp. 24-30.

² Expanded from Sallust's history, ch. 40.

Jonson has drawn upon the Roman poets. In the Yale edition of the play L. H. Harris, using the manuscript collections of Miss Alice P. Wright, substantially added to these minor borrowings, and has been in turn supplemented by W. D. Briggs in *M.L.N.* xxxi, 1916, pp. 195-202, and W. P. Mustard, xxxvi, 1921, pp. 154-7.

Even more important than the record of Jonson's borrowings is the use which he made of them. Sallust gives some vivid sketches and supplies a background; and he had the advantage of writing from personal knowledge. But Jonson fills in his outlines. In Sallust Sempronia, as a critic has remarked, 'sits for her portrait and then disappears'.¹ Good as the portrait is, Jonson's humorous rehandling of it gives us a lifelike figure in the play. She even became a type. On the famous Lady Carlisle, Strafford's friend, there is a comment in the *Clarendon Papers*, 'Whatever Lady Carlisle hears she immediately tells her nephews, Lord Lisle and Algernon Sidney, and is still Sempronia'.² Lady Harvey, a famous stateswoman at the Court of Charles II, was openly mimicked in a performance of the character in 1668-9.³ Shaftesbury in a speech on the Exclusion Bill, 23 December 1690, attacked the King's mistresses, and added an attack on 'another Lady, that belongs not to the Court, but like *Sempronia* in *Catiline's Conspiracy*, does more mischief than Cethegus'—the Duchess of Mazarine. Curius and Fulvia are briefly sketched in Sallust; Jonson has developed them with natural touches. Fulvia's commonplace garrulity in the interview with Cicero—

I assure your lordship,
The extreme horror of it almost turn'd me
To aire, when first I heard it; I was all
A vapor, when 'twas told me: and I long'd
To vent it any where. 'Twas such a secret,
I thought, it would haue burnt me vp.⁴

contrasts well with the natural vivacity of her dialogue with Sempronia. And Curius makes a hit when Fulvia wins him over:

Most noble *Consul*, I am yours, and hers;
I mean my countries.⁵

Elaborate pains are taken to mark off the characters from one another and to preserve the consistency of each. At the opening of the play (i. 131-56) Catiline shrewdly characterizes them, in accordance with Jonson's practice of describing his dramatic creations before they appear. Cethegus maintains to the end the Senecan

¹ Quoted by W. W. Capes in his edition, p. 22.

² iii. 681, Hartgill Bary to Hyde in 1660.

³ See vol. ix, p. 242.

⁴ III. 287-92.

⁵ Ibid. 407-8.

touch, the temper of the 'prize-fighter in buskins', as Lessing defined the type. 'Natura ferox vehemens manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat', says Sallust of him (ch. 43), and Cicero describes his 'furiosa temeritas' (*Cat. Or.* iii, § 16). In keeping with this is his tearing up of the letters which betrayed him (v. 163): this is not in Sallust.

The portrayal of Catiline's undeviating villainy is a dramatic weakness. The historical Catiline, as Cicero admitted when he was defending Caelius, was a many-sided character. 'There was very much in him which indicated, not indeed in clear relief, but in outline, a virtuous ideal. He contrived to retain his hold upon many courageous and honest men by a plausible assumption of virtue.'¹ The only assumption of it in the play is sheer hypocrisy (III. 120-34). The character has no relief.

The use of Cicero is from the nature of the case mainly rhetorical. Even with the cuts Jonson made in it—and he trimmed all the speeches in the play—the first *Catiline Oration* (IV. 113-461) is inordinately long; small wonder it wore out the patience of the audience. Cato's comment, 'You talke too much to 'hem, MARCVS',² would be a good motto for the play. But one point has to be remembered concerning it: the platform-stage of the Elizabethan theatre without a front curtain lent itself to declamation. Elizabethan playwrights availed themselves of this.

The conspirator Cornelius is mentioned in Sallust (*Cat.* 28) as the would-be murderer of Cicero along with Vargunteius; and Cicero (*Pro Sulla*, § 52) describes him as present at Laeca's house in the street of the scythemakers, and specially asking to be entrusted with the task. In the play Curius and Vargunteius offer to do the murder (III. 662). Curius is merely thrusting himself forward with pretended zeal; he could not have gone to Cicero's house with Vargunteius. One would have expected Jonson to introduce Cornelius earlier, and for 'CVR. VAR. I'll do't' to have substituted 'COR. VAR. I'll do't'.

THE TIME-TABLE OF THE PLAY

In view of Jonson's attitude towards the Unities, it is important to note that, when history required it, he treated the Unity of Time with reasonable freedom. The action of *Catiline* takes three days.

The First Day

The play opens while it is still night (I. 1). It is a dark morning,

¹ *Pro Caelio*, 12. 14: 'Habuit . . . permulta maximarum non expressa signa, sed adumbrata virtutum. . . . Multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis adsimulatae tenebat.' Jonson has marked the passage where it is quoted in his folio Sallust, a 4, col. 51 and col. 56.

² III. 827.

which 'riseth slowly' (192). The second act with Fulvia dressing. She greets Sempronia, who calls upon her, 'Whither are you thus early addrest?' (91). Sempronia has been writing election-letters 'all this night' (96).

A day passes in which Cicero is elected consul (III. 1). That night Fulvia betrays the plot. Cicero gives orders 'Light 'hem' (437) when Fulvia and Curius leave his house. Similarly 'The night growes on' when Caesar visits Catiline (490); he refuses lights when he leaves (527-7).

The Second Day

The plot to murder Cicero in bed is formed in the early morning (III. 658-72). As the meeting breaks up, 'it drawes Toward the morning' (698-9). Cicero gives orders to 'let no man in, till day' (763). When the plot fails, the conspirators comfort themselves that they cannot be identified: 'The darkenesse hath conceal'd us, yet' (831).

The Senate meets early: Cicero's life was attempted 'not an houre yet since' (IV. 84). There are references to 'last night's businesse' (263, 283)—the meeting at Catiline's house in III. 548-713. So Catiline speaks of 'yester-night' (544). The Allobroges are to depart 'this euening' (685): they do so in lines 824-42.

The Third Day

The fifth act opens with Petreius' address to his army near Faesulae. The meeting at Brutus' house—i.e. at Sempronia's—in Act IV, 707-80, is referred to in the Senate as taking place 'Last night' (V. 180). Catiline, who had left Rome the day before, addresses his army (367-419). The 'hastie calling of the Senate' (420 foll.) has no note of time, but it must have been in the evening. The execution of the conspirators follows in lines 585-608: in actual history it took place at night; they were taken across the Forum to the subterranean vault at the foot of the Capitol and strangled by torch-light. Cicero 'waited before the door till the executions were accomplished, and then with his loud well-known voice proclaimed over the Forum to the multitude waiting in silence "They are dead"'.¹ Cicero's speech—the shortest he ever made—was the one word *Vixerunt*.

Dedication

William, Earle of Pembroke (1580-1630), to whom Jonson also dedicated the *Epigrams*, 'the ripeest of my studies'. It was he who gave Jonson £20 every New Year's day with which to buy books (*Drummond*

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, book v, ch. v.

Conv. xiii. 312-13). Jonson eulogized him in *Epigram* cii, and said of him in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, 687-90:

You knowe how to vse yo^r sword and yo^r pen,
And you loue not alone the Artes, but the Men.
The Graces and Muses euerie where followe
You, as you were their second *Apollo*.

5. *these Iig-giuen times*. Cf. *Alch.* To the Reader, 5-8.

a legitimate Poeme. *Sejanus* was 'no true *Poeme*' in breaking the unity of time and in 'the want of a proper *Chorus*' (To the Readers, 6-8). The second of these defects is remedied in *Catiline*.

10. *of this race*, i.e. tragedy. The Quarto of *Sejanus* had no dedication.

11. *had I not thought it the best*. Lord Dorset, in the epilogue he wrote for the Restoration revival of *Every Man in his Humour*, made the ghost of Jonson speak of 'my best lov'd *Cataline*'.

To the Reader

The distinction between the two types of reader, 'in ordinaire' and 'extraordinary', threatened to become a commonplace. Chapman in an address to the reader before *Seauen Bookes of the Iliades of Homere*, 1598, says, 'I suppose you to be no meare reader, since you intend to reade *Homer*. . . . But to him that is more then a reader, I write. . . .' And before *Achilles Shield*, 1598, 'To the Vnderstander'—'You are not everybody: to you, as to one of my very few friends, I may be bold to utter my mind.' So in Dekker's *A Strange Horse-Race*, 1613, 'Not to the Readers . . . but to the Vnderstanders', and in Donne's *Poems*, 1633, 'The Printer to the Understanders'.

3. *I departed with my right*. Cf. *B.F. Ind.* 87, *Ep.* cxxxi. 2.

27. *though Places in Court go otherwise*. Printed in 1611. Jonson had been employed at Court in *Prince Henry's Barriers* on 6 January 1610, *Oberon the Fairy Prince* on 1 January 1611, and *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* on 3 February 1611. In January 1612 he was in Paris. There was therefore no failure to employ him for Court entertainments.

Act I

An extraordinarily close copy of the first act of *Catiline* was made by Robert Baron in his *Tragedy of Mirza*, 1647.¹ We give a few extracts only. The ghost of Emir-hamze-mirza opens the play; he appears to his brother Abbas:

. . . Behold, I come, from the dark Lake,
To be thy evill *Genius*, and distill
Into thy darker bosom deeds shall fill
The measure of thy sins up, and pull down,
With violent hand, heavens vengeance on thy Crown.

[Discovers Abbas in his study.]

¹ Pointed out by Miss J. F. Bradley in *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiv, pp. 402-8.

The foul Fiend aid thy councells; and unto
Thee dictate what he would, but cannot do. . . .
Inherit all my fury, and obey
What jealousie shall prompt; mine did I say?
Alas! (vain voice!) how weak is that for thee!
The spirits of all unnaturall Fathers be
Doubled upon thee. Act what the *Mogull*
And *Turk* shall start to hear, what the *Tartar* shal
Pitty, what *Bahaman* could not wish should be
And the *Arabian* will lament to see.
Faulter not in thy course now, but pursue
New mischiefs, till no mischiefs can be new.

Floradella his love is modelled on Aurelia: she enters.

Mirza. Who's that? *Flo*. Tis I. *Abb*. My *FLORADELLA*. *Flo*. Yes.
Abb. Enter my sweet: welcome as earliest light
To th' infant world; and with thee ever bring
A thousand Comforts to my thoughtfull breast.
But why doth sadnesse invade Beauties Kingdom?
And these fair eyes eclips their glorious splendour
With vailes of melancholly? [He hisseth them.

The Chorus is copied even to the extent of using the same metres as in *Catiline*. The first Chorus begins:

O misery of greatest states!
Obnoxious to unconstant Fates!

On page 161 Baron speaks of 'the matchless *Johnson*' and of 'his *Catiline* (which miraculous *Poem* I propose as my pattern)'. And his commander Robert Hills assures him:

PYTHAGORAS sang truth, souls shift we see
For *IOHNSON'S* transmigrated into *Thee*.

John Oldham also drew upon the opening of *Catiline* in his *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*, 1679: in his *Works*, 1684, he prefixes an 'Advertisement'. 'The first Satyr he drew by Sylla's Ghost in the great Johnson, which may be perceived by some strokes and touches therein, however short they come of the Original.' In this satire Garnet's ghost addresses the Jesuits just after the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (pp. 5, 6):

Would he were here, yet warm, that we might drain
His reaking gore, and drink up ev'ry vein!
That were a glorious *sanction*, much like thine,
Great *Roman!* made upon a like design:
Like thine; we scorn so mean a *Sacrament*,
To seal, and consecrate our high intent,
We scorn base Blood should our great League cement:
Thou didst it with a slave, but we think good
To bind our Treason with a bleeding God.

On page 22 Oldham adapts and expands i. 20–5, thus:

What neither *Saxon* rage could here inflict,
 Nor *Danes* more savage, nor the barb'rous *Pict*;
 What *Spain*, nor *Eighty Eight* could ere devise,
 With all its *Fleet*, and *freight* of cruelties;
 What ne'er *Medina* wish'd, much less could dare,
 And bloodier *Alva* would with trembling hear;
 What may strike out dire Prodigies of old.
 And make their mild, and gentler acts untold.
 What Heav'ns Judgments, nor the angry Stars,
 Foreign Invasions, nor Domestick Wars,
 Plague, Fire, nor Famine could effect or do;
 All this, and more, be dar'd, and done by you.

Sylla's Ghost is a Senecan opening to the tragedy. Tantalus in the *Thyestes* is the model here, and is appropriately quoted. Sulla's ghost is an evil genius of civil war in Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 580–1. The Prologue is in couplets, handled with much freedom, not the stopped line which Jonson told Drummond he preferred (*Conv.* 384).

11. *Behold, I come . . .* Cf. Seneca, *Thyestes*, 87–9:

Mittor ut dirus vapor
 Tellure rupta, vel gravem populis luem
 Sparsura pestis.

15. st. dir. *Discouers . . . in his study*, draws the curtain of the back-stage. Compare *King Henry VIII*, II. ii. 59, '*Exit Lord Chamberlaine, and the King drawes the Curtaine and sits reading pensiuely*'.

24. *And Hannibal . . .* Florus, *Epitomae de Tito Livio*, II. xii. 2, describes Catiline as attempting '*quicquid nec Hannibal videretur optasse*'. Slight though Florus' notice of the movement is, Jonson has borrowed hints from him.

27. *facts, crimes.*

31. *a Vestall nunne*, Fabia, sister of Cicero's wife, Terentia. (Asconius' commentary on Cicero's *Oratio in toga candida*, ed. Bait., p. 93.)

32. *Thy parricide . . . nuptialls.* Sallust, *Cat.* 15 § 2, '*Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, . . . quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse.*' Cicero, *In Cat.* i, § 14, '*cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses . . .*'.

36. *a daughter, and a wife.* Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, 10; Asconius, op. cit., p. 72.

37. *the slaughters . . . for me.* At the head of some Gauls he slew a number of Roman knights, including his brother-in-law, Quintus Caecilius, and murdered with torture Marcus Gratidianus, a relative of Marius and of Cicero (Q. Cicero, *De Petitione Consulatus*, §§ 9, 10).

38–40. *I hid . . . proscrib'd.* Plutarch, *Cicero*, c. 10, οὔτοι (οἱ νεωτερίζοντες) κορυφαῖον εἶχον ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἦθος

Λεύκιον Κατιλίαν, ὃς αἰτίαν ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι θυγατρὶ, κτεῖναι δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ φοβούμενος ἔπεισε Σύλλαν ὥς ἔτι ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανουμένοις προγράψαι.

42. *with thy sister*. Q. Cicero, *De Pet. Cons.* § 9, 'educatus in sororis stupris'.

47. *defeated once*. In 65 B.C. Catiline planned the murder of the consuls and the Senate, but he gave the signal too soon before his followers had mustered sufficiently.

55. From Seneca, *Thyestes*, 29-32, 47-53:

Nec vacet cuiquam vetus
Odisse crimen: semper oriatur novum,
Nec unum in uno, dumque punitur scelus
Crescat. . . . Et fas et fides
Iusque omne pereat. Non sit a vestris malis
Immune caelum. Cur micant stellae polo
Flammaeque servant debitum mundo decus?
Nox alia fiat, excidat caelo dies.
Misce penates, odia caedes funera
Accerse et imple scelere Tantaleam domum.

73. *It is decreed, decided* (Lat. *actum est*).

79. *The ills . . .* Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 115, 'Per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter'.

88. *repulse*, defeat in an election (Lat. *repulsa*).

90. *the Pontick warre*, against Mithridates.

98. *Aurelia*. John Stephens in *Cinthia's Revenge*, II. ii (1613, E4^v), to which Jonson prefixed commendatory verse, makes Pheudippe say, when he reveals a conspiracy to his wife:

Women shoot faire sometimes, though seldome true,
Like whetstones they giue edge to trickes anew.
Braue *Catiline* for this cause did account
Yong *Orestilla* worthy to partake
Of his attempt (though farre aboue the braine
Of woman to accomplish) hee approu'd
The talkatiue *Sempronia*: thus will I
Induce my wife through cunning circumstance,
To giue directions for a raw conceit.

112. *ambrosiack kisse*. So *N.I.* III. ii. 130: cf. Catullus, xcix. 2, 'Suauiolum dulci dulcius ambrosia'.

119-20. "*He that, building . . .* Cf. Herrick, *Hesperides* (ed. Moorman, p. 292), '*Beginning, difficult*':

Hard are the two first staires unto a Crowne;
Which got, the third, bids him a King come downe.

124. *Came with thy wealth*. So Catiline acknowledged in a letter to Catulus quoted in Sallust, 35, § 3.

135. *the Sybill's books*. Sallust, *Cat.* 47, Lentulus was convicted 'sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus est, ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse cui fatum foret urbis potiri'. The contents of the Sibylline books 'were regarded as state secrets, and the special board appointed for their custody ("quindecimviri sacris faciundis") consulted them only in grave crises at the bidding of the senate rather to learn the required forms of ceremonial service than definite disclosures of the future. But unauthorised prophecies leaked out at times, freely interpreted by the fancy of the people, and used as in this case for personal or petty ends' (W. W. Capes, *ad loc. cit.*). Plutarch says this prophecy was a forgery (*Cicero* 17).

143. *Go on vpon the gods*. Cf. *III.* 190-1, 'make on, vpon the heads Of men, strooke down, like piles', and Seneca, *Medea*, 424-5, 'Invadam deos Et cuncta quatiam'.

149. *Curius . . . Lentulus* were among the sixty-four members ejected from the senate for their infamous lives by the censors in 70 B.C. Among them too was the Antonius who appears later as Cicero's colleague in the consulship, but Jonson discreetly passes over this episode of his career.

167-80. Sallust, *Cat.* 14, § 5: 'Sed maxime adulescentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum animi molles et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.'

185. *scene shifted*. Not, as Gifford supposed, a reference to the movable scenery which Inigo Jones introduced at Oxford in 1605 and used in Court masques. This was not used '*in our theaters*'. The reference is to the 'admirable dexteritie' with which playwrights move the action from place to place, criticized in the induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* (277-86). Cf. the reference in *The Staple of News*, *III.* ii. 202-4, to the 'various shifting of their Scene' by the King's players, and the 'dext'rous change o' their persons to all shapes, And all disguises'.

194. *rosy-finger'd*, *ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως*, the constant epithet of the dawn in Homer. Spenser had used it in *The Faerie Queene* (I. ii. 7), 'rosy-fingred Morning faire'.

214. *ribs of ice*. *Und.* xxxix. 30.

226. *degenerate, talking gowne*. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 365, 'Degenerem patiere togam'.

229-47. *O, the dayes . . .* Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 101-11:

Nobilitas cum plebe perit, lateque vagatus
 Ensis, et a nullo revocatum pectore ferrum.
 Stat cruor in templis, multaque rubentia caede
 Lubrica saxa madent. Nulli sua profuit aetas:
 Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
 Praecepisse diem, nec primo in limine vitae
 Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata.

Crimine quo parvi caedem potuere mereri?
Sed satis est iam posse mori. Trahit ipse furoris
Impetus, et visum lenti quaesisse nocentem.
In numerum pars magna perit.

247-8. From Petronius Arbiter's specimen of a poem on the civil war (ll. 117-19) in the *Satyricon*, 121:

Vix navita Porthmeus
Sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba;
Classe opus est.

250-3. Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 152-3:

Busta repleta fuga, permixtaque viva sepultis
Corpora, nec populum latebrae cepere ferarum.

278-9. *household gods* . . . Lucan, *Phars.* i. 556-7:

Indigetes flevisse deos urbisque laborem
testatos sudore Lares.

297. *unseel'd*. 'Seeling' was a falconer's term for running a thread through the eyelids of a hawk when first taken, and blinding it to make it bear the hood. Cf. *Macbeth*, III. ii. 46-7:

Come, seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.

313. *The day goes back*. Plutarch gives a vague account of earthquakes, lightnings, and ghosts during the conspiracy (*Cicero*, ch. 14). Jonson utilizes it here for stage-effect; he makes a point of comparing it to Atreus' feast, when Thyestes had the flesh of his sons served up to him and the Sun-god fled back from the sight (Seneca, *Thyestes*, 776-88):

O Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro licet
Medioque ruptum meriseris caelo diem . . .

Stage-direction: *A darknesse comes ouer the place*. 'This was done by emitting a volume of smoke through a stage-trap, an effective enough expedient, but one which was apt to prove offensive to the audience if prolonged' (W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies*, p. 130).

315. *the Vestall flame* . . . *out*. Regarded as a terrible prodigy suggesting the extinction of Rome. In 206 B.C. Livy records (xxviii. 11) 'Plus omnibus aut nuntiatis peregre aut visis domi prodigiis terruit animos hominum ignis in aede Vestae exstinctus: caesaque flagro est Vestalis, cuius custodia noctis hoc fuerat, iussu P. Licinii pontificis'.

317. *We fear* . . . *faine*. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 486, 'Quae finxere timent'.

320. *A bloody arme* . . . *pine*. Lucan, i. 572-3:

Ingens urbem cingebat Erinys
Excutiens pronam flagranti vertice pinum.

326–402. Catiline's speech is taken from Sallust's report of it in his history, ch. 20; the translation is interrupted at some points (e.g. at ll. 384–91) by insertions of amplifying details:

'Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent, neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi: nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quae mente agitavi omnes iam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui boni nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, eis obnoxii, quibus si res publica valeret formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia potentia honos divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula repulsas iudicia egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enimvero, pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu vobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est, cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium inest, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas signa toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt vexant, tamen summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior: denique quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam saepe optastis libertas, praeterea divitiae decus gloria in oculis sita sunt! Fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res tempus pericula egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quam oratio mea vos hortantur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.'

351. *stipends*, taxes (*stipendia*).

356. *As we were . . . corne*. Horace, *Epist.* 1. ii. 27, 'Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati'.

360. *come forth bright axes*. The original simply 'prove terrible'. The axes of the consuls were a symbol of life and death.

384. *Tyrian hangings* of purple. As each purple fish yielded only a few drops of dye, it was very expensive to produce.

385. *Ephesian pictures*, of Parrhasius and Xeuxis and the 'Asiatic School'.

Corinthian plate, bronze work: the *aes Corinthiacum* was the most valued. Tiberius protested against this luxury: 'Corinthiorum vasorum pretia in immensum exarsisse . . . graviter conquestus' (Suetonius, *Tib.* 34).

386. *Attalike garments*, i.e. gold-embroidered. Attalus, the last king of Pergamum, 'aurum (vestibus) intexere invenit' (Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 48, § 196).

new-found gemmes. Pliny (*N.H.* xii. 18, § 84) estimates the annual drain of money to the East for jewels at 100,000,000 sesterces.

388. *Phasis*, a river of Colchis, now the Rion. Pheasants took their name from it. 'Iam Phasidos unda Orbata est avibus' (Petronius, *Satyr.* 119, ll. 36-7).

388. *Lucrine lake*, the Gulf of Pozzuoli, now united with the Bay of Naples. Juvenal's epicure could tell at the first bite 'Circaeis nata forent an Lucrinum ad saxum . . . ostrea' (*Sat.* iv. 140-1).

390. *Circei*, the modern Circello. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxii, § 62) says of its oysters 'His neque dulciora neque teneriora esse ulla compertum est'.

391. *witty gluttony*. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 119, l. 33, 'Ingeniosa gula est'.

396. *Vexe their wild wealth*: 'vexant' in Sallust. Cf. Martial, ix. 59. 2, 'Hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes' ('gives no rest to').

423. *sacrament*, military oath (Lat. *sacramentum*).

425. *Differring hurts* . . . Lucan, *Phars.* i. 281, 'Tolle moras: semper nocuit differre paratis'.

426-53. Based on Sallust: lines 426-8, 441-7, 453-73 from ch. 21: 'Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quietam movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique ut proponeret quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque libido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnes bonos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacres videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.' Lines 436-41 from ch. 16, § 5: 'In Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellam gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.'

431. *embracing of a cloud*. An allusion to the myth of Ixion.

434. *gyrlond*. So spelt *U.V.* xli: 'gyrland', *Ep.* xvii. 6. The spelling is derived from the French and Italian forms 'guirlande', 'ghirlanda'.

443. *Cneius Piso*. Cicero speaks, in a fragment of the *Oratio in Toga Candida*, of Piso's mission to Spain as part of a design 'Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos rei publicae incidere'.

444. *Nucerinus*. Caius Sittius of Nuceria in Campania, being heavily in debt, had at first favoured Catiline, but he sold his landed property, paid off his debts, and went to Spain to do business there, and for similar reasons went to Mauretania in Africa: see Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, 56, Dion Cassius, xliii. 3-12.

457. *publication*, confiscation (Lat. *publicatio*).

470. *stout*, brave. There is no reference to Longinus' corpulence, insisted on elsewhere (e.g. III. 683): this is a nineteenth-century use of the word.

483. *I'haue kill'd a slaue*. This fantastic story is in Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 30, and in Sallust, ch. 22, but the latter records it with a cautionary 'Fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent . . .'. W. W. Capes well compares the medieval stories of Christian children murdered by Jews in their synagogues.

495. *step-dame*. Cf. line 91, above.

497-8. Zanchi's comment, marked by Jonson in the folio *Sallust*, col. 197: 'Catilina pateris infudit uinum sanguine humano permixtum: deinde circumtulit, ut omnes biberent, hac execratione, ut ita suos sanguis hauriri posset, nisi quod promiserant fecissent, uti sanguinem illius hominis hausissent.'

499. *Swell . . . my bowle*. *Poet.* III. i. 8.

501. *new fellow*, the Latin *novus homo*, literally the first man in a family to obtain curule office at Rome; hence, as here, 'upstart'.

505-12. The boys are heralded in line 172. Sallust mentions the suspicion of such vice, but not at this point of the history. He adds with his usual caution, 'Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existimarent' (14. 7). As Coleridge pointed out, the episode here is both undramatic and repulsive. The satyr nature of Bestia is apparently due to a misunderstanding of his name or a word-play upon it. 'Bestia' was the name of a family of the plebeian gens Calpurnia. For the part this man had to play see IV. 776-8. He survived the conspiracy, and in 56 B.C. when prosecuted for bribery in his candidature for the praetorship was defended by Cicero ('necessarius meus', *Pro Caelio*, § 26).

512. *bourds*, boards, accosts.

531-90. Jonson's Chorus conforms strictly to the type defined in the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, 193-201. Jonson translates the passage:

An Actors parts, and Office too, the Quire
Must maintaine manly; not be heard to sing,
Between the Acts, a quite cleane other thing
Then to the purpose leades, and fitly 'grees.
It still must favour good men, and to these
Be wonne a friend; . . .

Praise the spare diet, wholesome justice, lawes,
Peace, and the open ports, that peace doth cause.
Hide faults, pray to the Gods, and wish aloud
Fortune would love the poore, and leave the proud.

The praise of 'the spare diet' here is followed by the appearance of the luxurious Fulvia; the prayer of the Chorus in Act II for a worthy champion of the State is answered in Act III by Cicero's election to the consulship. The Chorus thus serves to knit the play together.

531-55. From Petronius, *Satyricon* 120, ll. 80-93:

Fors, cui nulla placet nimium secura potestas,
Quae nova semper amas et mox possessa relinquis,
Ecquid Romano sentis te pondere victam,
Nec posse ulterius perituram extollere molem?
Ipsa suas vires odit Romana iuventus
Et quas struxit opes male sustinet. Aspice late
Luxuriam spoliorum et censum in damna furemtem.
Aedificant auro sedesque ad sidera mittunt,
Expelluntur aquae saxis, mare nascitur arvis,
Et permutata rerum statione rebellant.
En etiam mea regna petunt. Perfossa dehiscit
Molibus insanis tellus, iam montibus haustis
Antra gemunt et dum vanos lapis invenit usus,
Inferni manes caelum sperare fatentur.

536. *by it selfe . . . ouercome*. Horace, *Epode* xvi. 2, 'Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit'.

542. *obnoxious to*, exposed to (Lat. *obnoxius*).

558. *loose attires*. The light dresses of transparent silk called *Coae vestes* and in later times *sericae*. Effeminate men wore them (Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 23, § 78). In A.D. 16 a decree was passed 'ne vestis serica viros foedaret' (Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 33).

560. *the men*. So Lucan, *Phars.* i. 164-5, 'Cultus gestare decoros Vix nuribus rapuere mares'.

kemb'd, combed: 'kemp't', *Disc.* 1416.

562. *sleek'd*, smoothed. Cf. II. i. 64, *For.* viii. 23, 'Sleeked limbes'.

563. *kinde*, nature.

566. *yuorie tables*. Juvenal, *Sat.* xi. 122-3: the rich gourmand cannot enjoy the food on his table, 'latos nisi sustinet orbes Grande ebur'.

or, wood. Circular tables made of 'citrus' or North African cedar, with the legs formed of elephants' tusks. Petronius, *Satyricon* 119. 27-9:

Ecce Afris eruta terris
Ponitur ac maculis imitatur vilis aurum
Citrea mensa.

579-86. From Petronius, *ibid.* 39-44, 49, 50:

Nec minor in campo furor est, emptique Quirites
Ad praedam strepitumque lucri suffragia vertunt.

Venalis populus, venalis curia patrum,
Est favor in pretio. Senibus quoque libera virtus
Exciderat, sparsisque opibus conversa potestas
Ipsaque maiestas auro corrupta iacebat.

. . . Quare tam perdita Roma
Ipsa sui merces erat et sine vindice praeda.

Act II

The entire act is taken from Sallust, chapters 23 to 25, which Jonson has worked up adroitly: not a point is missed.

Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas quam audacia: neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret; postremo agitare ferocius quam solitus erat. At Fulvia insolentiae Curii causa cognita tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione quae quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. . . .

Ea tempestate plurimos cuiusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentes sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis atque Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; libido sic accensa ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci: prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

The only change Jonson has made in this narrative is the reference to Fulvia's betrayal of the conspiracy. 'On discovering the reason for Curius' arrogance', says Sallust, 'she did not keep secret such a danger to the state, but, withholding the name of her informant, told a number of people what she had in any way heard about Catiline's conspiracy.'

Galla is a fictitious character, invented by Jonson.

Of Fulvia nothing more is known than Sallust's statement that she

was of noble birth. The references to Clodius and Caesar in lines 3 and 4 suggest that Jonson confused her with her infamous namesake, first the wife of Publius Clodius and afterwards of Antony, who pierced the dead Cicero's tongue with her brooch when his head was brought to her. Caesar's intrigues with Roman ladies were notorious, but there is nothing to connect him with either of the Fulvias.

15. *globe*, the hair plaited in circles and pinned behind the head, the *orbes* of Claudian's *Proserpina*, ii. 15.

spire, the Latin *spira*, a coil on the top of the head: see Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 117 (quoted on *Volp.* iii. vii. 195), and Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, vi. 396, '*spiram Medusae*', a serpent-coil on the head of Medusa. Cf. Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans* (*Works*, ed. Martin, p. 508), of St. Mary Magdalene:

Why lies thy *Hair* despised now
Which once thy care and art did show?
Who then did dress the much lov'd toy
In *spires*, *globes*, angry *Curls* and coy?

30. *wit-worme*, 'one who has developed into a wit (like a "worm" or caterpillar emerging from the egg' (*O.E.D.*).

63. *Rather a visor, than a face*. Cf. *For.* xiii. 77-80:

Let 'hem on poulders, oyles, and paintings, spend,
Till that . . . no man know,
Whether it be a face they weare, or no.

72-5. *You shall haue . . . her selfe*. Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 343-4:

Auferimur cultu: gemmis auroque teguntur
Omnia; pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

86. *Castor*. A woman's oath: see on *Sej.* iv. 438.

116. *in-mate*, lodger, with a suggestion of 'foreigner': '*inquilinus civis urbis Romae*', Sallust, 31, § 7, who says the taunt was uttered in the Senate (cf. iv. 479), but it was also used at the elections. Cf. *N.I.* v. v. 40, 'Ile none of your light-Heart fosterlings, no Inmates'.

129. *the plough*. A reference to the story of Cincinnatus.

146. *dentifrice*. The Romans took great care of their teeth. Jonson would know Pliny's recipes for tooth-powder from various animal substances—bones, especially the pastern-bones of farm animals, dogs' teeth, stags' horns, the heads of mice, oyster-shells, egg-shells, murex burnt and reduced to powder, and pounded pumice (*Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 178-9, 182, xxix. 46, xxx. 22, xxxii. 65, 82).

170. *Faunes*, like the Satyrs a type of lust.

180. *cob-swan*, male swan.

189. *to give*. Martial, *Epig.* ii. lvi. 3, 4, '*Non solet illa | Accipere omnino Quid solet ergo? Dare*'.

191. Horace, *Sat.* ii. v. 79, 80 (of the wooers of Penelope):

Venit enim magnum, donandi parca iuventus,
Nec tantum Veneris quantum studiosa culinae.

214. *in disposition*, in health. We still say 'indisposed', but not the contrary.

227. *Looke i' your glasse . . .* Seneca, *De Ira*, II. xxxvi, 'Quibusdam, ut ait Sextius, iratis profuit adspexisse speculum. Perturbavit illos tanta mutatio sui.'

253-64. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, iii. 601-8:

Incitat et ficti tristis custodia servi
et nimium duri cura molesta viri.
Quæ venit ex tuto, minus est accepta voluptas:
ut sis liberior Thaide, finge metus!
Cum melius foribus possis, admitte fenestra,
inque tuo vultu signa timentis habe.
Callida prosiliat dicatque ancilla, Perimus!
Tu iuvenem trepidum quolibet abde loco.

291. *infamous*. *U.V.* xxvi. 13.

310-11. *promis'd mountains And seas*. 'Maria montesque polliceri coepit' in Sallust. Proverbial: cf. Terence, *Phormio*, i. 68, 'montes auri pollicens'. So *D. is A.* I. v. 22, *M.V.* 71.

316. *under the speare, at out-cry*. A spear set in the ground was the Roman symbol of an auction, *sub hasta vendere*, originally at the sale of booty. *Out-cry*, auction.

319. *advise . . . with your cushion*. The phrase seems to be modelled on 'advise with, take counsel of, your pillow', but that means 'take a night to think it over', a suggestion impossible here. Query, lie melancholy on your couch.

320. *look o' your fingers*. Divination from spots in finger-nails is touched on by Sir Thomas Browne in *Pseudodoxia*, v. xxiii: 'That white specks presage our felicity, blew ones our misfortunes.' So Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1632, p. 58, quotes Baptista Porta that it is a sign of melancholy 'if a spot be ouer the spleene; or in the nailes, if it appeare blacke, it signifieth much care, grieve, contention, and melancholy'. In *A Warning for Faire Women*, 1599, C3, yellow spots are ominous: 'They neuer come to me, but I am sure To heare of anger ere I goe to bed.'

wish'd, invited.

325. *Doues . . .* Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, ii. 465-6:

Quae modo pugnarunt, iungunt sua rostra columbae,
Quarum blanditias verbaque murmur habet.

331. *couetise*. *Alch.* II. iii. 48.

344-5. *as close as shells Of cockles*. See on *C.R.* v. iv. 534.

346. *subtle lips*. *Alch.* IV. ii. 40, 'And subiltie of her lip, which must be tasted . . . '.

346. *sow . . . reape*. Catullus, xlviii. 5, 6, 'densior aridis aristis Sit nostrae seges osculationis'.

348. *bright name*. The Latin *fulvus*, 'deep yellow', is a stock epithet

of gold. Jonson finds a suggestiveness in names: cf. S.S. I. iv. 1, 'bright *Clarion* and sweet *Mellifleur*'.

353-4. *Cruell . . . light*. From Philostratus, *Epist.* 13 (59), ὁ καλὸς ἂν μὲν ᾗ θηριώδης, πῦρ ἐστίν, ἂν δ' ἡμερος, φῶς.

364 fol. *Chorus*. The metre was an invention of the French *Pléïade*. It was first used in English in William Whittingham's paraphrase of Psalm cvii, 1560 (or possibly 1558), and William Kethe's version of Psalm cxxv, 1561. Puttenham has the rhyme scheme, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (ed. Arber, pp. 99, 101). When Tennyson used the metre in *In Memoriam*, he thought he had originated it (*Memoir*, i, pp. 305-6).

366. *nephew*, grandson (Lat. *nepos*), namely, Remus.

378. *conscience, aboue fame*. A favourite antithesis: see v. 699, 700, *Ep.* xcvi. 10, *Und.* 1. 14.

391. *Bruti, Decii*. Lucius Junius Brutus, who helped to expel the Tarquins; the three Decii, father, son, and grandson, who sacrificed themselves in battle for their country—the first Publius Decius Mus in the Latin war at Veseris in 337 B.C., the second in the Samnite war at Sentinum in 296 B.C., the third in the war against Pyrrhus at Asculum in 280 B.C.

392. *Cipi*. Genucius Cipun, a Roman praetor, on whose head horns sprouted as he was returning to Rome in triumph. The soothsayers explained it as a sign that he would be king if he did return. To prevent this, he went into voluntary exile (Ovid, *Met.* xv. 565-621).

Curtii. Marcus Curtius, who leaped into the gulf in the forum (Livy vii. vi).

394. *only for a yeare*. Horace's 'consul non unius anni' (*Odes*, iv. ix. 39), repeated iii. 76 below, *G.M.* 574, *Ep.* lxxiv. 2.

395. *Camilli*. Marcus Furius Camillus, the conqueror of Veii.

396. *Fabii*. Quintus Maximus Fabius, conqueror of the Samnites, 'the Talbot of the fifth century of Rome', as Dr. Arnold has called him, and Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator, who rallied the troops after Cannae and was thanked by the Senate for not despairing of the republic.

Scipio's. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major, who conquered Hannibal at Zama, 202 B.C., and Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, who destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C.

Act III

Cicero's opening words (ll. 1-50) are taken from the speeches which he delivered against the Agrarian Law of Publius Servilius Rullus. This was a proposal to make an extensive sale of the public lands and with the money thus acquired make grants of land to five thousand poor citizens of Rome. Rullus made his proposal in December 64, and on 1 January 63, the day on which Cicero entered on his consulship, he delivered his first attack. He was successful.

De Lege Agraria, ii, § 3. 'Me perlongo intervallo prope memoriae temporumque nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis, et eum locum quem nobilitas praesidiis firmatum atque omni ratione obvallatum

tenebat me duce rescidistis virtutique in posterum patere voluistis. Neque me tantum modo consulem, quod est ipsum per sese amplissimum, sed ita fecistis quo modo pauci nobiles in hac civitate consules facti sunt, novus ante me nemo. . . . § 4. Est illud amplissimum, quod paulo ante commemoravi, Quirites, quod hoc honore ex novis hominibus primum me multis post annis adfecistis, quod prima petitione, quod anno meo, sed tamen magnificentius atque ornatius esse illo nihil potest, quod meis comitiis non tabellam vindicem tacitae libertatis, sed vocem vivam prae vobis indicem vestrarum erga me voluntatum ac studiorum tulistis. Itaque me non extrema tribus suffragiorum, sed primi illi vestri concursus, neque singulae voces praeconum, sed una voce universus populus Romanus consulem declaravit. § 5. Hoc ego tam insigne, tam singulare vestrum beneficium, Quirites, cum ad animi mei fructum atque laetitiam duco esse permagnum, tum ad curam sollicitudinemque multo maius. Versantur enim, Quirites, in animo meo multae et graves cogitationes, quae mihi nullam partem neque diurnae neque nocturnae quietis impertiunt: primum tuendi consulatus, quae cum omnibus est difficilis et magna ratio, tum vero mihi praeter ceteros, cuius errato nulla venia, recte facto exigua laus et ab invitis expressa proponitur; non dubitanti fidele consilium, non laboranti certum subsidium nobilitatis ostenditur. § 6. Quod si solus in discrimen aliquod adducerer, ferrem, Quirites, animo aequiore, sed mihi videntur certi homines, si qua in re non modo consilio verum etiam casu lapsum esse arbitrabuntur, vos universos qui me antetuleritis nobilitati vituperaturi. Mihi autem, Quirites, omnia potius perpetienda esse duco quam non ita gerendum consulatum ut in omnibus meis factis atque consiliis vestrum de me factum consiliumque laudetur. . . . § 8. Ego qualem Kalendis Ianuariis acceperim rem publicam, Quirites, intelligo: plenam sollicitudinis, plenam timoris, in qua nihil erat mali, nihil adversi, quod non boni metuerent, improbi exspectarent.' With the above compare lines 19-25, 26-32, 1-6, 47-50.

1. *honors . . . burdens*. 'Est onus omnis honor' was proverbial. Cf. Massinger, *The Bond-man*, 1624, B4^v:

for my selfe, I know
Honours, and great imployments are great burthens,
And must require an *Atlas* to support them.

15, 16. *broken images* . . . Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 4, 5, has a similar suggestion:

Et Curios iam dimidios umerosque minorem
Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem.

18. *under-takers*. Cf. S.W., dedication 10.

54. *the enuie, and pride*. Sallust, *Cat.* 23, § 5, 'Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat et quasi pollui consulatum credebant si eum quamvis egregius homo novos adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit invidia atque superbia post fuere.'

61. *The voice of Rome* . . . Cf. *Ep.* lxvii. 12. 'Vox populi vox Dei' is first found in Alcuin, *Epistle* cxxvii (*Opera*, 1777, ed. Froben, ii. 191), who rejects it 'cum tumultuositas vulgi semper insaniae proxima est'.

64. *Each petty hand* . . . 'Tranquillo quilibet gubernator est' is a saying quoted in Seneca, *Ep.* 85, § 34. The imagery that follows is from the younger Pliny, *Ep.* ix. xxvi. 4, 'Ideo nequaquam par gubernatoris est virtus cum placido et cum turbato mari vehitur: tunc admirante nullo inlaudatus ingloriosus subit portum; at cum stridunt funes, curvatur arbor, gubernacula gemunt, tunc ille clarus et dis maris proximus.'

69. *springs*, breaches through the splitting of a plank.

83. *The vicious* . . . Erasmus, *Parabolae* (*Opera*, 1540, i. 498). 'Ex Seneca': 'Quomodo fabula, sic uita: non quàm diu, sed quàm bene acta sit, refert.' Jonson expands the thought in *Und.* lxx. 21-74.

115. *Prince of the Senate*, *Princeps Senatus* or first member after the consuls, an honorary distinction conferred by the censors on the senator whom they judged worthiest. Catulus was 'omnium confessione senatus princeps' (*Velleius Paterculus*, ii. xliii. 3).

116-17. *The . . . Consul, . . . your honor*. See *Engl. Gram.* ii. vii. 98 n.

120-3. *the gods* . . . Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 347-50:

Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
Carior est illis homo quam sibi.

The thought is repeated in *For.* iii. 95-9. Cf. also Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cleop.* ii. i. 5-8.

128. There is no certain evidence of Caesar's and Crassus' complicity in the plot. Plutarch is the authority for the statement. Sallust says some people believed that Crassus sympathized with it owing to his jealousy of Pompeius (*Cat.* 17). Felicius says (p. 456), 'aliqui dixerunt huius coniurationis M. Crassum et C. Cæsarem conscios adiutores ac impulsus fuisse', but adds that others said the story was an invention of enemies.

140. *a kinde of slander*. *Florilegium Ethico-Politicum*, 1610, i, p. 13, 'Calumniae genus est rumor credere'.

159. *woodden god*, Priapus.

161. *muting*, voiding ordure.

192-3. *Then is't a prey* . . . Lucan, *Phars.* i. 149-50 (of the lightning):

Impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.

197. *fetch down new*, like Prometheus, and inflict Prometheus' punishment on Jupiter.

200. *tire*, literally of a hawk tugging with its beak at a rough piece of meat.

209. *expresse*, wring from (Lat. *exprimo*).

219-21. *The fire* . . . Actually spoken in the Senate, as Catiline speaks it later, iv. 506-11. So Cicero records it in the *Pro Murena*, 51, 'prae-

sertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine', i.e. the Senate, 'paucis diebus ante Catoni, fortissimo viro, iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum'.

235-7. *Is there a heauen?* . . . Seneca, *Phaedra*, 671-4:

Magne regnator deum,
Tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus vides?
Ecquando sacra fulmen emittes manu
Si nunc serenum est?

248-9. *the last affection* . . . Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. vi, 'Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur', and Milton's *Lycidas*, 70, 71.

259. *insolent*, strange (Lat. *insolens*).

280. *farre-triumphed world* (Lat. *triumphatus*). *Sej.* i. 60.

281. *Rome is too little*. There is a pun on 'Rome' and 'room' similarly pronounced. Cf. R. Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615, p. 66: 'An Embleme writte vnto a Gentleman, who intreated the Author to distinguish between Rome and roome'. So Cassius in *Julius Caesar*, 1. ii. 157-8:

Now is it Rome indeed, and room enough,
When there is in it but one only man.

Jonson was thinking of Lucan's epigram on Caesar's ambition, 'Quid satis est si Roma parum?' (*Phars.* v. 274).

282. *discourse*. *E.M.O.* iv. viii. 163.

285-7. *which might be call'd* . . . Florus, *Epitoma*, II. xii. 4, 'Summum nefas ni amplius esset propter quod biberunt'.

297-8. *yet were your vertue*. Cicero, *Philippic*, ii, § 114, 'Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat . . . '.

308 fol. The authority for this meeting is Sallust, *Cat.* 26, § 3: 'Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet.' Jonson has dramatized this vague statement.

322. *complexion*, habit of mind.

340. *He acts the third crime* . . . 'Presumably the second crime would be the not repenting': W. D. Briggs, who quotes the pseudo-Publilius (ed. Wölfflin, 147), 'Geminat peccatum quem delicti non pudet'.

368. *void of feare*. Cf. the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*, 441, 'Iustum esse facile est cui vacat pectus metu'.

371. *comming*. *Volp.* II. vi. 74.

377. *o' the by*. A common phrase in Jonson: *T. of T.* v. x (heading of scene); *N.I.* II. vi. 261; *M.L.* I. i. 67, vii. 69, II. vi. 24; *Disc.* 625.

393. *heauen blinds them*. Publilius Syrus, 610, 'Stultum facit fortuna quem volt perdere'.

397. *this good shame*. 'Thus Coriolanus terms Volumnia his "gracious silence"' (Gifford).

451. *common strumpet*. Florus, *Epit.* II. xii. 6, calls Fulvia 'vilissimum scortum'.

458. *ramm'd*, driven home.
464. *geese*, the saviours of the Capitol (Livy, v. xlvii. 4).
477. *the prouince*, Macedonia, 'which Antonius coveted for its promise of booty and an easy triumph over border tribes' (W. W. Capes on Sallust, 26, § 4).
480. *So few are vertuous* . . . Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 141-2:
 Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam
 Praemia si tollas?
481. *my private*, my own interests. *D. is A.* v. iv. 23.
- 490 fol. There is no historical warrant for this meeting.
491. *in few*. So 'paucis' in Latin.
492. *Actions of depth and danger* . . . Cf. *Sej.* 11. 322-5. There is perhaps an allusion to a maxim of Caesar's quoted by Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophthegmata*, 206, Caesar 6, τῶν δὲ τολμημάτων τὰ παράβολα καὶ μέγала πράττειν ἔφη δεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ βουλευέσθαι.
505. *'twill be vertue*. Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 251-2: 'Prosperum ac felix scelus Virtus vocatur.'
- 523-4. *A serpent* . . . A Greek proverb, ὄφεις ἤν μὴ φάγη ὄφιν, δράκων οὐ γενήσεται.
- 534-5. *their husbands* . . . From Sallust, 24, § 4, 'Per eas se Catilina credebat posse . . . viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere'.
542. *the old potter Titan*. Prometheus, who moulded the first man out of clay. Jonson is echoing Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 34-5:
 . . . iuvenes quibus arte benigna
 Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan.
- 548 fol. This historical meeting took place at the house of Porcius Laeca in the street of the scythemakers, but Jonson, though he realized this (see iv. 264-6), seems from lines 529, 543-7 to have located it as Catiline's own house; so Gifford arranged the scene.
552. *Piso is dead, in Spaine*. Sallust, 19, gives two possible explanations, (1) in revenge for his intolerable cruelty, (2) by Pompey's loyal followers, as a punishment for his attempt to neutralize Pompey's influence there. Asconius, 94, 'Occisus erat, ut quidam credebant, a Cn. Pompeii clientibus Pompeio non invito'.
560. *Manlius*. Plutarch, *Cicero*, xiv, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Κατιλίαν ἐξηρέθιζον οἱ Σύλλα πάλαι στρατιῶται, διαπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλης τῆς Ἰταλίας, πλείστοι δὲ καὶ μαχιμώτατοι ταῖς Τυρρηνικαῖς ἐγκατεσπαρμένοι πόλεσιν, ἀρπαγὰς πάλιν καὶ διαφορήσεις πλούτων ἐτοίμων ὀνειροπολοῦντες. Οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγεμόνα Μάλλιον ἔχοντες, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπο Συλλᾷ στρατευσαμένων, συνίσταντο τῷ Κατιλίᾳ.
- 563-9. *this silver eagle* . . . Cicero, *In Cat.* 11. vi. 3, 'aquilam illam argenteam cui ille etiam sacrarium scelerum domi suae fecerat'. It was Marius who definitely fixed upon the eagle as the military ensign (Pliny, *N.H.* x, § 16).
565. *Fatall to Rome*, connected with the fate of Rome (Lat. *fatalis*).
571. *So waters speake* . . . 'Pervia dant vada plus murmuris, alta nihil' is quoted in William Higford's *Institutions*, 1658, p. 3.

573. *the firing of the Capitol* on 6 July 83 B.C. Sallust, 47, § 2, 'Praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore'.

596 fol. Felicius (Sallust Folio, columns 508-9) has made the Allobroges present at this meeting, and has added here some touches of the later interview (IV. 762-7). 'Tum dixerunt Galli: Sunt haec omnia Lentule, summa cum ratione prouisa. Sed quando erit illa nox optata? quando noster Bestia illam expectatam habebit concionem? Modicum (inquit Lentulus) transibit tempus, Saturnalibus haec fieri oporteret. Tum Cethegus: Quæ mihi, Lentule, Saturnalia narras? quod modicum tempus? Hora nulla est interponenda. Minimis momentis fiunt sæpè maximæ rerum perturbationes. Cum in omni re, tum maximè in bello, præsertim ciuili, celeritate opus est. Tarditas autem & procrastinatio commodum nullum, damnum certè afferre potest. Quare uide Lentule, ne istud tuum modicum tempus nimium sit, & plus quàm nimium longum. Tunc cum omnes alij respondissent, Saturnalibus haec fieri oportere, Cethegus ita inflammatus, ita huc & illuc ferebatur, ut sine ulla dubitatione insanire ac furere uideretur: frontem percutiebat, loco consistere non poterat, sæpe manum ad gladium apponens: Quid moror inquit? Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris, sermo arrogantiae, spumas agebat in ore, ardebant oculi, ex aspectu crudelitas eminebat. Tum Cassius: Cur Cethege nostra gaudia perturbas? Cur tu (ait ille) nostra gaudia moraris? Atque iureiurando affirmat, sese, si pauci illum sequantur, cunctantibus alijs, impetum in curiam facturum. Post hæc sequutum est modicum silentium. Tum ita Lentulus Allobroges alloquitur: Quid Cethegum nostrum existimatis illa nocte facturum? cum sibi nunc uideretur uenisse ad manus: putatisne consulem, si exercitum circum se haberet, hunc fortissimum uirum posse nitare? Rectè (aiunt) narras: fortiozem enim uirum nunquam vidimus.' The letters to be taken by the Allobroges are then arranged.

597. *the Saturnalls* on 17 December, a time of holiday and licence, especially for the slaves whose masters waited on them—a symbolical return to a primeval time when class distinctions did not exist.

'*It will be too long.* Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 10, 'Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et alijs Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur'. Cethegus is true to the character given of him in Sallust, 43, § 3, 'Inter hæc parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere, facto non consulto in tali periculo opus esse. . . '.

609. *Resolu'd*, relaxed (Lat. *resolutus*).

629. *in a fleet*. Echoing Cethegus' rant in I. 247-9.

630. *Longinus*. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 14, ' . . . L. Caesium (Longinum), qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat'.

634. *The flaxe* . . . Plutarch, *Cicero*, xviii, ξίφη δὲ καὶ στυππεῖα καὶ θεῖον εἰς τὴν Κεθήγου φέροντες οἰκίαν ἀπέκρυσαν.

643. *seize his sonnes*. Ibid., ἐδέδοκτο . . . φείδεσθαι τεμνηδενὸς ἢ τῶν Πομπηίου

τέκνων· ταῦτα δ' ἐξαρπασαμένους ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάττειν ὄμηρα τῶν πρὸς Πομπήϊον διαλύσεων.

645. *Tarquine*. See Livy, i, ch. 54.

659. *my opposition*. Sallust, *Cat.* 27, § 4, '... seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.'

663-5. *He shall die* . . . Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 642-4:

Si novi Herculem,
Lycus Creonti debitas poenas dabit.
Lentum est dabit: dat; hoc quoque est lentum: dedit.

Copied too in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Spanish Curate*, v. i. 148-51 (1647 text, p. 46), of a murder:

Shall it be don?
I am. Shall? 'tis too tedious: furnish me with meanes
To hire the instruments, and to yourself
Say it is done already.

669. *clientele*, attendance on a patron (Lat. *clientela*). The facts here are from Sallust, *Cat.* 28, § 1, Cornelius and Vargunteius 'constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de improvviso domi suae imparatum confodere'. Allusions are frequent to visits at such an hour, so as to be among the first to receive the patron. The *morning haile* is from Martial, i. lv. 6, 'Et matutinum portat ineptus ave'.

683. *fatnesse*. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 16, 'L. Cassii adipēs'.

697. *Laugh, and lye downe*, a quibble on the name of an obsolete card-game, 'laugh and lay down'. So *N.W.* 280. Cf. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ii. ii (1634, D4^v):

Emilia. I am wondrous merry-hearted, I could laugh now.
Woman. I could lie downe, I am sure.

702. *Make haste* . . . Sallust, *Cat.* 28, § 2: 'Curius ubi intelligit quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat.'

723. *stale*, decoy.

726. *pioners*. For the form cf. 'engineer' (v. 210).

729. *headie*. 2nd Epistle to Timothy, iii. 4, 'Traitors, heady, high-minded'.

736. *sprung of dragons teeth* in the myths of the winning of the golden fleece and of the founding of Thebes.

796. *The dore's not open, yet*. Sallust, *Cat.* 28, § 3, 'Ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus frustra susceperant'.

808. *st. dir. from above*. Jonson himself has chosen the witnesses, Cato, Catulus, and Crassus.

814-26. From various passages in Cicero, *In Cat.* i, § 6, 'Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum', *Ibid.*

§ 8, 'Iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae'. Ibid. ii, § 6, 'Ne illi vehementer errant si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram'. Ibid., § 25, 'In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficient, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?' Ibid., § 21, 'Nam illud non intellego quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint'.

840-75. The chorus is worked up from Sallust's account (ch. 31) of the change of feeling in Rome when armed preparations were made to meet the attack.

842. *sonnes of earth*, the Giants and Titans, *γῆγενεῖς*, sons of Gaia, who fought against the Gods.

850. *ports*, gates (Lat. *porta*), A common use in Jonson.

860-1. *ambition, that neere vice To vertue*. Sallust, *Cat.* 11, § 1, 'Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat'.

865-7. *ends not in aspiring . . .* Compare Lucan on the tireless energy of Julius Caesar, 'Nil actum credens dum quid superesset agendum' (*Phars.* ii. 657).

Act IV

The Allobroges were a tribe of Gaul between the Rhône and the Isère. Sallust (*Cat.* 40) describes them as crushed by debts due to Roman rapacity and as sharing the warlike temper of the Gauls.

7. *Of all that passe . . .* Juvenal comments on the terror the Romans felt at thunderstorms (*Sat.* xiii. 223-4):

Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
Cum tonat, exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli.

9. *like beasts*. Ovid, *Met.* i. 84-5:

Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre.

19-23. *bold and wretched*. Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 121-4:

Curandum in primis ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus et miseris. Tollas licet omne quod usquam est
Auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques,
Et iaculum et galeam: spoliatis arma supersunt.

35. *their habits*. If archaeology had been studied for costumes on the Elizabethan stage, these would be the *bracae* or trousers which had given to southern Gaul the name of *Gallia bracata*.

32. *upright, and unfear'd*. Horace, *Odes*, III. iii. 7-8, of the just man:

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae.

40. *Fabius Sanga*. Sallust, *Cat.* 41, 'Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt'.

60 fol. The setting is from Sallust, *Cat.* 31: 'At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicuti iurgio laccessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu voce supplici postulare a patribus ne quid de se temere crederent; ea familia ortum, ita ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne existimarent sibi patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus, Quoniam quidem circumventus inquit ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.'

61. *the house of Iupiter, the Stayer*, the temple of Jupiter Stator on the Palatine, vowed, according to the Roman legend, by Romulus in battle with the Samnites when defeat was imminent. 'Jupiter the Stayer' was the god who rallies broken troops and stays flight: here it would rather mean the 'Stablisher' or 'Protector' of Rome.

63. *frequent, full* (Lat. *frequens*).

64-5. *What may be happy*. Cf. *Sej.* v. 523-4, with Jonson's note on it in the Quarto, '*Solemnis praefatio Consulium in relationibus*'.

65. *conscript fathers*. See on *Sej.* III. 28, v. 517, '*Fathers, and . . . registred Fathers*'.

75. *still have wanted . . .* Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 4, 'Quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea'.

88. *the step To more . . .* Ibid. i, § 11, 'Quanquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam'.

92. *gorget*, a piece of armour for the throat. Cicero wore his breastplate, not in the Senate, but at the election earlier. He went attended by a bodyguard of loyal citizens, and Plutarch (*Cicero*, xiv) says he shifted his tunic so as to show the breastplate—τοῦ δὲ θώρακος ἐπίτηδες ὑπέφαινε τι. Cicero gives his own account of the episode in *Pro Murena*, § 52, 'Descendi'—i.e. in campum—'cum firmissimo praesidio fortissimorum virorum et cum illa lata insignique lorica, non quae me tegeret—etenim sciebam Catilinam non latus aut ventrem, sed caput et collum solere petere—verum ut omnes boni animadverterent et cum in metu et periculo consulem viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem praesidiumque concurrerent.'

122-6. Quintus Cicero, *De Petitione Consulatus*, § 9, describes Catiline as 'natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in caede civium, cuius primus ad rem publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidendis fuit'.

130-2. Cicero, *Pro Caelio*, § 14, 'Me ipsum, me, inquam, quondam

paene ille decepit, cum et civis mihi bonus et optimi cuiusque cupidus et firmus amicus ac fidelis videretur: cuius ego facinora oculis prius quam opinione, manibus ante quam suspicione, deprehendi'.

141. For the deserted benches see Plutarch, *Cicero*, xvi, 'Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλθόντος ὡς ἀπολογησομένου συγκαθίσαι μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ἀλλ' πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ βάρους μετῆλθον.

151 fol. Catiline, attacked by Cicero, 'ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit duo corpora esse rei publicae, unum debile, infirmo capite, alterum firmum, sine capite: huic, si ita de se meritum esset, caput se vivo non defuturum' (*Pro Murena*, § 51). So Plutarch, *Cicero*, 14.

170. *Furies* . . . *Ate*. Not the tragic conception of them as avenging goddesses who punished, but rather as powers of mischief who led men blindly: Ἄτη, ἣ πάντας ἀάται (*Iliad*, xix. 91), and similarly ἡεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς (ibid. 87) and δασπλήτης Ἐρινύς (*Odyssey*, xv. 234).

172. *the paleness of thy guilt*. Sallust notes Catiline's 'colos exsanguis' (15, § 5).

175-461. Here Jonson gives with omissions a close rendering of Cicero's First Speech against Catiline delivered 7 November 63 B.C. The text is given below in Appendix XXI.

175. *Whither at length*. A crude rendering of 'Quo usque tandem?' 'Tandem' in Latin questions and appeals has a strengthening force: 'How long, I pray?' 'how long, I ask?'

178. *the palace*. A misleading translation of *Palatium*, the Palatine Hill, an important military point in the city.

186-7. (*if they'll but utter Their conscience to the right*). Not in the Latin: an anticipatory touch to prepare for lines 269, 270.

209. *desire, Fathers*. 'Desire' is a trisyllable, like 'admir'd' in *E.M.O.* 1. i. 23, and the dissyllable 'hir'd' in *D. is A.* 1. iv. 20. There is therefore no need for the correction 'grave Fathers' printed in the 1640 Folio.

211. *remisse, and slacke*. Cicero's words are 'Cupio me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri'. Jonson has given a new turn to the sentence by omitting the 'non', perhaps intentionally, but it is not easy to say.

214. *in the iawes* . . . *of Hetruria*, ('in Etruriae faucibus') near Fae-sulae, the modern Fiesole.

222. *batch*. *E.M.I.* 1. ii. 83.

230. *opprest*, crushed (Lat. *oppressus*): so line 445.

246. *on the fifth (the Kalends of Nouember)*. A crudely literal adoption of the Latin 'in ante diem quintum calendas Novembres'. Foxe in the *Actes & Monuments*, 1563, p. 324, col. 1, has 'The v. kalendes of Nouembre'; p. 326, col. 2, 'The next day following being fridaye, the third Kalendes of Nouember'; and Lodge in *The Wounds of Ciuill War*, 1594, D, makes Cinna date a letter 'Rome the 5. Kalends of December'. Whalley's 'fifth o' the Kalends' is nonsense. The Roman system was to date the days before Kalends, Nones, and Ides. So that the date in the text is 'before (on the fifth day) the Kalends of November', originally

ablative 'quinto die', but attracted into the accusative after 'ante'. (Roby, *Latin Grammar*, i, p. 454.)

247-8. *which my caution*. Cicero says, 'I stated in the Senate that you appointed October 28 for the massacre of the aristocratic party, and on that date many of the leading citizens left Rome more in order to thwart your schemes than to save themselves'. This is a guarded excuse for their cowardice: Jonson's 'which my caution | Made many leaue' is not in the Latin and is a minor touch to elevate his hero.

252. *reed*, rede, decision: here virtually 'decree'. Cf. Chaucer, *The Phisiciens Tale*, 146-7:

Whan that assented was this cursed reed,
Glad was this Iuge.

264. *circumstance*, circumlocution. *Disc.* 2024, 'in obscure words, or by circumstance'. Cicero's words are 'Non agam obscure'.

at Lecca's house. Jonson has forgotten that he changed the scene to Catiline's house: see on III. 548.

266. *Among your sword-men*. A mistranslation of 'inter falcarios', which means 'in the street of the scythemakers'.

269. *conuince*, convict (Lat. *convinco*).

295. *conuent*, meeting (Lat. *conventus*).

313. *perswade*. The Latin is 'suadeo' (I advise), not 'persuadeo' (I persuade).

316. *note*, brand (Lat. *nota*, especially in the phrase *notam inurere*).

325. *held a torch*. Cicero's 'facem praetulisti' is a metaphor from slaves lighting their masters home at night.

327. *sinnes incredible*, Catiline's murder of his son.

331. *next Ides*. Money was lent, and called in, and interest paid, at the Kalends, Nones, or Ides, the first and last more commonly than the Nones. Cf. Horace, *Epodes*, ii. 69, 'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam, Quaerit Kalendis ponere' (translated by Jonson in *Und.* lxxxv).

334. *in the field*, in the Campus Martius. But the original has 'in comitio', i.e. the place of assembly in the Forum.

378. *discourse*, 'ratio' in the Latin.

382. *the Aurelian way* ran along the west coast of Etruria to Pisa.

401. *Fencer*, 'gladiator' in the Latin.

403. *soft censures*, weak judgements ('mollibus sententiis').

417. *Where*, whereas.

440. *gentlemen*, the 'equites' or moneyed class. Lines 441-2 are Jonson's insertion.

479. *in-mate*. II. 116.

480-4. *He saue the state?* . . . Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 137-40 (Caesar to the tribune Metellus):

Te vindice tuta relictæ est
Libertas? Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies ut non, si voce Metelli
Seruentur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

A burgess sonne of Arpinum. Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 237–8, contrasts with the highborn Catiline and Cethegus ‘hic novus Arpinas ignobilis et modo Romae Municipalis eques’.

486. *rude, and indigested heape.* Ovid’s description of the primeval chaos, ‘rudis indigestaque moles’ (*Met.* i. 7).

494–9. In vaine . . . Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 134–6:

‘Vanam spem mortis honestae
Concipis: haud’, inquit, ‘iugulo se polluet isto
Nostra, Metelle, manus. Dignum te Caesaris ira
Nullus honor faciet.’

508. *Sing out scrich-owle.* Philemon Holland’s translation of Pliny’s *Natural History*, 1601, x. xii: ‘The Scritch-owle betokeneth alwaies some heavie newes, and is most execrable and accursed, and namely, in the presages of publicke affaires. . . . In summe, he is the verie monster of the night, neither crying nor singing out cleere, but uttering a certain heavie grone of dolefull moning’ (‘nec cantu aliquo vocalis, sed gemitu’). Jonson uses the form ‘scrich-owl’, *N.I.* iii. ii. 10, *M. of Q.* 183, and ‘the scritch-owle’, *S.S.* i. v. 60.

510. *The common fire.* Cf. iii. 220–1.

512. *H’is lost.* An original touch of Jonson’s, followed up by the dialogue in v. 68–85.

516. The Roman formula for declaring a state of national emergency, ‘illud extremum atque ultimum senatusconsultum’, as Caesar calls it (*De Bello Civili*, i. v. 3). ‘Videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.’

519–20. This public mention of Curius and Fulvia in the Senate, where some present have been implicated with Catiline, is questionable at this stage.

528–30. Plutarch, *Cicero*, xx, of Cicero’s suspicion of Caesar, τινὲς δὲ φασὶ παριδεῖν ἐκόντα καὶ παραλιπεῖν τὴν κατ’ ἐκείνου μήνυσιν φόβῳ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως.

538 fol. From Sallust, *Cat.* 32 and 34, § 2: ‘Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit: ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere ac prius quam legiones scriberentur multa antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem incendia aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. . . . At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optimo cuique litteras mittit, se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur.’

575–86. Ibid. 40. Lentulus got hold of a Roman speculator, Umbre-

nus: 'Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat et eos noverat. . . . Postquam illos vidit queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, . . . At ego, inquit, vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam qua tanta ista mala effugiatis.'

577. *resiant*, resident.

583. *still watching after change*. Horace, *Epode* xvi. 6, 'novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox'.

612. *The fortune of the commonwealth*. To this Roman historians usually attribute any great national deliverance. So Sallust, speaking of this episode, says (41, § 3), 'Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae'.

614. *negotiation*, wholesale business transactions (Lat. *negotatio*).

619-39. From Felicius (Folio *Sallust*, col. 506): 'Tum consul, putans oblatam sibi facultatem, ut quod semper optauerat, coniuratos manifestè convincere posset, legatos ad se occultè venire iussit: monet eos, ne sine causa hostes Po. Ro. fieri uellent: néue eorum res florentes cum Catilinæ, Lentuli, ceterorumq; miserorum perditis coniungerent: non debere eos incerta pro certis captare, aut paruo commodo ingentia pericula subire: omne bellum incipi facilè posse, non eiusdem esse potestate, eidem imponere finem.' The substance of the whole speech is in Felicius. So is the reply of the Allobroges (ll. 664-70): 'uerum esse, se à P. Lentulo ad bellum socios esse requisitos: sed eos non esse tam fortuna miseros, aut uoluntate perditos, ut P.R. multis laboribus collectam amicitiam subito effunderent.'

639. *All may beginne a warre* . . . Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, lxxxiii: 'Omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere; non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse.'

624. *Quintus Fabius Sanga*. Sallust, *Cat.* 41, § 4, 'Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrociniò civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt'.

640-2. *The Senate* . . . Sallust, *Cat.* 36, §§ 2, 3, 'Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes iudicat. . . . Praeterea decernit uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.'

643. Metellus Celer had checked the symptoms of a rising in Picenum, Bruttium, and Apulia (Sallust, *Cat.* 42).

645. *rewards*. Ibid. 30, § 6, 'Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de coniuratione . . . praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta'.

652. *vindicate*, punish (Lat. *vindico*).

673-81. *We are to meet* . . . Sallust, *Cat.* 40, § 5, says that Umbrenus 'eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat'—Umbrenus

cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellicae gravissimi invidiam optumo consuli imponeret.'

779-80. Ibid. 44 (Lentulus to Catiline), 'In urbe parata esse quae iusserit. Ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.'

783-91. Ibid. 59, §§ 4, 6: 'At ex altera parte C. Antonius pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. . . . Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.'

798-9. *Metellus Celer*. Ibid. 57, §§ 2, 3, 'At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat'. Hearing that Catiline meant to move to Transalpine Gaul, 'castra propere movit ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti'.

801. *Milvian bridge*, over the Tiber on the Flaminian way, now Ponte Molle, near Torretta.

803. *Flaccus, Pomptinus*, Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 5: 'Itaque . . . L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret ostendi. . . . Illi autem . . . cum advesperasceret occulte ad pontem Milvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipertito fuerunt ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset.'

823. *heare ill*, am ill spoken of; the Latin *male audio*.

824 fol. From Sallust, *Cat.* 45: 'His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens veluti hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.'

843. The main thought of this chorus is taken from Felicius' *Historia Coniurationis Catilinae*, included in the Basel folio Sallust of 1564: on folio 503a, a passage which Jonson has marked, 'O condicionem miseram administrandae Reipublicae, in qua diligens morosus, negligens turpis, ubi seuerus crudelis & inhumanus: misericors timidus ac dissolutus uocatur: ubi erranti nulla uenia, rectè facienti exigua laus praepositur. Cum antea L. Catilina in exilium profectus diceretur, non ille à Cicerone spoliatus armis audaciæ, non Ciceronis consilijs atque laboribus circumclusus ac debilitatus: non quòd ille pertimuerit, sententiam mutauerit: sed indemnatus, innocens, in exilium deiectus à consule uerbis

& imperio, dicebatur. Non ille improbus, sed timidus: non diligens consul, sed crudelis uocabitur. Sed cum essent tunc homines, qui hæc loquerentur, ijdem si Catilina interfectus fuisset, quid dixissent? Nunc uerò quòd Catilina uiuit, quòd supplicio mactatus non est, Ciceronem nullius consilij, inertem, timidum ac dissolutum uocant. Nihil est profectò inertius uulgo: non delectu aliquo aut sapientia iudicat, sed consilia euentis ponderat: & cui bene quid euenerit, illum multum prouidisse: cui secus, nihil sensisse dicit.'

854. *censure*, judge.

877. *the carefull magistrate*. Cf. III. 102-3, 484-9.

893-4. *brooke the cures* . . . *Alch.* prologue 13-14.

Act V

The speech of Petreius is taken not from Sallust, but from Felicius, who has invented it (Sallust Folio, col. 544 and col. 546):

' 544. Agitur nunc milites, non quam latè, aut quàm magnifici Pop. R. fines futuri sint: sed ut quæ multis maiorum nostrorum laboribus, uictorijs, multis annis parta sunt, hodierno die gladijs nostris retineamus. Non estis nunc de gloria, de uestigalibus, aut pro sociorum iniurijs (pro quibus semper Pop. R. exercitus certare consueuit) sed pro nostra R. P. dimicaturi, pro deorum immortalium templis, pro fortunis omnium, pro aris atque focis, pro coniugum uestrarum ac liberorum anima, pro libertate, pro salute denique totius orbis terrarum. . . .

' 546. Quod, quo melius intelligi possit, exponam uobis, milites, ex quibus hominum generibus istæ præclaræ Catilinæ copiae comparatæ sunt. Atq; eas ex tribus hominum generibus conflatas esse audio. Primum genus eorum est ex his colonis, quos Fesulis Sylla constituit. Hi largius suo usi, nouas tabulas à Catilina & locupletum proscriptiones expectant. Meminerunt enim Syllanis temporibus, ex modicis repentè fieri diuites. Hosce ego quanquam fortes uiros esse audio, eos tamen minimè pertimescendos puto, quòd aut robur illud pristinum ocio & uoluptatibus erit sopitum, aut si adhuc permanebit, uirtute uobis & numero pares esse non poterunt. Secundum genus est eorum ciuium (si ciues sunt potius quàm pecudes) qui dum bona nostra sperant, effuderunt sua. Hi obruti uino, cibo confecti, debilitati stupris, Consules se, aut Prætores, aut Tribunos expectant futuros. In hoc genere sunt illi, quibus Catilina stipatus Romæ semper incedebat, quos à complexu suo nunquam dimittebat. Qui non equitando, non iaculando, aut bene armis utendo, non uigilando, non militarem laborem tolerando, eorum iuuentutem exercuere: sed pro his amare & amari, psallere, cantare, conuiuia facere, & alea ludere didicerunt. Quapropter hi ualde contemnendi sunt, propterea quòd nobis magis mala precaturi sunt, quàm contra nos arma laturi. Tertium genus est uarium, & ex multis hominum generibus mixtum. In hoc enim sunt omnes aleatores, adulteri, gladiatores, pastores, latrones, parricidæ: facinorosi denique omnes, atque totius Italiæ pestes. Hosce ego omnes

huc conuenisse arbitror, ut hodie scelerum illorum poenas iam multis annis debitas, luant. . . .

1, 2. Sallust, 59, 'C. Antonius pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit'.

22. *One sort.* 'Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum. . . . Sunt homines ex eis coloniis quas Sulla constituit . . . qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt. Hi . . . in tantum aes alienum inciderunt ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit ab inferis excitandus.' (Cic. *In Cat.* ii, §§ 20, 21.)

26. *new bills.* Latin *tabulae novae*, 'new account books', here a cancelling of the creditors' accounts.

32. *The second sort.* 'Postremum autem genus est . . . quod proprium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu eius ac sinu, . . . quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt.' (Cic. *In Cat.* §§ 22, 23.)

43. *wish more hurt.* This final touch is from the description of Cicero's first class: 'Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod . . . magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.' (Ibid. § 18.)

44. *The rest.* 'Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum.' (Ibid. § 22.)

46. *all the sinke.* Sallust, *Cat.* 37, § 5, of the 'urbana plebs'—'postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ei Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant'.

54. *inhabitable*, uninhabitable, with the negative prefix *in-* (Lat. *inhabitabilis*).

55. *monsters.* A mythological reference: when Perseus flew over the Libyan desert after cutting off Medusa's head, the blood drops falling on the sand turned to poisonous snakes.

72. *Their letter.* Plutarch, *Cicero* xv, says Crassus received a bundle of letters, one of which, unsigned, was directed to himself, warning him to quit Rome and saying *φόνον γενησόμενον πολὺν διὰ Κατρίνα*. He handed the letters to Cicero. So Felicius (Sallust Folio, col. 509).

77. *I have, of late . . .* Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 17, is the authority for this.

86. *I will not be wrought to it.* For the reference to Caesar see Sallust, *Cat.* 49, § 1, 'Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque pretio neque gratia Ciceronem impellere potuere uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur'. Plutarch, *Caesar*, 7, referring to Lentulus and Cethegus, says, *οἷς εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρείχετι θάρσους καὶ δυνάμειος ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἄδηλόν ἐστιν*. Catulus, who had held high office, was supplanted by Caesar in his candidature for the office of pontifex maximus; Piso had been prosecuted for abuse of his provincial power, and Caesar had appeared against him.

98. *proofe*. Plutarch, *Cicero*, 20, says Caesar τῷ Κικέρωνι πολλὰς μὲν ὑποψίας, λαβὴν δ' οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἔλεγχον παρέδωκεν.

101. *Send Lentulus forth*. Sallust, *Cat.* 46, § 5, 'Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet'.

106. *If that be not found . . .* Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 7, after stating that he would not open the letters himself, 'Etenim, Quirites, si ea quae erant ad me delata reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar, in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam'.

109. *The weapons*. Warned of these by the Allobroges, Cicero sent the praetor Sulpicius, 'qui ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret, ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit'. (Ibid., § 8.)

115. *It hath a face of horror*. In actual fact the letters were carefully worded and on the surface had nothing treasonable. Lentulus' letter, without either address or signature, ran, 'Who I am you will learn from the bearer. See that you play the man and fully understand your present position. Omit no necessary measure; avail yourself of all auxiliaries, even the lowest' (Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 12).

117-28. Ibid. iii, §§ 3, 4: 'Nam tum cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam cum illa magis sit timenda quod vivus exierit—sed tum cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos qui restitissent infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. Atque ego ut vidi quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi ut quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem ut tum demum animis saluti vestrae provideretis cum oculis maleficio ipsum videretis.'

133-50. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 8: 'Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis, fidem publicam iussu senatus dedi, hortatus sum ut ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem eo consilio ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus coniungeret. § 9. Introducti autem Galli ius iurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse praescriptum ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent.'

155-66. Ibid., § 10: 'Tabellas proferri iussimus quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit; nos linum incidimus, legimus. . . . Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa respondisset dixissetque

se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abiectus conscientia repente conticuit.' Jonson has here quitted his authority in order to keep the consistency of character.

167-92. Ibid., §§ 10, 11: 'Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam: recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. Est vero, inquam, notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos, quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit. Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto iam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit, quaesivit a Gallis quid sibi esset cum eis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens quanta conscientiae vis esset ostendit: nam cum id posset infitiri repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est.'

171. *My grand-fathers*. Publius Cornelius Lentulus, consul in 162 B.C. See lines 248-52.

renown'd. The spelling is due to the French forms, 'renom' and 'renoumer' or 'renommer'.

172. *so only 'embrace*. A bold rendering of 'qui unice amavit'. Compare the adjective in *Hamlet*, III. ii. 120, 'Your onely Iigge-maker'.

196-202. Sallust, *Cat.* 47, § 1: Volturcius 'omnia uti gesta erant aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos, tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea coniuratione esse'.

205-8. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 11, of Lentulus: 'Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim manifesti atque deprehensi sceleris impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit.'

210. *engineer*. Cicero describes him (ibid., § 6) as 'horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem'.

211-12. Ibid., § 12: 'Gabinus deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex eis quae Galli insimulabant negavit.'

215-16. *Is there a law for't?* Cf. Martial, *Ep.* II. lx. 3-4, of Hyllus the adulterer:

Vae tibi, dum ludis, castrabere. Iam mihi dices

'Non licet hoc'. Quid? tu quod facis, Hylle, licet.

226. *stinke*. Cf. *Ep.* lix, 'Of Spies'.

227. *beg o' the bridges*, often spoken of as favourite stands for Roman beggars. Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 134, 'aliquis de ponte' = a beggar. Cunningham finds a parallel in Fleet Bridge in Jonson's day.

230. *a cloud Of witnesses*. Cf. the Epistle to the Hebrews xii. 1,

'Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses . . . '.

233-72. A cento from Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 16: 'Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii adipem nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu dum urbis moenibus continebatur.'

Ibid., § 22: 'Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quae gens una restat quae bellum populo Romano facere posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriiis hominibus oblatam neglegerent vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus factum esse putatis?'

Ibid. iv, § 13: 'Atque eo tempore huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit ne quid de summa re publica deminueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego et ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, Italiam totam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae.'

Ibid. §§ 11, 12: 'Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se sperare ex fatis confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem Vestalium perhorresco.'

265. *purple Senate*. Cicero wrote 'purpuratum huic Gabinium', 'Gabinus for his vizier'. The reference, which Jonson perhaps misunderstood, is to an Eastern courtier clad in purple.

279. *free custodie*. One form of imprisonment which a Roman magistrate could adopt was to hand the culprit over to relatives or, as here, to trustworthy citizens who were held responsible for him.

290. *I do resign it*. Plutarch, *Cicero*, 19, 'Lentulus was convicted and resigned his office (for he was praetor at the time): he laid aside his praetexta (τὴν περιπόρφυρον), and put on in its place a dress suited to his calamity'.

292. *piously*. Caesar held the office of pontifex maximus at the time; hence Jonson makes him intervene here. Cicero mentions the avoidance of 'religio' by this action (*In Cat.* iii, § 15).

296. *And a reward . . .* Caesar proposed this (*Cicero, In Cat.* iv, § 10), but the Allobroges did not get their redress, for they rebelled two years later and were repressed by the Caius Pomptinius who helped Cicero in the conspiracy.

298. Sallust, *Cat.* 50, § 1: '. . . legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio comprobato eorum indicio praemia decernuntur'. The Senate had offered a reward of 200,000 sesterces (*ibid.* 30, § 7).

301. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 14: '... L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinius praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac iure laudantur.'

305-7. Ibid.: 'Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis sit liberata. § 23, Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu: sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione . . . vicistis.'

312. *a ciuicke gyrland* of oak leaves, given to a soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen in battle. Lucius Gellius Publicola, not Cato, proposed this honour for Cicero (Cicero, *In Pisonem*, § 6; Aulus Gellius, v. vi. 15).

313. *father of his countrey*. Cicero, *In Pisonem*, § 6, 'Me Q. Catulus . . . frequentissimo senatu parentem patriae nominavit'.

314. *publike prayer*. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 15, 'Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his verbis decreta est, quod urbem incendiis, caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem'. The 'supplicatio' was generally in honour of a military triumph, and it was therefore a unique honour for one of the 'civil robe'. Cicero never forgot this: see *In Pisonem*, § 6; *Pro Sulla*, § 85; *2nd Philippic*, § 13.

325-35. Cicero, *In Cat.* iii, § 2: 'Et si non minus nobis iucundi atque illustres sunt ei dies quibus conservamur quam illi quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit ad deos immortales benevolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit.'

336. *added to our Fasti*, registered in the calendar as an historical event.

337-50. From Sallust, *Cat.* 48, §§ 3-9: 'Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. . . . Praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliquae ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant indicem falsum esse deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cuius consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. . . . Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.' On this last hint Jonson has modelled his treatment of Crassus' character: compare iii. 53.

349. *tracts* much like *courses*.

351. *libell*, document (Lat. *libellus*).

351-60. *accusing Caesar*. Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 17: 'Reccidit rursus in discrimen aliud inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Novium Nigrum quaestorem a Lucio Vettio indice et in senatu a Quinto Curio, cui, quod primus consilia coniuratorum detexerat, constituta erant publice praemia. Curius e Catilina se cognovisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius Catilinae datum pollicebatur. Id vero Caesar nullo modo tolerandum existimans, cum implorato Ciceronis testimonio quaedam se de coniuratione ultro ad eum detulisse docuisset, ne Curio praemia darentur effecit.'

367 fol. From the speech of Catiline in Sallust, ch. 58, with slight omissions and rearrangements: 'Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cuiusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam mei consili aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attulerit, quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo loco res nostrae sint, iuxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe alter a Gallia obstant. Diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis, et cum proelium inibitis, memineritis vos divitias decus gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt: si metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient, neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet; nos pro patria pro libertate pro vita certamus, illis supervacuaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare. . . . Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio aetatem agere; potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis bonis alienas opes exspectare: quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. . . . Nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. . . . Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vostra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. . . . Quodsi virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.'

400. *where*, whereas.

424-32. From Sallust, *Cat.* 50: 'Dum haec in senatu aguntur, . . . liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos lectos et

exercitatos orabat in audaciam ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent.' Cicero, *In Cat.* iv, § 17, 'auditum est lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare posse sollicitari animos egen-tium atque imperitorum'.

437. *Syllanus*. Sallust, *Cat.* 50, § 4: 'Tum D. Iunius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui in custodia tenebantur . . . supplicium sumundum decreverat.'

444. *article of time*, a nick of time. *S.W.* i. i. 30.

eye, speck. Usually of a slight shade of colour, as in *The Tempest*, II. i. 51-2: '*Ant.* The ground, indeed, is tawny. *Seb.* With an eye of green in't.'

447-97. From Sallust, *Cat.* 51, but greatly condensed: 'Omnes ho-mines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio amicitia ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet ubi illa officiunt. . . . Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo: sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, eis utendum censeo quae legibus comparata sunt. . . . Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt, fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est. Neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appel-latur. . . . D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio quae dixerit, studio rei publicae dixisse neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia eius mihi non crudelis—quid enim in tales homines crudele fieri potest?—sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacuaneum est disserere, cum praesertim diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possum equidem dicere id quod res habet. in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta morta-lium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. . . . Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minime; sed ita censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxime opibus valent, neu quis de eis postea ad sena-tum referat neve cum populo agat.'

479. *it is abhorring from*, the Latin *abhorret ab*.

499-515. Cicero's speech is patched up from passages in his fourth *Catiline Oration*: '§ 1. Video, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos. § 7. Video adhuc duas esse sententias, unam D. Silani, qui censet eos qui haec delere conati sunt morte esse multandos, alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua

dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. . . . Alter eos . . . punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intellegit mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam. . . . Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. § 24. Habetis eum consulem qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet et ea quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare. § 3. si quid obtigerit aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari neque misera sapienti.'

516-17. Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 14, describes the effect of Caesar's speech: 'Quin et tantum metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus, identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret invidia ut Decimum Silanum consulem designatum non piguerit sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire velut gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam.'

518-66. From Sallust, *Cat.* 52, but much condensed: 'Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae parentibus aris atque focis suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid in illos statuamus consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia implores. . . . Ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Cæsar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra inculta foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis aut a multitudine conducti per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. . . . Vos cunctamini etiam nunc, et dubitatis quid intra moenia deprensus hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo—deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem—atque etiam armatos dimittatis; ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortat. . . . Sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maxumis periculis servavere. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando agendo bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos implores. . . . Postremo, patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. . . . Quo magis properandum est.'

572. *Letters, for Caesar.* Plutarch, *Cato minor*, 24: λέγεται τότε πολλήν ἄμεινον καὶ μέγαν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχοντος καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς ἐκείνους ἀνηρτημένης δελτάριον τι μικρὸν ἔξωθεν εἰσκομισθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι. τοῦ δε Κάτωνος εἰς ὑποψίαν ἄγοντος τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διαβάλλοντος εἶναι τινὰς τοὺς κινουμένους καὶ κελεύοντας ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ γεγραμμένα τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ Κάτῳ προσδοῦναι τὸ δελτάριον ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτι. τὸν δὲ ἀναγνόντα Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιστόλιον ἀκόλαστον πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα γεγραμμένον ἐρώσης καὶ διεφθαρμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσρῖψαί τε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ εἰπεῖν, 'Κράτει, μέθυσε', καὶ πάλιν οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον τρέπεσθαι.

577. *your dear sister*, Servilia, the mother of Brutus, Caesar's murderer.

578. *Hold thee*, take the letter. Cf. *Volp.* i. i. 66-7, 'Vol. Hold thee, Take, of my hand'. *thee*, for yourself.

579-80. *You'll repent . . . Cicero.* Historically true: early in 58 B.C. the tribune Clodius brought in a bill rendering liable to prosecution any magistrate who had put citizens to death without trial. Cicero went into voluntary exile, but he was declared a public enemy, and his property was confiscated.

580. *Caesar shall repent it.* Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 14, says Caesar persisted in his opposition even after Cato's speech. 'Ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoad manus equitum Romanorum, quae armata praesidii causa circumstabat, immoderatus perseveranti necem comminata est, etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, vix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint.'

584 fol. The narrative of Plutarch is followed, *Cicero*, 22, Cicero ἐχώρει δὲ μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οὐκ ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάντες ἦσαν, ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἐφύλαττε τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἤγε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης. . . . Διελθὼν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ παρέδωκε τὸν Λέντλον τῷ δημίῳ καὶ προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν· εἰθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Κέθηγον, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον καταγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. 'Ορῶν δὲ πολλοὺς ἔτι τῆς συνωμοσίας ἐν ἀγορᾷ συνεστῶτας ἀθρόους καὶ τὴν μὲν πρᾶξιν ἀγνοοῦντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα προσμένοντας ὥς ἔτι ζώντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυναμένων ἐξαρπασθῆναι, φθελγόμενος μέγα πρὸς αὐτοὺς 'Ἐξῆσαν εἶπεν. Οὕτω δὲ 'Ρωμαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν.

Spinthers house. Four houses are visited, including Crassus' house for Gabinius at line 605, where Crassus' name is not mentioned. How was the scene at this point staged? We suggest by using the two side-doors and the two 'ends'¹ or sides of the stage for the houses; possibly the alcove or middle-stage was the prison to which the conspirators were taken. Historically this was the 'Tullianum', famous as the prison of St. Peter.

609. *happy Rome.* 'Cato has not much improved the poetry of his friend's memorable line, though he has avoided the jingle—O fortunatam natam me consule Romam' (Gifford). Probably from Cicero's lost epic in three books *de consulatu suo*.

610. *parent of thy countrie.* The title 'pater patriae' was first given to Cicero in the Senate by Catulus (*Pro Sestio*, § 121), but Cato was the first to salute him by it in the popular assembly (Plutarch, *Cicero*, 23).

¹ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, iii, p. 74.

624. *the house of Concord* in the Forum near the foot of the Capitol.

629–88. The speech is modelled on the epic style of Lucan, whose language it reproduces in several passages.

633. *paiz'd*, poised, balanced.

638–9, 642–3, 645–6. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vii. 129–33:

Multorum pallor in ore
Mortis venturae faciesque simillima fato.
Advenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aevum
Conderet humanis, et quaeri Roma quid esset
Illo Marte palam est.

With 646 compare Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 709, of Cleopatra at Actium, 'pallentem morte futura'.

651–5. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 100–6:

Qualiter undas
Qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos
Nec patitur conferre fretum: si terra recedat,
Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare: sic, ubi saeva
Arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carrhas,
Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores.

657. *pietie left the field*. Cf. the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*, 160, 'Tunc sancta Pietas extulit trepidos gradus'.

659. *They knew not . . . Pharsalia*, vi. 147–8:

Pronus ad omne nefas, et qui nesciret in armis
Quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset.

663. *Enyo*. Strictly the name is the Greek equivalent of the Roman Bellona, the goddess who accompanied Mars in battle, but it is frequently used by Latin poets after the classical period (Silius Italicus, x. 202; Statius, *Thebais*, viii. 656; Petronius, *Satyricon*, 119, l. 62; Martial, vi. xxxii. 1).

668. *Couer'd that earth . . . Sallust, Cat.* 61, § 2: 'Nam fere quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat.'

672. *like a Libyan lion*. *Pharsalia*, i. 205–12:

Sic ut squalentibus arvis
Aestiferae Libyes viso leo cominus hoste
Subsedit dubius, totam dum colligit iram:
. . . tum torta levis si lancea Mauri
Haereat aut latum subeant venabula pectus,
Per ferrum tanti securus vulneris exit.

H. G. (i.e. Sir Henry Goodyer) in *The Mirrour of Maiestie*, 1618, imitates this passage:

The blacke Prince (bearing *Plumes*) approues this true,
When through the French he like *wing'd-lightning* flue,
And pull'd down liues about him to the ground,
Till he himselfe with death had circled round:
His very look did threaten publicke death:
With every stroke fell from him, fled a breath.

677-83. Claudian, *Gigantomachia*, 91-101:

Tritonia virgo

Prosilit ostendens rutila cum Gorgone pectus;
Aspectu contenta suo non utitur hasta
(Nam satis est vidisse semel), primumque furem
Longius in faciem saxi Pallanta reformat.
Ille procul subitis fixus sine vulnere nodis
Ut se letifero sensit durescere visu
(Et steterat iam paene lapis) 'Quo vertimur?' inquit,
'Quae serpit per membra silex? qui torpor inertem
Marmorea me veste ligat?' Vix pauca locutus,
Quod timuit iam totus erat.

688. *A braue bad death*. Florus, *Epitoma*, II. xii. 12, 'Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, pulcherrima morte si pro patria sic concidisset'.

700-2. Repeated in *Ep.* xcvi. 10-12. Pliny, *Ep.* I. viii. 14, 'Praeterea meminimus quanto maiore animo honestatis fructus in conscientia quam in fama reponatur'.

APPENDIX XXI

CICERO'S FIRST SPEECH AGAINST CATILINE

(The portions which Jonson has translated in Act IV, lines 175-461)

1. Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? 2. O tempora, o mores! senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem fortes viri satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitamus. . . . 3. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis

civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus. . . .

4. At vero nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusce modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno.

5. Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus, eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficere, cum iam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non iure factum esse fateatur. 6. Quam diu quisquam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives, sed vives ita ut nunc vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. . . . 7. Meministine me ante diem duodecimum Kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem sextum Kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem quintum Kalendas Novembres, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiri potes te illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu discessu ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede te contentum esse dicebas? 8. Quid? cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem. . . . Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure—in M. Laecae

domum; convenisse eodem complures eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? Convincam, si negas; video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. 9. O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partes Italiae; statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lecto interfecturos esse pollicerentur. 10. Haec ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi, domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi, exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.

Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae: proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberaveris, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. . . .

13. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me imperante facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me: num in exilium? Non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? 14. Quid vero? nuper, cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes proximis Idibus tibi impendere senties: ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. 15. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat, te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum

civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? . . . Quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens vero consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! . . . 16. Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica de manibus! quotiens excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! Quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere. . . .

Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? . . . Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? 17. Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et si me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me adspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet. . . . 20. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? . . . 21. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant. . . .

22. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit. 23. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere. . . . 24. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem, a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? . . .

27. Etenim si mecum patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid agis? Tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem coniurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire pati, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? . . .'

29. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu iudicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. . . . 30. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminet non videant, aut ea quae vident dissimulent, qui spem Catilinae mollihus sententiis

aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt; quorum auctoritate multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi se eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium. . . . 31. Nunc si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflctantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet. 32. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

33. Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere paricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Iuppiter, qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR

THE feast of St. Bartholomew, 24 August, was the occasion of a great civic fair in Smithfield. Henry Morley's *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* gives a full account of its long history down to its last exhibition in 1855. It was started in 1120 by Rayer, the prior of St. Bartholomew, eighteen years after he had founded the priory. It became a great cloth-fair. 'To this priorie', says Stow, 'king *Henrie* the second' in 1154 'granted the priuiledge of fayre to bee kept yearely at *Bartholomew* tide for three dayes, to wit, the Eue, the day, and next morrow, to the which the Clothiers of all England, and Drapers of London repayred, and had their Booths and standings within the Churchyard of this priorie closed in with Walles and Gates locked euery night, and watched for safetie of mens goodes and wares, a Court of pie-powders was dayly during the Fayre holden for debts and contracts' (*Survay*, ed. Kingsford, ii, p. 27). The business side of the Fair comes only incidentally into the play, which is concerned with its amusements; but one character, 'Norderne', or Northern, is a clothier; Dan Jordan Knockhum, a horse-courser, is there for the horse-fair; and Puppy, if he had kept sober, would have taken part in the wrestling before the Lord Mayor. The fair was described in a quarto pamphlet, *Bartholomew Faire, Or, Variety of Fancies*, 1641, from which we have quoted some illustrations. On 12 February 1615 Henry Gosson entered on the Stationers' Register a ballad *The pedler in Bartholomew faire*, which may have had some connexion with Lantern Leatherhead the pedlar and his puppet-show. There was also a ballad, 'Room for company in Bartholomew faire', entered to John Trundle on 22 October 1614. This was just before the first performance of the play. Had the writer seen a rehearsal?

It was at a performance of this play, after the failure of *Catiline*, that the tribute 'O rare Ben Jonson', afterwards carved on his tomb in the Abbey, was first paid.¹

Jonson's first-hand knowledge of London and the Fair is reflected at every turn of the play. But C. R. Baskervill in an article on 'Some Parallels to *Bartholomew Fair*' contributed to *Modern Philology* in July 1908 argued that Jonson had borrowed from a contemporary play a main motive and situation. 'The comic retribution that overtakes Waspé after he has ridiculed Bartholomew Cokes for the loss of two purses was more than probably suggested by the old

¹ See vol. i, p. 183.

play of *Sir Thomas More*, and Jonson apparently drew from the same source for his treatment of the cutpurse scenes.'

The reference is to an episode in the life of More, who is credited with playing a practical joke upon a justice sitting on the bench. The story is told by Thomas Stapleton in his *Tres Thomæ* (St. Thomas, Becket, and More), 1588, pp. 203-5, and by More's grandson Cresacre in the *Life* which he published in 1631; we have quoted this in the note on III. v. 102-4. It was dramatized in the second scene of the play of *Sir Thomas More* (Malone reprint, ll. 104-312). '*Bartholomew Fair* offers a parallel to nearly every detail', says Mr. Baskerville; we confine ourselves to some important points of resemblance. At a court of sessions the Lord Mayor, Justice Suresbie and other justices, and Sir Thomas More as Sheriff are trying the case of Lifter for cutting the purse of Smart. Suresbie lectures Smart for carrying about a sum of money which would tempt a man to steal it.

What makes so many pilferers and fellons,
but such fond baites that foolish people lay,
to tempt the needie miserable wretche? (ll. 139-41.)

So Waspé tells Cokes when he loses his first purse, 'Are you not iustly seru'd i' your conscience now? speake i' your conscience' (II. vi. 110-11); and when he loses his second purse, 'they are such retchlesse flies as you are, that blow cutpurses abroad in euery corner; your foolish hauing of money, makes 'hem' (III. v. 221-3).

The trick played on Justice Suresbie is the next point of comparison. Actually, as Jonson says, it was stolen from him on the bench:

Nay, once from the Seat
Of Iudgement so great,
A Iudge there did lose a faire pouch of veluete. (ll. 102-5.)

And this is Cresacre More's account. The play arranges matters differently. At More's suggestion the Lord Mayor adjourns till the jury can return their verdict; More then speaks privately with Lifter, invites him to pick or cut Suresbie's purse, and, if he does, promises him a pardon. Lifter suspects the offer, but More reassures him: 'All that I aime at, is a merrie iest' (l. 183). Lifter agrees, and More brings in Suresbie for an interview with Lifter, who reveals the method of the cutpurse:

This fellowe Sir, perhaps will meete ye thus,
Or thus, or thus, and in kinde compliment,
pretend acquaintance, somewhat doubtfully,
And these embraces serue. (ll. 234-7.)

And so on while he cuts the purse. Suresbie, taking leave of him, comments on the shrewd knaves:

But let them gull me, widgen me, rooke me, foppe me,
yfaith, yfaith, they are too short for me.
Knaves and fooles meete when purses goe,
Wise men looke to their purses well enough. (ll. 256-9.)

The over-confidence of Suresbie and Cokes is well matched. Suresbie, questioning Lifter of the cutpurses, says he 'longs to know' of them: Lifter answers in an aside,

And you shall haue your longing ere ye goe. (l. 233.)

So Cokes with his second purse: 'let him catch this, that catch can. I would faine see him get this, looke you here. . . . I will put it iust where th'other was, and if we ha' good lucke, you shall see a delicate fine trap to catch the cutpurse, nibling.' Edgworth comments in an aside, 'Faith, and he'll trye ere you be out o' the Fayre' (II. vi. 124-33).

Both Suresbie and Cokes discover their loss when they want money, the former to contribute to the funeral expenses of the condemned prisoners, the latter to pay for the ballads he has bought of Nightingale. Suresbie says to Lifter:

Lifter, I talkte with you, you haue not lifted me? ha?
Lift. Suspect ye me Sir? Oh what a world is this? (ll. 276-7.)

So Nightingale to Cokes whose purse he has in his pocket: 'I hope you suspect not me, Sir.' And the cutpurse Edgworth chimes in at once, 'Thee? that were a iest indeede! Dost thou thinke the Gentleman is foolish? where hadst thou hands, I pray thee?' (III. v. 186-8).

The trick played on Waspe in losing the licence after taking it away from Cokes because he was sure to lose it furnishes further parallels.

Mr. Baskervill makes out a plausible case, but he was not aware of the difficulty in crediting Jonson with a knowledge of the play of *Sir Thomas More*; Jonson could have known it only from the manuscript. There is no record of its performance, and it is unlikely that it ever was performed. Edmund Tylney, the Master of the Revels, left in the manuscript instructions for excision which were not carried out, and, though it was prepared for the stage, the manager took it no farther. Jonson and the writer of the play must both have drawn on the traditional story.

There is an echo of Jonson's attack on the Puritans in R. Brathwaite's *Whimzies*, 1631, pp. 200-1: 'No season through all the yeere accounts hee more subject to *abomination* than *Bartholomew faire*:

Their *Drums*, *Hobbihorses*, *Rattles*, *Babies*, *Iewtrumps*, nay *Pigs* and all are wholly *Iudaicall*. The very *Booths* are *Brothells* of iniquity, and distinguished by the stampe of the *Beast*. Yet under favour, hee will authorize his *Sister* to eate of that uncleane and irrumitating beast, a *Pig*, provided, that the *Pig* bee fat, and that *himselfe* or some other *zealous Brother* accompanie her: and all this is held for authentick and canonicall.'

TIME AND PLACE IN THE PLAY

The action takes one day. It begins in the early morning at Littlewit's house: he wishes his wife good morning in his opening speech (I. i. 18); and admires her dress. Asked if his mother-in-law is 'stirring yet', he answers 'yes' (ii. 63-4). Quarlous, hunting up Winwife, protests against the 'vngentlemanly houres' at which he quits his lodging (iii. 4): 'I pray thee what aylest thou, thou canst not sleepe?' (ll. 7, 8).

The Fair opens with few customers in the second act (II. ii. 1). Nightingale asks whether his confederate Edgworth was 'heere this morning' (54), Ursula and Nightingale take their morning's draught (48, 62). Overdo, arriving early, is the first customer (139). In the third act the watchman Haggis explains why he failed to make an arrest: 'Why, who would ha' thought any body would ha' quarrell'd so early?' (i. 14-15), and Busy, ushering his flock to a booth, says 'Wee scape so much of the other vanities, by our earely entring' (ii. 90-1). Afternoon is reached in the fourth scene: "'twas since morning sure' (61), and in the fourth act Cokes has scrambled enough pears for an afternoon's meal (ii. 48). In iii. 23-4 Grace and her two wooers are 'not yet of two hours acquaintance'; they met in Act I, scene v. In iv. vi. 146 'some houre since' refers to scene iii. 49. The play ends with a supper at Overdo's (v. vi. 110), i.e. at six o'clock.

The first act takes place in Littlewit's house; the remaining four acts are the Fair. The stage-arrangements for the Fair suggest that the first act was played 'above' on the upper stage. The fiction of a down-stairs room is kept up by such orders as 'good *Win*, go in' (I. iii. 111) and the reference to 'within, in my study' (iv. 14), and the invisible cupboard or pantry where Busy regales himself with turkey-pie and malmsey as a preliminary to his later efforts on roast-pig and bottle-ale (vi. 33-6).

For the Fair two booths would be needed—Ursula's in the third, and Littlewit's for the puppet-play in the fifth act. The canvas for these booths is recorded in the accounts of the Court performance.¹

¹ See vol. ix, p. 245.

The stocks are used in the fourth act (i. 17), and they would be a natural accompaniment of the Fair to accommodate those convicted in the Court of Pie-powders.

The Prologue

To the Kings Maiesty. According to Aubrey, 'King James made' Jonson 'write against the Puritans, who began to be troublesome in his time' (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, p. 14). But Jonson needed no prompter on such a point, and a satirist of the age could hardly have overlooked them.

5. *Babies.* Huloet, *Abcedarium*, 1552, 'Baby or puppet for chyldren, *Pupa*'; T. Nabbes, *Totenham Court*, iv. iv (1638, p. 47), 'I have pack't her up in't, like a *Bartholmew-babie* in a boxe'. 'Doll', in the sense of 'plaything', is first used in 1700 (*O.E.D.*).

10. *shall thinke well.* A favourite phrase derived from Martial: see Induction 83-4, *Letters*, vol. i. ii. 18, 19; *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 144-5.

11. *Maker.* *Disc.* 2348.

12. *Fayring*, a present given at or bought from a fair. *Disc.* 1438.

The Persons of the Play

5. *a Banbury man.* Banbury was a noted haunt of Puritans: *G.M.* 1348, and Brathwaite, *Barnabees Iournall*, 1638, part I:

In my progresse travelling Northward, . . .
To *Banbery* came I, O prophane one!
Where I saw a Puritane-one,
Hanging of his Cat on Monday,
For killing of a Mouse on Sunday.

Fuller in the *Worthies*, 1662, 'Oxford-shire', p. 328, protests against the proverb '*Banbury Zeale, Cheese, and Cakes*', and notes it is not found in the original Latin of Camden's *Britannia*: 'Secondly, it being in the *English* translated by *Philemon Holland*, was at the first (as I have been credibly informed) a *literal mistake* of the Printers (though not confessed in the *Errata*) set forth in *Anno Dom.* 1608. *Zeal* being put for *Veal* in that place. But what (was) *casual* in that, may be suspected *wilful* in the *next* and *last Edition*, *Anno* 1637, where the error is continued out of design to *nick* the *Town* of *Banbury*, as reputed then a place of *precise people*, and not over-conformable in their carriage.'

7. *Gamester*, rake.

8. *Cokes.* For the point of the name see Ford, *The Lovers Melancholy*, iv. ii (1629, p. 63): '*Cucul.* That you may know, I am not as they say, an Animall; which is as they say, a kinde of Cokes, which is as the learned terme, an Asse, a Puppy, a Widgin, a Dolt, a Noddy, a — *Cleo.* As you please.'

16. *Ballad-singer.* Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 14, '*A Ballad-monger*': 'He is constant in nothing but his *Clothes*. He neuer casts his *slough* but against *Bartholomew Faire* where hee may casually endanger the purchase of a cast suite.'

19. *Horse-courser*. John Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, 1534, f. 50, 'A corser is he, that byeth all rydden horses, and selleth them agayne' as distinct from the horse-master, who 'bieth wilde horses or coltes, and bredeth theym, and selleth theym agayne wylde, or breaketh parte of theym tame, and then selleth them'.

Turnbull. A corruption of Turnmill Street in Clerkenwell, a prostitutes' haunt. *Ranger*, as if Turnbull were a royal park and he were appointed its keeper.

20. *Val. Cutting*. Cf. the highwayman 'Cutting Dick' mentioned by Heywood and Rowlands.

Roarer. *S.W.* i. iv. 17 n., 'the terrible boyes'.

21. *Captaine . . . A Bawd*. Like Shift in *E.M.O.*: cf. 'suburb-Captayne', *Alch.* i. i. 19.

22. *Mistresse o' the Game*. A play on the title of 'Master of the Game', the royal bear-warden; in iv. v. 94 'guests o' the Game' means prostitutes.

25. *Costard-monger*. *E.M.I.* i. iii. 61.

The Induction

5. *one o' the Arches*, a proctor of the Court of Arches held in Bow Church. 'This Church in the reigne of *William Conquerour*, being the first in this Cittie builded on Arches of stone, was therefore called newe *Marie Church*, of Saint *Marie de Arcubus*, or *le Bow* in West Cheaping: As Stratford Bridge, being the first, builded (by *Matilde* the Queene wife to *Henrie* the first) with Arches of stone, was called *Stratford le Bow*, which names to the said Church and Bridge remayneth till this day. The Court of the Arches is kept in this Church, and taketh name of the place, not the place of the Court' (Stow, *Survay*, 1603, p. 255).

8. *Master Broome*. Richard Brome, the dramatist, Jonson's tribute to whom is given in *U.V.* xxxviii.

behind the Arras. W. J. Lawrence, *The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouse*, pp. 37-8, compares the epilogue of Shirley's *The Duke's Mistress*, 1636; the poet stands listening behind the arras, to hear what will become of his new play. Compare *D. is A.* ii. iii. 7, *S. of N.* v. ii. 70.

13. *the Bartholomew-birds*, belonging no doubt to the species 'bat'. Cf. *III.* iv. 41.

14. *Sword, and Buckler man*. *E.H.* i. i. 19 n.

little Dauby 'appears to have been a bully on the town, a kind of Pistol': Dyce, *Remarks*, quoting Dekker, *Newes from Hell*, 1606, B, 'At sword and buckler little Davy was no bodie to him' (a passage repeated in Dekker's *Knights Coniuring*, 1607, C), and Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West*, 1631, First Part, F2:

Roughman. Had you but staid the crossing of one field,
You had beheld a Hector, the boldest Trojan
That euer Roughman met with.

Forset. Pray what was he?

Roughman. You talk of Little Davy, Cutting Dick,
And diuers such, but tush, this hath no fellow.

16. *Kind-heart.* An itinerant tooth-drawer, commemorated in H. Chettle's *Kind-Harts Dreame*, 1593: the dedication speaks of him as 'he that all daies of his life hath beene famous for drawing teeth'. Cf. Lodge, *Wits Miserie*, 1596, the address to the reader: 'Kind heart shall not show you so many teeth tipt with siluer in his Sunday hat, as I Deuils incarnate in cloaks of the new fashion'; and S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, 1607, D3^v, of a Jew and a broker:

Two filthy Cures that will on no man fawne,
Before they tast the sweetnesse of his pawne.
And then the slaues will be as kinde forsooth,
Not as *Kind-heart*, in drawing out a tooth:
For he doth ease the Patient of his paine,
But they disease the Borrower of his gaine.

17. *wel-educated Ape.* Cf. Donne, *Satyre*, i. 79-82:

. . . he doth move no more
Then the wise politique horse [i.e. Banks's horse] would heretofore,
Or thou O Elephant or Ape wilt doe,
When any names the King of Spaine to you.

And Cleveland, *The Character of a London Diurnal*, 1647, of Prince Rupert's dog Boy:

Who names but *Charles*, hee comes aloft for him,
But holds up his Malignant leg at *Pym*.

28. *sirreuerence.* *T. of T.* i. vi. 25 n. Humorously applied here to the poet's indecency in kicking the sacred person of the speaker.

37. *in Master Tarlton's time.* Richard Tarlton, an original member of the Queen's men in 1583 and their principal comedian till his death in 1588. The plot of his *Seven Deadly Sins* (1585) is extant, and he composed jigs and ballads.

40. *coozen'd i' the Cloath-quarter.* 'The audience would understand the point of Tarlton's being cozened in the cloth-quarter of the fair, one of the famous Tarlton jests being "How fiddlers fiddled away Tarlton's apparel". [*Tarltons Iests*, 1638, B2^v.] This jest relates how a "cony-catcher" stole Tarlton's apparel while he was entertaining with muskadine two musicians who serenaded him at the Saba Tavern, in Gracious (i.e. Gracechurch) Street. "The next day this was noised abroad, and one in mockage threw him in this theame, he playinge then at the Curtaine." The theme is cast in doggerel verse, to which Tarlton replies in kind' (Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, p. 220).

The Cloath-quarter was a line of booths along the church wall, north of the church. In the Middle Ages Bartholomew Fair was the chief

cloth mart of England. Cloth Fair survives as the name of a street running out of Smithfield along the north side of the church; the last of the old houses in it were taken down in November 1914.

Adams. John Adams, a fellow member of Tarlton's in the Queen's company.

44. *with mistaking words.* *Much Ado about Nothing* supplies an immortal instance.

45. *Booke-holder*, prompter. *C.R.* Ind. 162.

49. *vnderstanding Gentlemen o' the ground.* A punning reference to the people in the pit, which had no seats. So line 76, 'grounded Iudgements and vnderstandings'; *C. is A.* II. vii. 69-71, *U.V.* xlii. 7.

52. *the beares within.* After the Globe Theatre was burnt down in 1613, Henslowe planned a combined theatre and bear-garden on the Bankside, the stage to be made in a frame and placed upon tressels, so that it could be removed for the bear-baiting. This was the Hope Theatre, where *Bartholomew Fair* was acted. Plays were acted on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays; bear-baiting took place on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Compare the reference below (ll. 159-60) to the place being 'as durty as *Smithfield*, and as stinking euery whit'.

63. *Counterpaine*, the counterpart of the indenture.

65. *Spectators or Hearers.* Jonson distinguished these two kinds of playgoer: cf. *S. of N.* Prol. 1, 2, Prologue for the Court, 7, 8, and Induction 39-43.

79. *two houres and an halfe, and somewhat more.* Two hours is more commonly given as the time: *Alch.* prol. 1; *Romeo and Juliet*, prol. 12, *Henry VIII*, prol. 13.

82. *full of noise.* An important point with an audience used to the tumult of the Bear Garden.

86. *censure*, judgement.

87. *departed with his right.* *Cat.* 'To the Reader in Ordinarie', 3.

87-90. *It shall bee . . . his place.* Copied, rather clumsily, by Heminges and Condell in their address 'To the great Variety of Readers' prefixed to the First Folio of Shakespeare: 'Then, how odde soeuer your braines be, or your wisdomes, make your licence the same, and spare not. Iudge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your fve shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the iust rates, and welcome. But, what euer you do, Buy. Censure will not driue a Trade, or make the Iacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at *Black-Friers*, or the *Cock-pit*, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes haue had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales. . . .' Cf. *M.L.* II, Chorus 59-67, and Webster's introduction to *The Malcontent*, 1604, A4^v, 'any man that hath wit, may censure (if he sit in the twelue-penny roome)'.

The list of prices is exceptionally high; Henslowe was probably at this date taking advantage of the temporary loss of the Globe, and this was a new play at a new theatre. In the *Overburian Characters* (ed. Paylor, p. 82) 'The Proud Man', a character added to the collection in

1615, is described, 'if he have but twelve pence in his purse he will give it for the best roome in a play house'. *The Magnetic Lady*, Chorus ii, mentions eighteenpence or two shillings as the price in 1632. But two other passages contemporary with *Bartholomew Fair* speak of half a crown: Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, I. i, acted about 1614,

who found your horses
Perpetual pots of ale, maintain'd your taverns,
And who extoll'd you in the half-crown boxes,
Where you might sit and muster all the beauties?

And Thomas Gainsford, *The Rich Cabinet*, 1616, f. 53^v, of a poor gentleman: 'Take him to a play, and trouble not his cogitation with the water-man, entrance, or sitting: he shall laugh as hartily, obserue as iudiciously, and repeat as exactly for nothing, as another man shall for his halfe crowne.'

94. *the lottery*. A lottery under royal patronage for furthering the Virginian voyage and plantation. The Domestic State Papers refer to it under the dates 12 February 1612 and 22 February 1615. Kemp, *The Loseley Manuscripts*, p. 187 n., refers to an injunction from the Lords of Council on the subject addressed to the deputy lieutenants of Surrey on 2 February 1614.

100. *the Commission of Wit*. So *S. of N.* 4th Intermean, 45, *Ode on The New Inn*, 1-8, and the epilogue to Sharpham, *Cupids Whirligig*, 1616, K4^v:

But Gentlemen, whose iudgements sit,
In strict Commission on the wit,
Which from the Authors pen did flow, . . .

104. *the Bench*. *S. of N.* Induction 16-21, and Jonson's lines prefixed to *The Faithful Shepherdess*:

The wise, and many-headed *Bench*, that sits
Vpon the Life, and Death of *Playes* and *Wits*, . . .

106. *Ieronimo*. Jonson's reference makes the original date of the performance 1584-9. Dr. Boas argues for 1585-7; W. Bang and Sir E. K. Chambers prefer 1589.

Andronicus entered on the Stationers' Register on 6 February 1594, acted and published in that year.

107. *vnexcepted at*. See *O.E.D.* s.v. 'un', 8c.

114-15. *expect more then he knowes*. *S. of N.* Ind. 30-1, III. ii. 301-2; *M.L.* Chorus i, 34.

119. *leere-Drunkard*. *N.I.* IV. iv. 282, 'your leere drunkards'. *Leer*, looking askance, and so sly, underhand.

120. *Equipage*, 'get up'.

127. *Seruant-monster*, a clear allusion to Caliban. So called in *The Tempest*, III. ii. 1, 4. *Tales, Tempests* in line 130, printed as the Folio prints them in italics with initial capitals, can have only one meaning

at this date. *The Winter's Tale* we know to have been on the stage in May 1611; an approximate date can be assigned to *The Tempest*. Yet Gifford, and—what is very remarkable—so accurate a scholar as Alexander Dyce closed their eyes to the allusion. The 'nest of *Antiques*' (128) is the dance of Satyrs in *The Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 334: 'Enter twelve Rusticks, presenting Satyrs.' For such performances in the Fair see the anonymous prose-tract which illustrates points in Jonson's play and was evidently inspired by it—*Bartholomew Fair Or Variety of fancies, where you may find a faire of wares, and all to please your mind. With the severall Enormities and misdemeanours, which are there Seene and acted. London Printed for Richard Harper at the Bible and Harpe in Smithfield 1641*. 'It is remarkable, and worth your observation', says the writer on page 4, 'to behold and heare the strange sights, and confus'd noise in the Faire. Here a Knave in a fooles coate, with a trumpet sounding, or a drumme beating, invites you and would faine perswade you to see his puppets; There a Rogue like a wild woodman, or in an Antick shap like an Incubus, desires your company, to view his motion.' Satyrs and wild woodmen were identical in the masques and mumming of the time. Jonson was always severe about dances in a play, and his protests were very emphatic at this particular date. In his preface to *The Alchemist* (1612 Quarto) he said of contemporary plays that 'now, the Concupiscence of Daunces, and Antickes so raigneth, as to runne away from Nature, and be afraid of her, is the onely point of art that tickles the *Spectators*'—words reproduced almost verbally in the present play. 'Iig-giuen times', 'so thick, and darke an ignorance, as now almost couers the age'—so he wrote in 1616, dedicating his rejected *Catiline* to the Earl of Pembroke. His actor-pupil Field, in verse prefixed to the 1611 Quarto of *Catiline*, wrote similarly:

But, in this Age, where Iigs and Dances moue,
How few there are, that this pure worke approue!

But in all this Jonson was running counter to the taste of his day. With actors like Tarlton and Kempe the times had been 'jig-given' for a considerable period; and Jonson had to bewail not only the 'jig after the play', but interludes of dancing between the acts. The practice, with much else that was peculiar in inferior drama of the day, was burlesqued in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (acted in 1607), where dances follow the first and third acts; at the latter point the Citizen's Wife, a diverting Philistine who is allowed to interrupt the play whenever she pleases, also wants the dancer to tumble. The fashion lasted, for Shirley is severe upon it in the *Changes*, acted in 1632 (iv, p. 51):

Many Gentlemen
Are not, as in the dayes of understanding,
Now satisfied without a Iigge, which since
They cannot, with their honour, call for, after
The play, they looke to be serv'd up ith' middle:

Your dance is the best language of some Comedies,
And footing runs away with all; a Scene
Exprest with life of Art, and squar'd to nature,
Is dull and flegmatick Poetry.

The point of Jonson's criticism of Shakespeare's late romantic plays is mainly the masque-like incidents in *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*; this is what he means by 'mixing his head with other mens heeles' (l. 130), and he was indignant that an eminent and popular playwright should countenance, and so help to perpetuate, what he himself felt to be a degradation of dramatic art.

128. *nest*, collection, group.

Antiques, originally applied to grotesques in art; then to absurdities in shape or gesture; so clown, merry andrew, and finally a clownish dance.

130. *Drolleries*. The 'several strange shapes' who bring in the banquet in *The Tempest*, III. iii. 19, are called by Sebastian 'A living drollery'.

133. *Puppets*. A feature of the Fair: cf. R. Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615, p. 161:

Saint Bartlemas, where all the Pageants showne,
And all those acts from *Adam* vnto *Noe*
Vs'd to be represent.

See Pepys's accounts of his visits to the Fair, vol. ix, pp. 245-6.

139-45. Cf. *M.L.* Chorus ii, 1-17.

143 (v. vi. 35). *Mirror of Magistrates*. The allusion, as Miss M. Lascelles points out, is not to the famous collections of Baldwin and others, published from 1555 to 1578, but to George Whetstone's *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties*, 1584, in which the chief argument is that a careful magistrate must disguise himself and frequent places of entertainment in order to discover their real character; e.g. f3^r, the emperor tells the senators, 'you must be as well Informers of offenders, as Iudges of offences: for the desire of Iustice is to roote out iniquitie, and the office of Iustices to inquire after euil lyuers'; and f3^v, 'ye better to search the core of vice and iniquitie hid in the intrailles of Rome, these good Maiestrates vsed this pollicie, in disguysed habits they entred ye Tauerns . . .'. Whetstone's association with the extreme Puritan reformers and the proposals in his pamphlets for putting down places of entertainment would give point to Jonson's satire. Adam Overdo's soliloquy in Act II, scene i, works out happily Whetstone's recommendations. In Middleton's *Blurt Master Constable*, I. ii, Lazarillo addresses the master constable as 'Most clear Mirror of Magistrates'.

144-5. *conceal'd States-man . . . Seller of Mouse-trappes*. Cf. *P.A.* 127-9, 'Then there is a subtile shrewd-bearded Sir, that hath beene a Politician, but is now a maker of Mouse-traps, a great Inginer yet'.

152. *a Mad-man cryes, God quit you*. Throughout the play the mad

Trouble-all invariably says 'quit you', 'multiply you', 'save you', 'bless you', except in iv. iii. 79, 'Heauen quit you'. He never prefixes 'God'. Has this prefix been omitted from the text because of the statute against profaning God's name in plays? Jonson in the epilogue to the King, lines 8, 9, shows some sensitiveness on the point; the King can tell whether we '*be prophane, or make prophane men speake*'. Trouble-all's 'multiply you' may be a demented echo of Isaac's blessing to Jacob, 'God Almighty bless thee . . . and multiply thee' (Genesis xxviii. 3).

164. *a Commodity*. *Alch.* III. iv. 90.

1. i. 10. *Ames-ace*, *ambs-ace*, or double ace—the lowest possible throw upon two dice.

13. *quiblin*, conceit. But 'trick', *Alch.* IV. vii. 110.

17. *Iack*, knave.

20. *conuince*, overpower (Lat. *convinco*).

21. *veluet*, the 'little cap' of *E.M.I.* III. iii. 36.

22. *Budge-row*. Stow, *Survay*, 1598, p. 200: 'This warde', i.e. Cordwayner Street, 'beginneth in the East, on the west side of Walbrook, & runneth west through Budge Row (a street so called of the Budge Fur, and of Skinners dwelling there).'

24. *Spanish Lady*. Evidently the person described in Jonson's next play, *The Devil is an Ass*, II. viii. 25–39. Her *cioppini*, or high shoes, are mentioned in III. iv. 13 of that play.

27. *indeede la*. Cf. Dekker, *The Wonderfull yeare*, 1603, A3, 'To the Reader', 'the *Indeede-la* of a Puritanicall Citizen'.

34. *Three Cranes*. *S.W.* II. v. 114 n.

Mitre. *E.M.O.* v. iii. 93 n.

Mermaid. Specially associated with Jonson in Beaumont's verses to him. It was situated in Bread Street: *Ep.* cxxxiii. 37, '*Bread-streets Mermaid*', and Coryat's *Greeting. From the Court of the Great Mogul*, 1616, p. 37, 'To the High Seneschall of the right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sirenical Gentlemen, that meet the first Fridaie of euery Moneth, at the signe of the Mere-Maide in Bread-streete, in London, giue these'. There were ways to the tavern from Friday Street and from Cheap, so that it is sometimes spoken of as being in these thoroughfares (J. H. Burn, *Tradesmen's Tokens*, pp. 45–6).

35. *corne*, grain (Lat. *mica salis*).

39. *six-shillings beare*, small beer sold at six shillings the barrel. Cf. Henry Edwardes's lines *In Praise of Sack*, 1641:

Fetch me *Ben Johnsons* scull, and fill't with Sack. . . .

Give *Calvin Beer*.

And his precise Disciples, . . . give to these Brew-house ales,

Whose best mirth is Six Shilling Beer, and Psalms:

Let me reioice in sprightly Sack.

40. *Poet-suckers*, sucking poets. *S. of N.* IV. ii. 81. Formed on the analogy of 'rabbit-sucker', a young rabbit.

1. ii. 6. *Cheapside*. *Und.* xlii. 76, and Heywood, *King Edward IV*, part i, 1. ii (1599, B1^v):

You know Cheapside, there are the Mercers shops,
Where we will measure Veluet by the pikes:
And Silkes and Sattens by the streets whole bredth.

Morefields. Ten acres of marsh in Morefields and Finsbury outside the City wall were reclaimed in 1606 and made into a park. See Richard Johnson's tract, *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields*, 1607, A3^v: 'But to what vse are these Fieldes reserued? *Citi*. Only for Cittizens to walke in to take the ayre, and for Merchants maides to dry cloathes in which want necessary gardens at their dwellings.'

7. *Pimlico path*. *Alch.* v. i. 6 n.

Exchange. *S.W.* 1. iii. 37 n.

16. *Melicotton*, a peach grafted on a quince. 'In September come . . . peaches, melocotones, nectarines' (Bacon, *Essay on Gardens*).

17-18. *dulnesse vpon mee . . . before him*. So *D. is A.* iv. iv. 206.

35. *a tokenworth*, a farthing's worth. *E.M.I.* 1. iv. 55.

40. *a hot coale i' your mouth*. Petronius, *Fragmenta*, xxviii (Bücheler):

Nam citius flammas mortales ore tenebunt
quam secreta tegant.

47. *Cow-lane*, now King Street running from Holborn to Snow Hill.

57-8. 'The trick was well understood at this period, and still better in that which immediately followed. Foreman, and most of the cheats celebrated by that prince of impostors, Lilly, seem to have derived their chief support from it' (Gifford). Compare Subtle's dealings with Dame Pliant, *Alch.* II. vi. 39, iv. ii. 48-50.

60. *as well as a Shop-keeper*. So *D. is A.* III. iii. 184-5.

66. *sweet singers*. 2 Samuel xxiii. 1, 'David . . . the sweet Psalmist of Israel'.

70. *Aqua cælestis*, a cordial defined by Martin Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiae*, 1612, as 'vinum rectificatum, vel sublimatum, vt cœli quodammodo naturam, & similitudinem induat, multis peractis reuolutionibus'. Cf. *A Warning to Fair Women*, 1599, A4^v:

Why, *Aqua cælestis*, or the water of balm,
Or *Rosa Solis*, or that of Doctour Steeuens
Will help a surfeit.

72. *breakes his buttons*. Cf. the ballad of 'Annan Water' in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 1802, ii, p. 141:

O he has pou'd off his dapperpy coat,
The silver buttons glanced bonny;
The waistcoat bursted off his breast,
He was sae full of melancholy.

Similarly, in reference to the ballad of 'Andrew Lammie', the story of Annie, the lass of Fyvie, who died under the persecution of her family

for her love of Andrew, Jamieson (*Popular Ballads*, ii, p. 387) records that when the ballad was sung at Edinburgh, with Lammie present, 'he remained silent and motionless till he was discovered by a sudden groan and by several of his buttons flying from his waistcoat'.

1. iii. 1. *tane soyle*. A hunting term for a stag taking to water when hard pressed.

4. *couey of Fidlers* on the look-out early for orders: compare what Clerimont says in *Epicoene* of the smell of a dinner 'going through the street' attracting 'one noise of fidders, or other' (III. iii. 85-6).

5. *Rag-rakers*. *Alch.* 1. i. 33-4.

6. *Marrow-bone man* making along with the 'rag-rakers' a rag and bone man.

10. *I cannot tell*, I don't know what to say. *M.L.* II. i. 18.

12. *Lime-hounds*. 'A pure-bred blood-hound, used in those days for finding and harbouring the deer. He was so called because he was held in hand by means of a leather strap called a liam; a Norman-French term of venery, derived from *ligamen*' (Madden, *Diary of Master W. Silence*, p. 22).

15. *a hayre o' the same Wolfe*, a draught of the same liquor. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, v. xlvi, 'reprenra il du poil de ce chien qui le mordit?' *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1, ch. xi (1562, Eijj):

And to the hostler this mornyng by daie
This fellow calde. what how fellow, thou knaue,
I pray thee leat me and my fellow haue
A heare of the dog that bote vs last night.
And bitten were we both to the braine aright,
We sawe eche other drunke in the good ale glas.

Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, ch. lii, 'Another hair of the dog that bit you, captain. Call for drink.'

25. *this dangerous memory*. 'Jonson had the Greek adage in his thoughts, *Μισῶ μνήμονα συμπότην*' (Gifford). See Martial, *Ep.* 1. xxvii.

55. *Apple-Iohn*, a pun on 'apple-squire', pandar. *E.M.O.* II. vi. 190 n.

57. *respectiue*, respectful.

61. *to Totnam to eat creame*. Cf. the prologue to T. Nabbes's *Totenham Court*, 1638:

Y'are welcome Gentlemen to *Tot'nam-Court*,
Where You (perhaps) expect some lusty sport;
Such as rude Custome doth beget in MAY,
When straggling Numbers court that joviall day
With early Riot. . . .
To feast your sense and minds for Cakes and Ale,
New, and not stald with handling, heere's a *Tale*
Drest up of a faire Milke-maid; whose chast Theame
Shall close your stomacks up in stead of Creame.

63-4. *drawing after*, tracking by the scent (a hunting term). *By the splay-foote*, a comic variant of 'following dryfoot' (*E.M.I.* II. iv. 9), as if Winwife made a point of marking down old women with their feet turned outward.

65. *Tripe, or Trillibub*. '*Tribes and trillibubs*, the entrails, also a jeering appellation for a fat man' (Grose, *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 1785). Cf. IV. v. 76.

67. *a piece of Buffe*. So the coarse epigram of Sir John Davies, '*In Katam*, 8':

Kate being pleas'd, wisht that her pleasure could
Indure as long as a buffe ierkin would.

68. *Pannier-alley*. 'Out of *pater noster* row, and . . . commeth out into the North ouer against S. Martins lane' (Stow, *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, I, p. 342). In Jonson's day, says Gifford, it was chiefly inhabited by tripe-sellers.

69-83. From Martial, III. xciii. 18-27, epigram to Vetustilla:

Audes ducentas nuptiure post mortes
virumque demens cineribus tuis quaeris
prurire. . . .
Quod si cadaver exiges tuum scalpi,
sternatur Achori de triclinio lectus,
thalassionem qui tuum decet solus,
ustorque taedas praeferat novae nuptae:
intrare in istum sola fax potest cunnum.

And Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 41-3:

Partes quisque suas, ad mensuram inguinis heres,
accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem.

88. *grace*. *Alch.* III. ii. 88.

97. *drawn*, drawn out long.

98. *hum-ha-hum*. *Alch.* III. ii. 55.

100. *Apostle-spoons*, silver or silver-gilt, with the figure of an apostle on the handle, twelve to a set. They were a common present at christenings. 'These and caudle cups formed almost the only articles of plate which the middling rank of people possessed in the poet's days' (Gifford). Even so, a professed Puritan like Dame Purecraft is not likely to have had such profane implements in her possession.

102. *conuey'd her state*. Cf. *S.W.* II. ii. 141-3.

122. *spic'd conscience*. *Sej.* v. 201.

123. *Bridales*. *T. of T.* I. i. 95.

May-poles. Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, I, p. 149, gives a vivid picture of the bringing home the maypole, 'this stinking Ydol, rather', and their 'falling to daunce about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the Idols, wherof this a perfect pattern, or rather the thing itself'.

Morris. Cf. Fletcher, *Women Pleased*, iv. i, a scene of morris-dancing, in which Hope-on-high Bomby repudiates the hobby-horse as a 'beast of Babylon' 'got at Rome by the pope's coach-horses'.

127. *such names*. *Alch.* III. ii. 92-5.

Witnesse. *M.L.* iv. viii. 16, *Ep.* liii. 8.

134. *a Blew-starche-woman*. Perhaps connected with the ballad of 'Blewe starche and poltinge stickes' entered in the Stationers' Register on 4 July 1590 and mentioned in Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse* (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, p. 181).

140. *undone a Grocer*. Cf. *Alch.* III. ii. 72-3.

1. iv. 8. *saued by my booke*. *C.R.* Ind. 41.

16. *egges o' the Spit*. *E.M.I.* III. vi. 47.

23. *a Marke*, 13s. 4d.

36. *keepes . . . a coyle*. *E.H.* iv. i. 13.

37. *ginger-bread i' the Cloyster*. A mart for various wares at the time of the Fair. *E.H.* i. i. 116; *Bartholomew Faire, Or Variety of fancies*, 1641, p. 1, 'First let us enter into Christ Church Cloysters, which are now hung so full of pictures, that you would take that place or rather mistake it for Saint Peters in Rome; onely this is the difference, those there are set up for worship, these here for sale'; Shirley, 'A Fairing' (*Poems*, 1646, p. 10):

We'll for the Cloysters, where the pictures are,
The King(s) and Queens, the Princes, all the babies,
The paper Lords, and all the painted Ladies;
The men of ginger bread, what art can do,
You shall see Canibals will eat them too.

40. *both-hands*. A coinage of Jonson's.

55. *I wusse*. *E.M.I.* i. i. 36, 'wusse'.

60. *I haue a humour*. *E.M.O.* Ind. 109.

76. *rattle bladder rattle*. Frequently mentioned: Peele, *The Old Wiues Tale*, 1595 (Malone reprint, l. 819), 'Three blue beanes in a blue bladder, rattle bladder rattle'; Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, 1609, C2; Prior, *Alma*, canto i, verse 25:

They say
That putting all his words together,
'Tis three blue beans in a blue bladder.

O, Madge. A ballad about the barn-owl popularly called 'Madge'.

79. *a Carman*. Carmen had a similar effect on Justice Shallow, who 'sung those tunes to the overscutched huswives that he heard the carmen whistle' (2 *Henry IV*, III. ii. 307-9). There was a ballad 'The Carman's Whistle'; Chappell gives the tune in *Old English Popular Music*, 1893, i, p. 253. Cf. Porter, *The two angrie women of Abington*, 1599, G^v:

Mal. But are ye cunning in the carmans lash?
And can ye whistle well?

81. *a hegd full of bees*, i.e. he is crazy and excitable. R. Edwards, *Damon and Pythias*, 1571, B3^v:

Iacke. But wyll my master hath Bees in his head,
If he finde me heare pratinge, I am but dead.

87. *another manner of peece*, a different type of human being.

90-1. *a fine fellow . . . finer*. S.W. 1. iii. 43-4.

93. *it's crosse and pile*, it's a toss-up, heads or tails.

102. *meddle you with your match*. E.M.I. III. v. 121.

110. *drawne with a good Gib-cat, through the great pond*. A practical joke played on an ignorant rustic: a bet is made that a cat will pull him through a pond; a rope is tied round him and the end thrown across the pond; the cat is tied to this with packthread. Then those appointed to guide the cat pull the victim through the water. (Grose quoted in the O.E.D. s.v. 'Cat', 14.) R. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Nicholson, p. 278: 'To make a shoale of goslings, or (as they saie) a gaggle of geese to seeme to drawe a timber log is doone by that verie meanes that is used, when a cat dooth drawe a foole through a pond or river: but handled somewhat farther off from the beholders.' *Gib-cat*, tomcat.

117. *Bucklersbury* inhabited by apothecaries who then sold tobacco. Stow, *Survey*, 1598, p. 209, 'This whole streete called Bucklesbury on both the sides throughout, is possessed of Grocers and Apothecaries towards the west end thereof'.

1. v. 15. *Mary gip*. Originally, as in Skelton's *Garlande of Laurell*, ed. Dyce, ll. 1455-6,

By Mary Gipy
Quod scripsi, scripsi,

an oath 'By St. Mary of Egypt'. But this was confused with the exclamation 'gip', (1) addressed to a horse, like 'gee-up', (2) an expression of contempt, 'get out'. (O.E.D.)

15. *French-hood*. T. of T. IV. v. 95.

25. *at Bet'lem*, then one of the sights of London: S.W. IV. iii. 24.

Whetston has set an edge on you. Probably the name of a keeper at the Bethlehem Hospital, with a quibble on a whetstone's sharpening other instruments, though unable itself to cut.

49. *Cosset*, literally a lamb brought up by hand; hence, a spoilt child.

51. *Accuse him? it confesses*. D. is A. II. ii. 79.

52. *such a Cokes*. D. is A. II. ii. 104-5.

63. *resolute Bartholmew*. Cf. 129 below ('Batt'), III. iv. 41.

100. *Sir Cranion*, a fly. M. of Q. 186, and Drayton's description of the chariot of the Fairy Queen, *Nymphidia*, 1627, p. 120:

Foure nimble Gnats the Horses were,
Their Harnesses of Gossamere,
Flye Cranion, her Charioteere,
Vpon his Coach-box getting.

109. *Who can hold that will away?* A proverb, for which Gifford quotes Dunbar, *Meditation in Winter*:

And Prudence in my eir sayis ay,
Quhy wad thyow hald that will away?

119. *Katerne-peare*, Catherine pear, a small and early variety: iv. ii. 47.

126. *Tarriars*, hinderers.

155. *Pye-Corner*, where the chief cook-shops were (*Alch.* i. i. 25-6), but where they would miss the attractions. Pie-corner was so named from an old tavern with the sign of the Pie (magpie), not from the cooking (H. Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 1880, p. 104).

160. *make me unready*, undress. *T. of T.* i. i. 69 stage-dir.

164. *has maintain'd us all this seuen yeere*. See Dame Purecraft's own confession, v. ii. 53-66.

168. *somewhat o' the mother*. A quibble: (1) I take after my mother, (2) I am hysterical.

i. vi. i. *beauteous discipline*. *Alch.* III. i. 32.

93. *I will eate exceedingly*. Gifford illustrates from *The Puritaine*, i. iv (1607, B2^v), where Nicolas, a Puritan servant, says, 'Oh Simon, I haue thought vpon a sound excuse, it will go currant, say that I am gon to a Fast. *Sim.* To a Fast, very good? *Nic.* I, to a Fast say, with Maister *Ful-bellie* the Minister. *Sim.* Maister *Ful-bullie*? an honest man: he feedes the flock well, for he's an excellent feeder! *Exit Corporal Nicholas.* *Fray.* O I, I haue seene him eate vp a whole Pigge, and afterwards falls to the pettitoes! *Exit Simon and Fraylty.*' R. Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 200, '*A Zealous Brother*': 'No season through all the yeere accounts hee more subject to *abomination* than *Bartholomew faire*: . . . Yet under favour, he will authorize his *Sister* to eate of that uncleane and irruminating beast, a Pig, provided, that this *Pig* bee fat, and that *himselpe* or some other *zealous Brother* accompanie her: and all this is held for authentick and canonicall.'

96. *the brethren stand taxed*. 'The Puritans' exclusive cult of the Old Testament would suggest this. The suggestion has even been made that the old boar's head supper was eaten '*veluti in execrationem Judæorum*' (Puricelli, *Dissert. Nazar.*, pp. 471-2). So Brathwaite, quoted in the previous note, describes the drums and toys of the Fair, 'nay *Pigs* and all' as '*wholly Iudaicall*': see page 169.

II. i. 1-2. *Well . . . common-wealth*. In Richard Brome's *The Weeding of the Covent-Garden. Or the Middlesex-Justice of Peace*, 1658, Cockbrain, a foolish justice, says, 'And for the weeds in' Covent Garden, 'let me alone for the weeding of them out. And so as my Reverend Ancestor Justice *Adam Overdoe*, was wont to say, *In Heavens name and the Kings*, and for the good of the Common-wealth I will go about it.'

4. *Linceus*. *E.M.O.* iv. iii. 110.

5. *Epidaurian serpent*. From Horace, *Sat.* i. iii. 26-7:

Tam cernis acutum
quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius.

Serpents were sacred to Aesculapius, the god of medicine, who was worshipped in serpent form at Epidauros. A serpent, believed to be an incarnation of the god, was brought from thence to Rome to heal a pestilence in 293 B.C. It made its way to the Island of the Tiber, and a temple to Aesculapius was built there. Serpents were supposed to have keen vision, hence the Greek name δράκοντες from δέρκεσθαι.

5. *Quint*. Probably an intentional clipping: cf. *Volp.* iii. iv. 39 n.

13. *a worthy worshipfull man*. Dr. C. S. Alden identifies the 'capitall member of this City' with Sir Thomas Hayes, Lord Mayor of London, quoting from the *Analytical Index to Remembrancia*, pp. 358-9, his letter of 8 July 1614 to the Lord Chamberlain detailing the steps he had taken to reform abuses in the City: 'He had informed himself, by means of spies, of many lewd houses, and had gone himself disguised to divers of them, and . . . had punished them . . . some by carting and whipping, and many by banishment: . . . he had taken an exact survey of all victualling houses and ale-houses, which were above a thousand, and above 300 barrels of strong beer in some houses, the whole quantity of beer in victualling houses amounting to above 40,000 barrels'; he reduced the number of the houses and limited the quantity of beer which they should sell, thereby reducing the price of corn and malt.

16. *Dog-killer*, employed in old London to kill stray dogs. See F. P. Wilson, *Plague in Shakespeare's London*, pp. 37-40. *U.V.* xxxvii. 20; Taylor, *The Fearefull Summer*, 1625, A8:

And last, the *Dog-killers* great gaine aboundes
For Brayning bawling currs, and foisting hounds.

18 foll. So in Jonson's *Expostulation with Inigo Jones*, 77-82 (*U.V.* xxxiv):

Should but the king his Iustice-hood employ, . . .
How would he firke? like Adam overdooe,
Vp & about? Dyue into Cellars too
Disguisd? and thence drag forth Enormity?
Discouer Vice, commit Absurdity?

27. *president*, precedent, and so Jonson spells it in *Ep.* cxiii. 9.

30. *a sleepy Watchman*. A stock joke: *Much Ado about Nothing*, iii. iii. 34-7.

32. *by the vertue of his place (as he calls it)*. So Dogberry calls it: 'If you meet a thief, you may suspect him, by virtue of your office, to be no true man' (*ibid.* 46-7).

34. *Seminary*, a recusant trained in one of the 'seminaries' on the Continent.

42. *Pye-pouldres*. 'Piepowders Court, Curia pedis puluerizati, cometh of two French words, pied, *i.* pes, & pouldreux, *i.* puluerulentus.

It signifieth a Court held in Faïres, for the redresse of all disorders committed within them (Minsheu, 1617). It was a summary court dealing with offences as they arose; hence the consternation of the clerks when Overdo does not appear to preside at it (iv. vi. 67-72).

47. *Iunius Brutus* in two points is a prototype of Overdo: (1) he disguised himself as an idiot; (2) he was an inflexible judge.

11. ii. 1. *pestilence dead*. So *T. of T.* iv, Interloping scene, 29, 'pest'-lence poor'.

17. *make a ballad of thee*. A frequent threat at this period: so Falstaff threatened at Gadshill (1 *Henry IV*, 11. ii. 43-4). Cf. Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive*, 111. i (1606, F), 'I am afraid of nothing but I shall be Ballated'.

18. *cattell*, stock, property, especially in the phrase 'goods and catells', modernized as 'goods and chattels'.

19. *Arsedine*, 'a gold-coloured alloy of copper and zinc, rolled into very thin leaf, and used to ornament toys' (*O.E.D.*). Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, 1596 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, 111, p. 41), 'so farre beyond . . . as day-light beyond candle-light, or tinsell or leafe-gold aboue arsedine'.

22. *charme*. *C.R.* 1. i. 52.

29. *What doe you lacke?* *E.H.* 1. i. 66.

38. *wading*, 'half seas over'.

44. *Hell's a kind of cold cellar to 't*. This vivid phrase has a parallel in *Eastward Ho*, v. 111. 27-8, where Security calls prison 'this *Purgatorie*, to which Hell is a kinde of coole Bathe in respect'—a scene which we have attributed to Jonson.

48. *faucet*, literally tap for a barrel. 'Formerly *spigot and faucet*, a tap consisting of a straight wooden tube (the spigot), one end tapering to be driven into a hole in the barrel, the other (the faucet) closed by a peg or screw' (*O.E.D.*). Cf. the metaphor in 'gimlet' (*E.M.O.* v. 11. 37).

49. *a bottle of Ale*. Bottled ale was accidentally discovered by Alexander Nowell, the author of the Catechism; fishing in the Ash at Hadham in Hertfordshire he left a bottle of ale in the grass on the bank and a few days later found its contents effervescent. It is mentioned as a fashionable drink by B. Rich in *Faultes Faults*, &c., 1606, p. 9.

51-2. *water . . . I make*. *S. of N.* 11. 111. 15-16:

You might haue followed me like a watering pot,
And seene the knots I made along the street.

58. *Secretary*, confidant and, as 11. 11. 22 and 28 show, accomplice.

66. *Changeling*, idiot. See *O.E.D.* s.v. 4.

68. *fleaing*, flaying.

70. *Stote*, weasel (11. v. 64), because of his leanness. Cf. *N.I.*, Characterism, 15, of the tapster, 'Ferret. *Who is also called Stote, and Vermin*'.

73. *Pinnacle*. Metaphorically applied to a go-between in conveying love-messages. In T. Heywood's 1 *King Edward IV*, 1. 11 (1599, B1^v),

Spicing, about to be executed, says, 'Commend me to blacke *Luce*, bouncing *Besse*, & lusty *Kate*, and the other pretty morsels of mans flesh. Farewell, Pink and Pinnesse, Flibote, and Caruell, *Turnebull* and *Spittle*, I die like a man.'

81. *two stone a sewet*. *S. of N.* II. iii. 13-14:

I haue lost two stone
Of suet i' the seruice posting hither.

84. *Incubee* fits in with *Moone-calf* (45) and 'Changeling' (66).

90. *three pence a pipe full*. H. D. Traill, *Social England*, iii, p. 572, notes that 'Some landladies hired out pipes at 3d. the pipeful'.

92. *Coltsfoot*. The leaves were used for smoking as a cure for asthma. Cf. the jokes in John Taylor's *Wit and Mirth*, no. 107, of the gentleman who kicked his servant: the man said 'hee thought the reason of his kicking was, because hee dranke *Colts-foot* among his Tobacco' (*Works*, 1630, p. 196); and Fletcher, *The Nice Valour*, 1625, III. i:

Our moderne Kick
Which has been mightily in use of late
Since our young men drank Coltsfoot.

itch it out, eke it out. Cf. *Merch. of Venice*, III. ii. 22-3 (Folio):

I speake too long, but 'tis to peize the time,
To ich it, and to draw it out in length.

Spelt 'each' in *Henry V*, III, Prol. 35, and 'each' in *Pericles*, III, Prol. 13.

96. *Froth your cannes well*. *N.I.* II. v. 38-9. The remedy for this is in *Nashes Lenten Stuffle*, 1599 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 221) 'doe but rubbe a kanne or quarte pot round about the mouth wyth' the skin of a red herring, 'let the cunningest lickespiggot swelt his heart out, the beere shal neuer foame or froath in the cupp, whereby to deceyue men of their measure, but be as setled as if it stode al night'.

98. *skinke*, draw liquor.

101. *mis-take*. *N.I.* I. iii. 77, III. i. 92; *M.A.* 36. Gifford quotes Donne, *Satyre*, v. 63-8:

Would it not anger
A Stoicke, a coward, yea a Martyr,
To see a Pursivant come in, and call
All his cloathes, Copes; Bookes, Primers; and all
His Plate, Challices; and mistake them away,
And aske a fee for comming?

109-12. So *Bartholomew Faire, Or Variety of fancies*, 1641, p. 5, 'yet better may a man fare (but at a deerer rate) in the pig market, alias Pasty-nooke, or Pye corner, where pigges are al houres of the day on the stalls piping hot, and would cry (if they could speak) come eate me, but they are so damnable deare, and the reckonings for them are so saucy, that a man had as good licke his fingers in a budy house, as at

this time come into one of their houses, where the fat greasy Hostesse instructs Nick Froth, her tapster, to ask a shilling more for a pigs head of a woman big with child, in regard of her longing, then of another ordinary comer.'

113. *O Tempora! o mores!* Cicero, *In Catilinam*, i. 2.

124. mad *Arthur of Bradley*. The hero of an old song, 'The Ballad on the Wedding of Arthur of Bradley', first printed in *Wits Merriment*, 1656, pp. 81-7, and again in *An Antidote against Melancholy*, 1661, p. 16; the refrain is 'O brave Arthur of Bradley'. It dates from Edward VI's reign at latest, as it is referred to in the old interlude *The Contract of Marriage between Wit and Wisdom* (c. 1579), Add. MS. 26,782, f. 25:

for the honour of artrebradle
this age wold make me swere madly.

In Dekker and Middleton's *The Honest Whore*, part i, 1635, K2^v, Bella-front, feigning madness, hears that Mattheo is to marry her: 'Shall he? O brave *Arthur of Bradley* then?' Gifford, writing in 1816, says the ballad was still sung at harvest-homes and rustic festivals.

130. *Aunt*, gossip. Cf. *Mids. N. Dr.* II. i. 51. There is no reference, as Gifford supposed, to the cant use of 'aunt' for 'bawd' or 'prostitute'.

132. *foule . . . Fayre*. Repeated III. vi. 88, IV. v. 14, V. i. 3.

139. *a fooles handsell is lucky*. Dryden, *Sir Martin Mar-all*, v. iii, 'A fool's plot may be as lucky as a fool's handsel'.

Handsel was a gift made at the beginning of a new year, or at the beginning of any enterprise, originally supposed to bring luck. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, iii, p. 262, quotes Misson's *Travels in England*, 'A woman that goes much to market told me t'other day that the butcher-women of London, those that sell fowls, butter, eggs, &c., and in general most tradespeople, have a particular esteem for what they call a handsel; that is to say, the first money they receive in a morning; they kiss it, spit upon it, and put it in a pocket by itself.'

II. iii. 5. *the heauy hill*, Holborn before the building of the viaduct. Dr. Alden quotes Dryden, *Limberham*, IV. i, 'what, you have perform'd the last Christian Office to your Keeper; I saw you follow him up the heavy hill to Tyburn'.

8. *half-penny purses*. See the note on III. v. 126.

19. *be meet with*, be even with. *Much Ado*, I. i. 39.

20. *neuft*, newt. Cf. II. vi. 13.

22. *there's no malice in these fat folkes* may be illustrated from *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 192-5, and the passage in North's *Plutarch* on which it is based.

24. *vapours*, as Gifford remarks, performs in Knockhum's vocabulary all the function of 'humour' in Nym's. Coleridge made the further comment—'It is not often that old Ben condescends to imitate a modern author, but master Dan Jordan Knockhum and his vapours are manifest reflexes of Nym and Pistol.' It would be more correct to say that they

are similar attempts to depict the contemporary roarer. We see no ground for supposing with Gifford that 'the Satire in both cases had probably something of personality in it'.

30. *the horne-thumb*. 'A trick of pickpockets, who are said to place a case or, as our old writers sometimes call it, a thimble of horn on the thumb, to support the edge of the knife in the act of cutting purses': Gifford, quoting T. Preston, *King Cambyses* [1570], F:

But cosin, bicause to that office ye are not like to come;
Frequent your exercises, a horne on your thum.
A quick eye, a sharp knife, at hand a receiuer.

41. *an after game of discretion*. Bacon, *Of the Advancement of Learning*, ii. 38 (ed. Wright, p. 243): 'In the third place I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath; which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered, it being extreme hard to play an after game of reputation.'

45. *motion breede vapours*. Elliptical for 'does motion breede', or possibly 'does' has dropped out of the text.

47. *tuske*, 'show the teeth', *O.E.D.*, with a query. But the noun 'tusk' means moustache, especially a large and coarse variety. Cf. S. Rowley, *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, 1634, C^v:

Had my Barbour
Perfum'd my louzy thatch here, and poak'd out
My *Tuskes* more stiffe than are a Cats *muschatoes*,
These pide-wing'd Butterflies had knowne me then.

So Palsgrave, 1530, 'Tuske of heer, *monceau de chevaulx*'.

Dibble, the gardener's implement, was conjecturally, but probably, explained by Gifford as the 'spade beard' noticed in contemporary writings. Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, D3^v, shows that it was a cut affected by swashbucklers and roarers: 'he discends as low as his bearde, and asketh whether he please to be shauen or no, whether he will haue his peake cut short & sharpe, amiable like an *Inamerato* or broad pendant lyke a spade, to be terrible lyke a warrior and a Soldado.'

51. *angry . . . hungry*. *Ep.* cvii, 'To Captayne Hungry', 29-32:

Nay, now you puffle, tuske, and draw vp your chin,
Twirle the poore chaine you run a feasting in.
Come, be not angrie, you are HVNGRY; eate;
Doe what you come for, Captayne, There's your meate.

Tennyson, *The Princess*, v:

Every captain waits
Hungry for honour, angry for his king.

54. *such another*. *T. of T.* ii. i. 44.

60. *belly . . . taken vp, and thy grasse scour'd*. Markham, *Cavalartice*, v, ch. iv, 'Of the dressing, combing, and currying of horses, and of their

diet in time of rest', p. 21: 'These three daies being spent in this order, your horse will haue emptied all his grasse, and his bellie will bee taken vp well within his ribbes, so that now you may both alter his keeping and dressing.'

II. iv. *Tinder-box-man*. Here, and in the speech assigned to him (ll. 7, 8) the Tinder-box man takes the place of the Mousetrap-man in the preliminary list of the Persons of the Play.

5. *token*. *E.M.I.* I. iv. 55 n.

6. *Ha' you any cornes . . . toes?* For this city cry cf. Shirley, *The Constant Maid*, II. ii (1640, C4):

Neece. Why did they put the poore fellow in prison?

Horn. Whom? what fellow? *Neece*. Why, the Corn-cutter:

Poor Gentleman, he meant no hurt to the Citie,

His feet were verie wearie, and that made him

In everie street cry out; Ha' yee any cornes

In your head or toes? That head spoyl'd all.

7. *Mouse-trap . . . Flea*. Dyce, *Remarks*, p. 287: 'In *The Travels of Twelve-pence* by Taylor the water-poet, Twelve-pence, after giving a prodigiously long list of the various masters whom he had served, is made to say,

I could name more, if so my Muse did please,
Of *Mowse Traps*, and *Tormentors to kill Fleas*.

(*Workes*, 1630, p. 71.)

and that the articles in question were formerly hawked about the streets of the metropolis, we learn from "the Cries of Rome" [London] appended to Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*;

Buy a very fine mouse trap or a tormentor
For your fleaes.

Compare, too, the following passage of Fletcher's *Barduca*;

First Daughter. Are they not our tormentors?

Caratach. Tormentors? flea-traps. Act II, sc. iii.'

See Inigo Jones's drawing for a crier of mousetraps in Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans* (*Designs of Inigo Jones*, 272, plate xxxiv).

10. *Ballads*. A similar sketch of Inigo Jones's (*ibid.* no. 268,) was reproduced by the Shakespeare Society, 1848 (*Life of Inigo Jones*, plate xiii).

14. *Goose-greene-starch, and the Deuill*. This was 'a goodly Ballad against Pride'. Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 71-2, tells the story: 'And amongst many other fearfull examples of Gods wrathe against Pride, to sett before their eyes, the fearfull Iudgement of God, shewed vpon a gentlewoman of Eprautna', i.e. Antwerp, 'of late, euen the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull sound whereof is blown through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in euery mannes memorie. This

gentlewoman beeyng a very riche Merchaunte mannes daughter: upon a tyme was inuited to a Bridall, or Weddyng, whiche was solemnized in that Toune, againste whiche daie she made greate preparation, for the plumyng of her self in gorgious arraie, that as her body was moste beautifull, faire, and proper, so her attire in euery respecte might be correspondent to the same. For the accomplishment whereof, she curled her haire, she died her lockes, and laied them out after the best maner, she coloured her face with waters and Ointmentes: But in no case could she gette any (so curious and daintie she was) that could starche, and sette her Ruffes, and Neckerchers to her mynde: wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundresses, who did the best thei could to please her humors, but in anywise thei could not. Then fell she to sweare and teare, to curse and banne, castyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wishyng that the Deuill might take her, when she weare any of those Neckerchers againe. In the meane tyme (through the sufferaunce of God) the Deuill, transformyng himself into the forme of a young man, as braue, and proper as she in euery pointe in outward appearance, came in, fainyng hymself to bee a woer or suter vnto her. And seyng her thus agonized, and in suche a pelyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straightwaie told him (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vppon their stomackes) how she was abused in the setting of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promised to please her minde, and thereto tooke in hand the setting of her Ruffes, which he performed to her greate contentation, and likyng, in so muche as she lokyng her self in a glasse (as the Deuil bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man kissed her, in the doying whereof, he writhe her necke in sonder, so she died miserably, her bodie beyng Metamorphosed, into blacke and blewe colours, and vgglesome to behold, and her face (whiche before was so amorous) became moste deformed, and fearefull to looke vpon. This being knowen, preparaunce was made for her buriall, a riche coffin was prouided, and her fearefull bodie was laied therein, and [it] couered verie sumptuously. Foure men immediately assaied to lifte vp the corps, but could not moue it, then sixe attempted the like, but could not once stirre it from the place, where it stode. Whereat the standers by marueilyng, caused the Coffin to bee opened, to see the cause thereof. Where thei founde the bodie to be taken awaie, and a blacke Catte very leane and deformed sitting in the Coffin, setting of greate Ruffes, and frizlyng of haire, to the greate feare, and wonder of all the beholders.' Cooke in *Greenes Tu quoque*, 1614, C, alludes to the story. *Goose-greene. Alch.* iv. iv. 50.

15. *A dozen of diuine points*. Preserved in British Museum Sloane MS. 1896, ff. 29, 30, 'A dossen of pointes sent by a gentlewoman to her lover for a new yeares gifte', printed by H. E. Rollins in *Old English Ballads 1553-1625*, pp. 315-17. She seeks 'a fayring mete', finds nothing but trifles; as last

I found a knotte of perlesse pointes
Beset with posyes neate,

viz. with twelve moral maxims ending with a final point,

Love me as I love thee, and shall
From hence for evermore.

the godly garters. Cf. the 'ballat' which John Charlwood entered on the Stationers' Register on 20 October 1578, 'A paire of garters for yonge menne to weare yat serue the Lord God and Lyve in his feare' (Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 339).

19. *Saint George.* Probably the ballad and tune given in Chappell, ii, p. 102. Halliwell in his *Catalogue of Ballads*, 1856, cites 'A most excellent Ballad of S. George for England, and the King's daughter whom he delivered from Death, and how he slew a mighty Dragon. The tune is, Flying fame. Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson.'

43. *flye . . . to a marke.* A metaphor from hawking: III. v. 248, *M.L.* Ind. 132, *Mort.* I. i. 11-12.

46-7. *your friendship . . . is not now to beginne.* From Chaucer, Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, 427-8, of the doctor in league with his apothecaries:

For ech of hem made oother for to wyne,
Hir frendshipe nas nat newe to begynne.

Quoted from Chaucer in *M.L.* III. v. 21-3, where the reading is also 'now', not 'new'.

47. *draught of Indenture.* Among cant phrases for getting drunk, Heywood, *Philocothonista*, 1635, p. 61, cites, 'He hath been at the *Scriveners* and learn'd to make Indentures': cf. Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, ii, satyr i (1613, L5):

A drunkard cannot with his capring feete,
Cut out Indentures, as he walkes the streete,
But he's straight stock'd for't.

Jonson's quibble on 'draft' shows how the phrase originated.

53. *whimsies, wenches.* An odd use for which the *O.E.D.* cites Fletcher, *The Bloody Brother*, iv. ii:

You'l pick a bottle open, or a whimsey,
As soon as the best of us.

58. *wept out an eye.* *T. of T.* III. ix. 70.

67. *Iamque opus exegi . . .* Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xv. 871.

II. v. 10. *comfortable bread*, spiced gingerbread.

40. *bower*, decked with boughs and greenery (III. ii. 57).

55. *in vapours.* Painfully elucidated in iv. iv, where Jonson adds a marginal note, 'their game of *vapours*, which is non sense. Euery man to oppose the last man that spoke: whether it concerned him, or no.'

67. *ha' broake*, have gone bankrupt. Cf. 'credit' (l. 66).

72. *a while.* *Alch.* v. i. 40 n.

81. *Coach-makers*. 'Smithfield (more particularly Cow Lane) was the recognized place for coachmakers, just as Long Acre now is' (F. Cunningham).

87. *long-lac'd*, marked with long streaks of colour.

88. *Ioll*, jowl.

89. *Well said*, well done. *E.M.O.* Ind. 330.

90-1. *quagmire* . . . *Bogge*. 'Every dealer in unsound horses has a prepared corner of his yard in which the "screws" may stand up to their knees in wet clay' (F. Cunningham).

101. *teeme of Dutchmen*. *E.M.I.* III. iv. 42-3 n.

106. *lean playhouse poultry*. From Martial, *Ep.* XI, c. 3, 4:

Amicam nolo . . .
quae clune nudo radat et genu pungat,
cui serra lumbis, cuspis eminet culo.

107. *Partisan*, a long-handled spear having two blades of the shape of the battle-axe, but pointed and much lighter. It is still carried by the yeomen of the guard.

117. *Cucking-stoole*, a chair in which scolds were fastened and then conveyed to a pond and ducked.

119. *a pond*. '*Horsepoole* in West *Smithfielde* was sometime a greate water, and because the inhabitantes in that parte of the Citie did there water their Horses, the same was in olde recordes called *Horsepoole*, it is now much decayed, the springs being stoped vp and the land water falling into the small bottome, remayning inclosed with Bricke, is but fowle: and is called *Smithfielde Ponde*' (Stow, *Survay*, 1598, p. 14).

121. *hedge bird*, footpad: literally, one born and bred under a hedge. *pannier-mans*, hawkers.

123. *Trendle tayle*, a low-bred dog. Cf. Heywood, *A Woman kilde with Kindnesse*, 1. iii (1607, B2^r):

Your Dogges are trindle-tailes and curs. . . .
You keepe not one good Hound in all your Kennell.

126. *M^{rs} Commodity*. Induction, 164.

131. *double pil'd*. A quibble upon cloth with the pile of double closeness; similarly 'three-piled' velvet. Cf. Dekker, *Worke for Armourours*, 1609, D4^v, of Parsimony: 'his breches once were veluet, when his great grandfather wore them, and three-piled, but the pox of any pile can be seene there now, vnlesse betweene the clifts of his buttocks'.

142. *I'le set you gone*, 'set you going', with an added notion of finality. Cf. Chapman, *Odyssey*, xvi. 121-2, 'The Rowers . . . 'set gone The Ship'.

174. *purchase*, acquisition.

180. *Mallanders*. *Markhams Maister-peece, or, What doth a Horse-man lacke. Containing all knowledge belonging to a Smith, Farrier, or Horse-leach, touching the curing of all diseases in Horses*, 1610, p. 327: 'A Mallander is a kind of dry hard scab, growing in the forme of lines or strakes ouerthwart the very bought or inward bent of the knee, & hath hard

hairs with stubborn roots, like swines bristles, which corrupteth and cankereth the flesh like the roots of a child's scabbed head.'

scratches. Ibid., p. 366: 'The Scratches, Crepanches, or Rats-tailes, being all but one sorrance, are long, scabby, dry chaps, or rifts, growing right vp and downe, and ouerthwart on the hinder legges, iust from the fetlocke to the place of the Curbe.'

crowne scabbe. Ibid., pp. 372-3: 'The crowne scab is a filthy and stincking scabbe, breeding round about the cronets of the hoofe, and is a cankerous & painefull sorrance. . . . The signes are, the haire of the cronet will be very thin and staring like bristles, and the cronets will bee alwayes mattering, and run on water.'

181. *quitter bone*. Ibid., p. 373: 'The Quitter-bone is a hard round swelling vpon the cronet of the hoofe, betwixt the heele & the quarter, and groweth most commonly on the in-side of the foote.' In his *Cavalrice*, 1607, vii, p. 79, Markham further states that 'it is of all diseases the vildest, and fullest of danger'.

184. *the Hospitall*, St. Bartholomew's.

186. *Windgall*. Markham, op. cit., p. 355: 'The wind-gall is a little blebbe or bladder full of corrupt ielly, or like the white of an egge, growing on each side of the maister sinew of the leg, hard aboue the pastorne.'

186-7. *white of an egge . . . grease*. Knockhum prescribes professional remedies; e.g. the 'scratches' were cured by a salve made of turpentine, honey, hogs' grease, and the yolk of eggs (*Maister-peece*, p. 401).

11. vi. 13. *hath not a Snaile* . . . Cf. 11. ii. 9, 10.

16. *garded*, trimmed, laced. *Merch. of Venice*, 11. ii. 141-2, 'Give him a livery More guarded than his fellows'.

17. *trucke*, barter.

27. *Alligarta*. A seventeenth-century form of 'alligator'.

33. *witch*, of a man: *Alch.* 1. i. 107.

37. *some late writers*. King James's *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* had appeared in 1604. Similar attacks were made later by John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured*, 1616, and Joshua Sylvester, *Tobacco Battered, and the Pipes Shattered (about their Ears that idly Idolize so base and barbarous a Weed; or at least-wise over-love so loathsome Vanitie:)* by *A Volley of Holy Shot Thundered from Mount Helicon*, 1617. See *E.M.I.* III. v. 106-11 n.

39. *perssway*, mitigate.

41. *Tobacconist*, tobacco-taker.

50. *vent the tobacco out*. *E.M.O.* IV. iii. 88-98.

60. *basket-hilt*, a hilt of narrow plates of steel curved into the shape of a basket. With Cokes's gibe cf. Basket Hilts in *A Tale of a Tub*, the governor of Squire Tub as Wasp is of Cokes.

Fox, sword. *M.L.* 1. i. 47. 'It has been conjectured that this use arose from the figure of a wolf, on certain sword-blades, being mistaken for a fox' (*O.E.D.*).

76-7. *the Streights, or the Bermuda's*. 'These *Streights* consisted of a nest of obscure courts, alleys, and avenues, running between the bottom of St. Martin's Lane, Half-moon',—i.e. Bedford Street—and Chandos Street. In Justice Overdo's time they were the receptacles of fraudulent debtors, thieves, and prostitutes. . . . At a subsequent period this cluster of avenues exchanged the old name of the *Bermudas* for that of the *Caribbee Islands*, which the learned professors corrupted, by a happy allusion to the arts cultivated there, into the *Cribbee Islands*, their present appellation': Gifford in 1816. In 1829, when the ground was cleared for Trafalgar Square, the Cribbee Islands and the rookeries were swept away (A. Dobson, 'Changes at Charing Cross' in *A Paladin of Philanthropy*, pp. 245-7). The old name of the Bermudas, 'The Isle of Devils', from their being supposed to be the haunts of witches who kept sailors away by storms, no doubt suggested the transference of name to the London district.

77. *the quarrelling lesson*. *Alch.* iv. iv. 84.

97. *a mouth of a pecke*, a mouth of the capacity of a peck.

98 st. dir. *on pick-packe*. Originally 'a pickback' or 'a pick pack'; 'pick-a-back' first in the eighteenth century.

109. *a dull malt-horse*, a dray horse. Cf. *E.M.I.* i. v. 88-9.

137. *white money*, silver. *E.M.O.* iv. vii. 46.

146. *childe . . . anger*. *Alch.* iv. ii. 19.

148. *Patrico*, the hedge-priest of the gipsies. *S. of N.* iv. i. 45; a character in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

Childermasse day, the festival of the Innocents.

III. i. Captain Whit talks the jargon which was intended to represent Irish pronunciation on the Elizabethan stage: other examples are in *The Irish Masque*, the speeches of Captain Macmorris in *King Henry V* (III. ii. 81 foll.), and Bryan, the Irish footman, in the second part of Dekker's *The Honest Whore*.

9. *a pudding*. For this derisive touch, here used with a quibble on 'Haggis', cf. *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600, B):

Mar(chant). Mistresse, Ile bring you from *Arabia*,
Turkie, and *India*, where the Sunne doth rise,
 Miraculous Iemmes, rare stufes of pretious worke. . . .
Doct. You bring stufte for her? you bring pudding.

And Fletcher, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, II. iv (1647, p. 128), 'Dem. Did he not beat us twice? Leo. He beate a pudding.'

13. *An old foole . . .* recalls Dogberry's 'A good old man, sir; he will be talking'.

29. *Iack*, the figure in old public clocks which told the time by striking the bell on the outside. Cf. *Richard III*, IV. ii. 118.

III. ii. 10-11. *cut 'orke . . . in her shmock*. *S.W.* v. i. 53.

40. *the field of Smiths*. The real etymology is 'Smoothfield', the name

given to the open space in front of St. Bartholomew's church; it was paved in 1614, so that the last vestige of field disappeared.

46. *The Heathen man*. Ulysses. *could stop his eares*: unHomeric. See *E.H.* v. iv. 2, 15.

47. *the harlot o' the sea*. As Gifford says, 'a scurvy designation of the Syren'. Cf. T. Adams, *The Spiritual Navigator*, 1615 (1630, p. 402): 'There be Syrens in the sea of this world. *Syrens? Hirens*, as they are now called. . . . What a number of these Syrens, Hirens, Cockatrices, . . . in plaine English, Harlots, swimme amongst vs.'

49. *What flashes comes*. III. v. 39, 'do's any cutpurses haunt here about?'; Marlowe, *Faustus*, ed. Brooke, 1331, 'Her lips suckes forth my soule'; *The Tempest*, I. i. 15, 'What cares these roarers for the name of king?'

51. *peelee*, the long-handed shovel with which bakers set things in the oven and remove them. *P.R.* 19.

61. *the Stringhalt, the Mary hinchco*. *Markhams Maister-peece*, 1610, p. 415, 'The string-halt, of some cald the mary-hinchcho, is a sodaine twitching vp of the horses hinder legges, as if hee did tread vpon needles, and were not able to indure his feete vpon the ground.'

66. *Dame Annesh Cleare*. Stow, *Survay*, 1598, p. 14: 'There are (saith *Fitzstephen*) neare London, on the North side speciall wels, in the Suburbes sweete, wholesome, and cleare, amongst which *Holywel, Clarkes wel, & Clementes wel*, are most famous and frequented by Schollers, and youths of the City in sommer euenings, when they would walke foorth to take the aire. . . . Somewhat North from *Holywell* is one other, well curbed square with stone, and is called *Dame Annis the cleare*.' R. Johnson, *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields*, 1607, B2^v: 'Gent. But, sir, here is stones set vpright, what is the meaning of them? Citiz. Marry where they stand, runnes . . . from a spring called dame *Annis de Cleare* called by the name of a rich London widow, called *Annis Clare*, who matching herself with a riotous Courtier in the time of *Edward* the first, who vainely consumed all her wealth, and leauing her in much pouertie, there drowned she herself, being then but a shallow ditch or running water.' The site is in Hoxton at the Old Street end of Paul Street.

77. *as in Lubberland*. Proverbial: cf. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 45, 'Non debemus delicati esse, ubique medius caelus est. Tu si aliubi fueris, dices hic porcos coctos ambulare', and Grimm, s.v. *ente*, 'bis der ein ent ins maul einfliegt gebraten wie im Schlaraffenland'.

80. *Huh, huh*. Upton refers to the sycophant in Aristophanes' *Plutus*, 893-5, scenting a good dinner:

ἔνδον ἐστὶν ὦ μιαινωτάτῳ
πολὺ χρῆμα τεμαχῶν καὶ κρεῶν ὠπτημένων.
ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ ὦ.

83. *famelick*, hungry, starving (Lat. *famelicus*).

88. *winny*, stay. Connected with the northern 'won' and 'win', but the form is determined by the quibble on Win-the-fight's name.

106. *scratches*. II. v. 180.

110. *what aile they*. This intransitive use came from mistaking the personal object, which in early times usually preceded the impersonal verb, for the subject: cf. 'Such seknes vs eileth' (Langland).

111. *sippers o' the City*. *Ent. Highgate*, 246, 'You sip, so like a forsooth of the citie'.

114. *small printed ruffles*. Cf. T. M., *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1604, C3^v, 'His wings, according to the fashion now, were as little and deminutive as a Puritanes Ruffe'; Mynshul, *Essayes*, 1618, A2, 'I vndertooke a warre when I aduentured to speake in print, (not in print as Puritans ruffs are set)'. 'In print' referred to the exactness of the folds.

120. *stone-puritane*. Modelled on 'stone-horse', a stallion.

121. *sorrell*, chestnut-coloured, specially used of a horse.

131. *drinke to the cause*. A humorous adaptation of Ursula's advice to her tapster, 'drinke with all companies' (II. ii. 99).

133. *lay aboard*. In a sea-fight to place one's ship alongside the enemy's.

138. *the widowes Hundred* seems to mean 'the widows' section of the community', but there must be an allusion, the key to which has been lost.

140. *streight stomacker*. A city fashion: *Poet.* IV. i. 4.

III. iii. 28. *tar-boxe* used for anointing sores in sheep.

30. *custerd*. *Alch.* III. ii. 90.

33. *Vt paruis* . . . Virgil, *Ecl.* i. 23: *sic* for *vt* in the original.

45. *intend*. *C.R.* v. ii. 3.

III. iv. 16. *tokens worth*. II. iv. 5.

19. *a paire o' smithes*. 'Was this a device to answer the purpose of the modern alarm clock?' (C. S. Alden).

25. *scourse*, deal. Specially applicable to 'horse-coursers'.

48. *cracke*, craze: cf. 'cracked'. Literally of injuring the brain by cracking the skull.

50-1. Cf. *The Merry Wives*, III. iv. 85-6:

Alas, I had rather be set quick i' the earth,
And bowl'd to death with turnips!

70. *pannier-mans Iacke*. Nares quotes *Great Britains Honnycombe* (MS. 1712): 'There is a certain deminutive officer belonging to the Inner Temple Hall who goes by the name of the *panyer man*, whose office is to lay the cloths on the tables in the hall, set saltsellers, cut bred, whet the knives, and wait on the gentlemen, and fetch them beer and other necessaries when they are in commons in term time. He also blows the great horn between twelve and one of the clock at noon at most of the corners in the Temple three times presently one after another to call the gentlemen that are in commons to dinner.'

74. *melancholi*'. *E.M.I.* 1. iii. 78 n.

78. *Iewes trumps*. *E.M.O.* III. vi. 74.

86. *Bobchin*. Found only here and at III. vi. 125. Apparently 'imbecile', bobbing or jerking the chin being a sign of vacuity.

91. *noise*. *Sej.* v. 452.

113. *good-man angry-man*. For the punctuation cf. *Volp.*, Ded. 24-5 n.

123. *a top o' the Table*, the jester's place. Horace (Jonson) is made by Dekker to promise good behaviour at the table 'vpon payne to sit at the vpper ende of the Table, a'th left hand of Carlo Buffon' (*Satiromastix*, 1602, M1^v)—the 'publike, scurrilous, and prophane Iester' of *E.M.O.* Characters, 25. *The Puritaine*, 1607, IV. iii, 'in stead of a Iester, wee le ha the ghost ith white sheete sit at vpper end a'th Table'.

126. *Coriat* (1577-1617). See *U.V.* x, xi, for Jonson's relations with him.

Cokeley. A jester who improvised at entertainments, also mentioned in *D. is A.* I. i. 93, *Ep.* cxxix. 16.

131. *baited the fellow i'the beare's skin*. A ballad was entered on the Stationers' Register on 21 January 1612 to John Wright, '*The men [sic] bayted in a beares skynn &c.*' Apparently this was an actor who belonged to the Fortune Theatre: Samuel Rowlands in *The Knave of Harts*, 1612, F4, says:

Thus counterfaiting shapes haue had ill lucke,
Witnesse *Acteon* when he plaid the Bucke.
And now of late, but bad successe I heare,
To an vnfortunate two-legged *Beare*,
Who though indeede he did deserue no ill,
Some Butchers (playing Dogs) did well-nye kil:
Belike they did reuenge vpon him take,
For *Hunckes* and *Stone*, and *Paris-gardens* sake,
With all the kindred of their friend old *Harry*:
But should the *Fortune-Beare*, by death misse-carry,
I cannot see, but (by the Lawes consent)
The Butchers would at Tyburne keepe their lent.

147. *Banquet*, dessert.

158. *twenty pound scotsh*. At the Union of the Crowns the 'pound Scots' was equal to one-twelfth of a pound sterling, and was divided into twenty shillings each of the value of an English penny.

160. *wedding gloues*. *C.R.* v. iii. 54-60.

164. *poesie*. *E.M.I.* II. iv. 36.

III. v. 8. *Actum est*, it's all over with him. *S.W.* II. vi. 21, ''tis done, and finished'.

17. *lime-bush*, a bush dressed with birdlime. J. Day, *Peregrinatio Scholastica*, ed. Bullen, p. 53, 'like a fishe in a net or a selie bird in a limebushe'.

28. *Messe*. *E.M.I.* I. iii. 71.

37. *he walkes hereabout.* Hentzner, who visited England in 1598, mentions that one of his company, Dr. Tobias Sorlander, had his purse stolen in the Fair.

48. *a fine picture.* An important adjunct to the ballads and chap-books of the time: cf. *Alch.* i. i. 98-9. Gifford notes that a portrait of Queen Elizabeth was a favourite frontispiece to ballads on such abstract themes as 'pure love' and 'good life'.

56. *an oare in euery thing.* *T. of T.* ii. ii. 112.

61. *Paggingtons Pound.* An old dance-tune given in Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*, 1893, i, p. 259. Chappell conjectures that it was named after Sir John Packington, 'lusty Packington', who wagered to swim for £3,000 from Whitehall Stairs to Greenwich, but was forbidden by the Queen to try. Note that Nightingale says the song is 'spicke and span new'; it was reprinted in *Wit and Drollery*, 1656 and later, D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, iv. 20, with the music, and J. P. Collier's *Roxburghe Ballads*, 1847, p. 271, with five additional stanzas.

78. *for and, and moreover.* *Love's Welcome*, 75-6, 'Hay for the Lilly, for, and the blended Rose'; *Hamlet*, v. i. 91-2:

A pick-axe, and a spade, a spade,
For and a shrouding sheet.

86. *I wusse.* *E.M.I.* i. i. 36.

89. *In Westminster Hall.* Dekker, *Iests to make you Merie*, 1607, p. 28, has a story of a foreman of the jury, taking pity on a young man who had picked a purse, got him acquitted; the man 'in recompence presently vpon his discharge, paying his fees, came to the place where this Juror was, and pickt his pocket'.

98. *At Worc'ter.* Untraced.

104. *A Iudge.* An allusion to a trick played by Sir Thomas More: Cresacre More, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore*, 1631, pp. 115-17, relates how he used to go to the sessions at Newgate where 'one of the ancient Iustices was wont to chide the poore men, that had their purses cutt, for not keeping them more warily, saying that their negligence was cause, that there were so manie Cutt purses brought thither. Which when sir THOMAS had heard him often speake at one time especially, the night after he sent for one of the chiefe Cutt purses that was in the prison, and promised that he would stand his good friend, if he would cut that Iustice's purse, whilst he sate the next day on the Benche.' The man agreed, and next day when he was accused, 'sayd that he would excuse himselfe sufficiently, if he were but permitted in priuate to speake to some one of the Benche; . . . he presently chose that graue olde man, who then had his pouche at his girdle; and whilst he roundeth him in the eare, he cunningly cutts his purse; and taking his leaue sollemnely, goeth down to his place.' More then called on the bench for an alms for a poor man in court. The victim astonished said he had the purse when he came to court, and More restored it, 'coun-

selling the good man hereafter not to be so bitter a censurer of innocent mens negligence, when as himself could not keepe his purse safe in that open assemblie'.

116. *handy-dandy*. A reference to the children's game in which a player has to guess in which hand another player tossing an object to and fro has hidden it. Florio, 1598, '*Bazzichiare*, to shake between two hands, to play handy-dandy'.

126. *At Court*. The '*Christmas cutpurse*' of L.R. 119. An account was published by Thomas Archer, *The Araignment of John Selman, who was executed neere Charing-Crosse the 7. of January, 1612. for a Fellony by him committed in the Kings Chappell at White-Hall vpon Christmas day last, in presence of the King and diuers of the Nobility*; there was a picture on the title-page of Selman with the purse. He picked the purse of Leonard Barry, servant to Lord Harrington, 'a double purse of leather' valued at one halfpenny, at a celebration of the sacrament; Sir F. Bacon pronounced judgement. S. Rowlands in *The Knave of Harts*, 1612, F3^v, has an epigram on Selman. Archer registered his pamphlet on 7 January, the day of the execution; on 8 January William Barley registered a ballad, 'Sellmans sorrowfull songe'; and on 9 January John Wrighte registered another account of the trial and execution 'of the graund Cutpurse'.

131. *The Rat-catchers charme*. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 163-4 n.

189. *Away*. 'Edgworth is anxious to get Nightingale off, that he may convey the stolen property to Ursula's booth, and thus escape detection' (Gifford).

221. *retchlesse*, heedless.

223-4. *An' there were no wiser than I*. So S. of N. 2nd Intermean, 35, 3rd Intermeane, 42.

231. *call me Coriat*, call me fool. III. iv. 126.

247. *Gouernour*, tutor.

248. *flowne him to a marke*. II. iv. 43.

262. *read word*. C.R. Ind. 41 n.

273. *he bought me*. A reference to the oppressive Court of Wards and Liveries, set up under Henry VIII and not abolished till the twelfth year of Charles II. The heir to a tenant *in capite* (i.e. who held land from the king) was a royal ward during his minority. The king might sell or present the guardianship of this ward to any of his subjects. In the case of an heiress the king or guardian might choose her a husband. Sir E. Peyton, describing the seven years' parliament of James I, in *The Divine Catastrophe of the Stuarts*, 1632, p. 115, says 'the Court of Wards they endeavoured to pull down, which had ruined infinite families, upon offer to give the king two hundred thousand pound *in deposito*, and annually two hundred thousand pound; but it was opposed by Robert Earl of Salisbury . . . as too great a thing for the King to part with'.

277. *disparagement* 'is by our common lawyers used especially for matching an heir under his or her degree, or against decency' (Courll).

278. *picklocke o' the Law*. The lawyer in *The Staple of News* is named Picklock.

305. *is the winde there?* *1 Henry IV*, III. iii. 87, '*Fal*. How now, lad! is the wind in that door, i'faith? must we all march?' Lodge and Greene, *A Looking Glasse for London and Englande*, 1594, B3 (Malone Reprint, 306-7), the Usurer to a Gentleman, who asks for a longer day, 'Is the winde in that doore, if thou hast any mony so it is, I will not defer a day, an houre, a minute'.

III. vi. 7. *The Bull*. It was a calf at Uxbridge Fair, v. iv. 85, and in *The Alchemist*, v. i. 8.

15. *the Anatomy*, skeleton, such as 'the Anatomie in Surgeons hall', *Und*. xxv. 37-8.

24. *cut my hair*. *E.M.O.* Ind. 42-3: *Ep*. xxi, 'On Reformed Gam'ster', 'Lord, how is GAM'STER chang'd! his haire close cut!'

36. *the Devill . . . in the fire*. So Tribulation Wholesome argued, *Alch*. III. i. 24-7.

54. *Apocryphall*. The Puritans strongly rejected the Apocrypha.

73. *Images*. The gingerbread cakes were moulded into figures of St. Bartholomew.

125. *Bobchin*. III. iv. 86.

IV. i. 5. *Oliuer Bristle*. 'Bristle forgets his christian name: in a former scene (III. i. 8) he is called *Davey*. Perhaps the forgetfulness lies with Jonson' (Gifford).

23. *you will want them*. Trouble-all is described as 'ragged', IV. ii. 10, iii. 77.

37. *Seminary*, II. i. 34.

61. *Sirreuerence*. *T. of T.* I. vi. 25.

70. *parantory*. In *E.M.O.* v. vii. 8 another constable says 'paramptorie'; perhaps 'paramtorie' should be read here. See the note on that passage.

73. *heare ill o' that side*. *Volp*. Ded. 11 n.; *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, Siv, 'An ill hearer' in *Epigrammes vpon Prouerbes*, 107:

I can not heare on that side, no, trueth to tell:
Of any side, thou couldst neuer yet heare well.

77. *bile*, boil.

79. *when him list*. Cf. 'Me list', Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, 1584, I. v (Malone Reprint, l. 269); 'him list', Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 35.

86. *the Ace of hearts*. Sir H. Platt, *The Jewell-house of Art and Nature*, 1594, iii, p. 42, 'Carefull schollers will find some of these helpes, as good as the Ace of heartes in their wrighting; heedelesse Drones will scarce make the Ace of Diamondes of the best meanes'.

93. *abhominations*. *E.M.I.* I. iv. 75 (Quarto I. iii. 67 'abominable').

109. *the word*, the Puritan term for the Bible. *Ep*. xxi. 4.

IV. ii. 13. *prepar'd the Costardmonger*. So in *Bartholomew Faire, Or Variety of Fancies*, 1641, p. 4, 'Some of your cutpurses are in fee with cheating costermongers, who have a tricke now and then to throw downe a basket of refuse peares, which proue choake-peares [cf. l. 74] to those that shall loose their hats or cloakes in striving who shall gather fastest'.

21. *Dorring the Dottrell*, hoaxing a simpleton. *E.M.I.* iv. viii. 139. *Dottrell*, a species of plover (*Eudromias morinellus*), formerly proverbial for the stupidity with which it allowed itself to be taken. Cf. Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 1662, p. 149, under Lincolnshire, which 'may be termed the *Aviary of England* for the *Wild-fowle* therein': 'This is *Avis γηλοτοποῖος*, [sic] a *Mirthmaking Bird*, so *ridiculously Mimical*, that he is easily *caught* (or rather *catcheth himself*) by his *over-Active imitation*. . . . As the *Fowler* stretcheth forth his *Arms* and *Legs*, going towards the *Bird*, the *Bird* extendeth his *Legs* and *Wings* approaching the *Fowler*, till surprised in the Net.' The name is derived from 'dote', and its Latin equivalent is 'morio'. 'The only folly, however, so far as I can see, the bird is guilty of', says F. O. Morris in the *History of British Birds*, 'is that of permitting the near approach of man.'

33. *musse*, scramble. *M.L.* iv. iii. 10.

47. *Catherne peares*. I. v. 119.

48. *vnder-meale*. Skeat comments on *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, 19, 'In under-meles and in morwenings': '*Undermeles*, for *undern-meles*, *undern-times*. [*undern* = (1) mid forenoon, i.e. originally 9 a.m.; (2) mid-afternoon, originally 3 p.m. In modern English dialects = about 4 p.m.] *Meel* (pl. *meles*) is the A.S. *mæ̃l*, a time. The time referred to, in this particular instance, seems to be the middle of the afternoon; or simply "afternoons", as opposed to "mornings". For this sense, cf. "*Under-mele, Postmeridies*" in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*.' This was the later use, and, the original sense, of 'time' being lost, *vnder-meale* means 'an afternoon meal'.

55. *in stead of salt*. Cf. *D. is A.* i. vi. 88-91:

That you are the wife,
To so much blasted flesh, as scarce hath soule,
In stead of salt, to keepe it sweete; I thinke,
Will aske no witnesses, to proue.

The idea, as Whalley noted, is taken from a saying of the Stoic Chrysippus about swine: 'Sus vero quid habet praeter escam? cui quidem ne putresceret animam ipsam pro sale datam dicit esse Chrysippus' (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 160). Mr. E. Bensley pointed out to us a source which Jonson may have used, the *Trinummus* of Plautus, 491-4, in Lambinus's text, Cologne, 1577:

Verum nos homunculi,
salillum animai qui cum extemplo amisimus,
aeque mendicus atque ille opulentissimus,
censetur censu ad Acherontem mortuus.

Lambinus comments (p. 734 c, d): 'Licet etiam dicere Plautum eo spectasse animam corpori nostro esse pro sale, quemadmodum enim carnes pecudum, & boum, quibus vescuntur homines, si diu seruentur sine sale, putrescunt, ita & corpora humana, efflata anima, vermeis contrahunt, & putore corrumpuntur.' With this cf. Herrick's epigram, 'The soul is the salt' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 332):

The body's salt, the soule is; which when gon,
The flesh soone sucks in putrifaction.

61. *greene Plouer so pull'd*. *S. of N.* II. iii. 82-3:

and what Plouer's that

They haue brought to pull? BRO. I know not, some green Plouer.

The dotterel (l. 21) was included in the species plover.

63. *beauer-hat*. *C.R.* I. iv. 150.

74. *choake-peares*. A coarse kind of pear used for perry: for the pun cf. Webster, *The White Diuel*, III. ii. 241-2 (ed. Lucas):

After your goodly and vaine-glorious banquet,
I'le give you a choake-peare.

75. *I had bin better ha' gone*. A colloquial use due to the confusion of an old idiom: compare *Richard II*, III. iii. 192, 'Me rather had my heart might feel your love', the old dative construction, with *Tw. Night*, II. ii. 24, 'Poor lady, she were better love a dream'.

mum-chance. *Alch.* v. iv. 44.

98. *wrought pillowes* . . . *D. is A.* I. ii. 47; Sir J. Davies, *Epigramme* 32, 'In Brunum':

This gull was sick to show his Night-cap fine,
And his wrought Pillow ouer-spread with lawne,
And hath bin well since his griefes cause hath line
At *Trollups* by Saint *Clemonts* Church in pawne.

99. *Sweete bags*, to lie among the linen. *Und.* xv. 112, *Disc.* 584.

IV. iii. 36. *discourse*. *Cat.* III. 282.

45. *tables*. *E.M.O.* II. vi. 175.

62. *equall*, fair (Lat. *aequus*).

69. *out of the Arcadia*, in which the loves of Argalus and Parthenia form an episode.

70. *out of the play*. Probably Palamon in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, acted in 1613; but it might be the Palaemon of Daniel's *The Queen's Arcadia* (1606).

108. *lime-twig*. *Nobody & Somebody*, 1606, D3^v, 'Talke not of the Gayle, 'tis full of limetwigs, lifts, and pickpockets'.

114. *Westerne*, especially from Cornwall. See R. Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, 1769, f. 75b. Nabbes, *Totenham Court*, II. ii (1638, p. 17), 'I have a *Cornish-Lad* that wrastles well, and hath brought home Rabbets every *Bartholomew-tide* these five yeares'.

wrestle. *Sej.* III. 654.

before my Lord Maior. The wrestling before the Lord Mayor was an important function on St. Bartholomew's day. He opened the Fair in the morning, then dined in state with the sheriffs and the aldermen, and after dinner the company rode to the wrestling. 'Upon their arrival at a place appointed for the purpose, where a tent is pitched', said Hentzner in 1598, 'the mob begin to wrestle before them, two at a time; the conquerors receive rewards from the magistrates.' See H. Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 1859, pp. 138, 142.

116. *a circling boy*, a species of 'roarer', mentioned here only and not satisfactorily explained; the stage-business of the circle in scene iv. 136-42 is evidently connected with the name, though not necessarily the origin of it in an age so fond of quibbling.

120. *goodest*. *Alch.* II. vi. 79.

121-2. *with her hood vpright*. The city fashion: iv. iv. 165, *Alch.* II. vi. 33.

iv. iv. 1. *lift*, theft. *G.M.* 248.

3. *too meeghty*. Cunningham commented on 'too mickle' (82), 'Owre mickle is, I suspect, what a Scotsman would have said'.

4. *Galloway nag*. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, iii. 28, notes in the margin 'The best kind of *Scotish* nags'; Markham, *Cavelarice*, 1607, iii, p. 7, 'There is a certaine race of little Horses in *Scotland*, called *Galway* Nagges, which I haue seene hunt the Bucke and Stagge exceeding well, and indure the chase with good courage: and not any of these horses but will indure the hard earth without surbating or lamenesse, much better then horses of great puissance and strength'.

5-9. The cure for the staggers is also from Markham, *ibid.* vii, p. 26: 'take foure spoonefulles of Aqua vitæ, and as much of the iuyce of garlicke and mixing them together warme them vpon the fire, & therewith chafe all the horses forehead, and the napp of his necke, then take two little round balles of flaxe or soft towe, and dipping them therein, stop them into the horses eares, then with a needle and a threede stitch the tips of his eares together, and do thus for 3. mornings together, . . . yet during the cuer let him drinke no colde water but warme mashes of water and ground malte. . . . There bee some Farriers (and my selfe haue often vsed it) do cut the horse in the fore-head.' A 'scouring' of butter and garlic is prescribed for hunting-horses (*ibid.* iii, p. 41).

7. *long-pepper*. Cf. J. Pory, translation of Leo's *Africa*, 1600, Introd. 42, 'This tailed or long pepper so far excelleth the pepper of the East Indies, that an ounce thereof is of more force then halfe a pound of that other'.

8. *horne*. Used for dosing horses (Markham, iii, p. 41).

11. *i' the zuds*, in the suds, in difficulties. For the various meanings of this phrase see the *O.E.D.*

12. *vull as a Paipers bag*. *T. of T.* v. iii. 55.

14. *Northerne cloth zhrinke i' the wetting*. Explained in Linthicum,

Costume in the Drama, pp. 57–8: cf. Wye Salstonstall, *Picturæ Loquentes*, 1635, H3, of an errant knave, 'If you chance to drinke with him, you must watch him, or else like Northerne cloath heele shrinke away in the wetting, and leave you to pay all'.

16–17. *Flea-bitten . . . neuer tyre*. Proverbial: 'A flea-bitten horse never tires.' The reference is to the colour of a horse, bay or sorrel spots or streaks upon a lighter ground. C. Heresbach, *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*, trans. B. Googe, 1577, f. 116b, 'the flebitten Horse proueth alwayes good and notable in travell'.

79. *your businesse*, getting the licence from Waspe.

137. *in circle* seems to have some point of resemblance to Jaques's 'Greek', i.e. sharper's, 'invocation to call fools into a circle' in *As You Like It*, II. v. 55.

140. *a Iacobus*. A gold coin of James I, a 'sovereign', originally worth 20s. but in 1612 24s.

143. *your beard*. Touchstone 'did dislike the cut of a certain courtier's beard' (*As You Like It*, v. iv), but the courtier was less bellicose than Quarlous.

162. *tuft taffata*. C.R. iv. iii. 355.

163. *Adam Scriuener*. The name of Chaucer's clerk, rebuked by his master for his careless copying of *Boece* and *Troilus*.

179. *pigeon-holes*. Cf. L. Echard's translation of *Plautus*, 1694, p. 193, 'He'll be stock'd into the Pigeon Holes, where I'm afraid the poor Devil must make his Nest to night'—a neat rendering of *Rudens*, 888–9:

Nam in columbari collum haud multo post erit;
in nervum ille hodie nidamenta congeret.

189. *the man with the beard*, the drinking-jug, narrow-necked and rotund, ornamented on the neck with a bearded face, called 'Bellarmine', 'long beard', or 'grey beard'. It originated among the Hollanders; it had a burlesque likeness of Cardinal Bellarmine, the opponent of the Reformers. *N.I.* I. iv. 13–14, *G.M.* 70; Cartwright, *The Ordinary*, III. v (1651, p. 52):

Rime. Thy belly looks like to some strutting hill,
O'rshadow'd with thy rough beard like a wood.
Christ. Or like a larger Jug, that some men call
A Bellarmine, but we a Conscience;
Whereon the lewder hand of Pagan workman
Over the proud ambitious head hath carv'd
An Idoll large with beard Episcopall,
Making the Vessel look like Tyrant Eglon.

202, 207. *and't be!* The origin of this use may be seen in such a passage as *C. is A.* II. i. 17–18:

For their other obiect:

Tis in my handsome daughter, if it be.

i.e. if that (and not my money) is the real reason. *And't be* = if so: in

202 'Bawd or bitch, if that's what you are'; in 207 'if it be possible'. Cf. *Irish M.* 1, 2, 'phair ish te king? Phich ish hee, an't be', i.e. if he is here.

212. *purlews*, suburbs, in reference to these parts of London as haunts of vice.

IV. v. 16, 17. *Plouer* here for a loose woman. *Quaile* similarly: cf. *caille quoiffée* in French. *Troilus and Cressida*, v. i. 50.

21-7. From the 'picture of a perfect horse' in Markham's *Cavelarice*, 1607, ii, pp. 8, 9: 'Wherefore to begin with the head of Horse, I would haue it in generall leane, . . . his fore-head large, broade, & well rising in the midst, . . . his eyes should bee big, blacke, round, fierie, . . . his mouth large, . . . his eare small, sharpe, and standing vpright: . . . his necke would bee long, vpright, . . . his crest thinne, hye, firme, . . . his withers sharpe pointed, close, and well ioyned, . . . his backe short, plaine, broad, . . . his sides long, large, and much bending, . . . his fillets short, thicke, full, and swelling, euen with his chinne: his flancks full and round, . . . his belly large, . . . his legs broad, short, straight and leane: his knees great, plaine, & firmly knit: . . . his pasternes short & straight, . . . his hoofes blacke and smoothe, . . . his heeles swelling and straight.'

36. *wiers*. *S.W.* Prol. 23.

38. *Ware*. *S.W.* III. ii. 73.

Rumford. *N.I.* IV. iii. 71; R. Brathwaite, *Times Curtaine Drawne*, 1621, K₅^v:

Here are no mincing *Dames* who long to goe
To Rumford, Hoggsden, or to Pimlico.

47. *honest as the skinne betweene his hornsh*. A variant on 'the skin between his brows' (*E.M.O.* II. ii. 53).

48. *top*, and *top-gallant*, short for 'topsail and topgallant sail', with all sail set, in full array. So Nashe, *Christs Teares ouer Ierusalem*, 1593 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, ii, p. 137): 'Theyr heads, with theyr top and top gallant Lawne baby-caps, and Snow-resembled siluer curlings, they make a playne Puppet stage of.'

66. *tuft-taffata hanches*, artificial shape-improvers: *S. of N.* III. iv. 40.

73. *Bawd in greace*. Modelled on the phrase 'a hart in grease', i.e. in prime condition; Ursula was a 'poore greasie soule' (III. vi. 129).

76. *tripe*. I. iii. 65.

78. *taw'd*. *Alch.* IV. iii. 100.

79. *slash'd*, cut with the scourge.

80. *rid*. *Alch.* I. i. 167.

83. *teare ruffe*. 'Captain' Knockhum showed his courage much in the same way as 'Captain' Pistol:—'You a captain! you slave, for what? for tearing a poor whore's ruff in a bawdy-house?' (2 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 135-6).

wastcoat superseded the stomacher. When worn without an upper

gown, it was the mark of a disreputable woman. Prostitutes were called 'waistcoateers': Massinger, *The City Madam*, III. i (1658, F2):

I knew you a waistcoatier in the garden allies,
And would come to a saylors whistle.

92. *Greene-gownes*. A colour affected by prostitutes: v. iii. 92, vi. 45.

94. *a Coach*. *Poet*. IV. ii. 15.

IV. vi. 19. *a veluet petticoate, or a wrought smock*. *S.W.* v. i. 53, *D. is A.* I. i. 128.

29. *such* as he is himself. Jonson effects this elliptical use: *Poet*. *Apol.* *Dial.* 140.

Facinus . . . Lucan, *Pharsalia*, v. 290.

36. *forme*, depict (Lat. *formare*).

47. *welsh*. Note that Bristle does not talk with a Welsh accent. Jonson did not write *For the Honour of Wales* till 1618, or acquire his copy of Davies's *Welsh Grammar* till 1634.

Runt. From the meaning an ox or cow of a small breed, especially one of the small breeds of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, the word comes to mean uncouth, ignorant—*O.E.D.*, quoting D'Urfey, *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, II, p. 77, 'Shone a Welsh Runt and Hans a Dutch Boor'.

51. *Metheglin*. Specially a Welsh drink: *C.R.* I. iv. 10, *Hon. Wales*, 265.

71. *Court of Pie-poulders*. II. i. 42.

76. *safe in discretion*. A blundering repetition of the previous words, but it may mean, as Dr. Alden suggests, the state of being separated (Lat. *discretio*), like Busy's 'separated' (I. 86).

77. *valour*, amount, here of time. *O.E.D.* quotes one parallel from the East Anglian dialect in 1825 'about the valour of three hours'.

95. *a thing without me*. 'The justice is humorously affecting the lofty language of Stoicism. He begins with the distinctions of Epictetus—*τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν* and *τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*' (Gifford). See the *Encheiridion*, I. 1.

97-8. *In te manca* . . . Horace, *Sat.* II. vii. 88; *Quem neque pauperies* . . . *ibid.* 84.

100. *Persius*. *Sat.* I. 7. Jonson's pupil Field, who read Horace and Martial with him and who was the leading actor in *Bartholomew Fair*, also quotes this in *A Woman is a Weathercock*, I. i (1612, B2):

I loue that Poet
That gaue vs reading, not to seeke our selues
Beyond our selues.

106. *lists*, fag-ends.

Latin. In *The Returne from Pernassus*, pt. II, II. iv, the Puritan Immerito airs his scruples about 'the bishops poser': '*Acad.* He meanes any question in Latin, which he counts a scruple; oh this honest man could neuer abide this popish tounge of Latine, oh he is as true an English man as liues.'

112. *a halting Neutrall*. The quibble on the Puritan phrase is neat.

143. *earnes, grieves*. *T. of T.* I. vi. 26.

156. *nest*, collection.

Truncke. Alch. III. iii. 14.

177. *t'one!* i.e. 'the one—or the other—is a witch'. Unusually elliptical, even for Jonson.

v. i. 1. *the signe of our inuention*, the painted cloth with a picture of the subject to be represented: cf. *E.M.O.* IV. vi. 62–3, and Strode, *The Floating Island*, 1655, II. ii, Concupiscence, snatching the love-verses of Sir Amorous who dares not read them:

What's this? a silent motion?
The Bill hung out will shew us what it is.

4. *Carwhitchets*, carriwitchets, quibbles. Dryden, *The Wild Gallant*, I. i: 'A bare Clinch will serve the turn; a Carwichet, a Quarterquibble, or a Punn.'

6. *Motions*, puppet-shows.

8. *Pod.* *E.M.O.* IV. v. 62 n.

Ierusalem. Marston, *The Dutch Curtezan*, III. i (1605, D₄^v): 'Beat. A motion sister. Crisp. Niniue, Iulius Ceasar, Ionas, or the distruction of Ierusalem.'

9. *Niniue*, in which Jonah and the whale figured: *E.M.O.* II. iii. 146–8. *the citty of Norwich*. Henry Peacham in the verses prefixed to Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, K₄^v, mentions 'The fall of Niniue, with Norwich built in an hower'.

Sodom and Gomorrah, in which the tempest of fire would be a great attraction. *Wit and Drollery* records a performance in 1656.

11. *upon Shroue-Tuesday*. *S.W.* I. i. 158.

12. *Gunpowder plot*. This lasted, for in 1762 G. A. Stevens, commemorating the vanished glories of the Fair, wrote of 'Punch's whole play of the Gunpowder plot'.

get-penny. *E.H.* IV. ii. 77.

v. ii. 5. *cloud-like*. *Und.* xv. 60–1:

Who can behold their Manners, and not clowd-
like upon them lighten?

44. *Canthers*. *S. of N.* II. v. 16.

53–66. Cf. *Alch.* III. ii. 69–71.

64. *silent Minister*. *S.W.* II. vi. 17.

68. *Feoffee in trust*, a trustee invested with a household estate in land.

132. *reducing*, bringing back (Lat. *reduco*).

v. iii. 2. *the Master of the Monuments*. The phrase suggests the official guide who took people round Westminster Abbey and recited doggerel about the tombs, which is quoted in *Sportive Wit*, 1656, pp. 90–102.

7. *history of Hero, and Leander*. The 'motion' itself burlesques the old interludes; it is even described as one in lines 11, 33. No doubt it reproduces effectively the contemporary puppet-show. Jonson took as the starting-point of his burlesque *The Excellent Comedie of two the moste faithfullst Freendes, Damon and Pithias* by Richard Edwardes, 'newly imprinted' in 1571. The fighting element survived in the assault and battery of the Punch and Judy show.

29. *fire* in Ursula's booth.

53. *Call me not Leatherhead*. 'To prevent his being recognized by Cokes, whom under the former name he had defrauded of thirty shillings' (Gifford). See III. iv. 152, vi. 136-9.

55. *In good time*. *E.M.I.* I. ii. 9.

64. *to bring stooles*. *C.R.* Induct. 140 n. *Tobacco*, *ibid.* 119 foll.

68. *the quality*, the profession of the actor.

69-71. Overdo reflects the City feeling on this subject: *Alch.* III. ii. 88-9.

78. *I am the mouth of 'hem all*, the interpreter. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 240-1, 'I could interpret between you and your love, if I could see the puppets dallying'.

81. *Taylor*. Joseph Taylor, who was one of the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1614 and therefore acted in this play. Ordish, *Early London Theatres*, pp. 225-6, suggested, less probably, a reference to the fiasco of the wit-combat between John Taylor, the water-poet, and Fennor at the Hope on 7 October 1614.

83. *eate 'hem*. An obsolete joke on the supposed voracity of tailors. Gifford quotes Nabbes, *Covent Garden*, III. iii (1638, F), '*Ralph*. I could take the wall of three times three Taylors, though in the morning, and at a Bakers stall'; Glapthorne, *Wit in a Constable*, v. i (1640, G4^v):

Twill sup them up as easily as a Tayler
Would doe sixe hot loaves in a morning fasting,
And yet dine after.

86-8. *Burbage . . . Field*. Cf. R. Flecknoe's *A Short Discourse of the English Stage*, appended to his *Love's Kingdom*, 1664: 'In this time were Poets and Actors in their greatest flourish, *Johnson*, and *Shakespear*, with *Beaumont* and *Fletcher* their Poets, and *Field* and *Burbidge* their Actors.' The high compliment which Jonson here pays to Field emphasizes their personal relations: Field had read Latin poetry with him (*Conv. Drum.* xi. 164-5), and had prefixed verses to *Volpone* and *Catiline*.

92. *the green gamesters*. IV. v. 92.

94. *the habit of a scriuener*, a gown with facings of fox-fur and budge (lamb-skin). Cf. the Statute of Apparel, 24 Henry VIII, c. 13.

97. *geere*, jeer.

105. *like an hostler*. Whalley first suggested an allusion to the actor William Ostler, of the King's men. He had played in *Poetaster*, *The Alchemist*, and *Catiline*. Apparently the shaking of the head was 'a physical trait which marked his acting' (W. J. Lawrence, *Speeding up Shakespeare*, p. 93).

106. *the printed booke*. Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, 1598, which opens:

On *Hellespont* guiltie of True-loues blood,
In view and opposit two cities stood,
Seaborderers, disioin'd by *Neptunes* might:
The one *Abydos*, the other *Sestos* hight.

121. *moderne*, commonplace. *Poet.* v. iii. 280.

123. *Puddle-wharfe*, 'a water gate into the Thames, where horses vse to be watered, & therefore being filed with their trampeling, and made puddle, like as also of one *Puddle* dwelling there: it is called Puddle Wharfe' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, ii, p. 13). It is at the foot of St. Andrew's Hill in Upper Thames Street.

125. *old fish street*, in Queenhithe Ward, a chief centre of the fish trade before Billingsgate supplanted it. The eastern portion was swept away in making Queen Victoria Street, the remainder was absorbed in Knight-Rider Street.

Trigsstayers in Queenhithe Ward next to Puddle Wharf.

v. iv. 6. *what*, why.

23. *fire-works*. *Alch.* i. ii. 78-9.

36 (margin). *By Edgworth*. Cf. *E.M.I.* iv. x. 50 (margin).

41. *all-to-be-Madame*. *C.R.* iv. iii. 16 n., 'all to bee qualifie her'. For the idea cf. *Alch.* iv. ii. 55.

44. *masque*. *Poet.* iv. i. 20, *S. of N.* 1st Intermean 56, *U.V.* viii. 4. Stubbes in *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583 (ed. Furnivall, p. 80), 'When they vse to ride abroad, they haue inuisories, or visors made of veluet, wherwith they couer all their faces, hauing holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look'.

53. *eder-oder*. *T. of T.* ii. iv. 41, 'neither-nother'.

69. *a Delia*. *C.R.* iv. i. 34 n.

84. *the Bull*. *Alch.* v. i. 8.

87. *the Hare o' the Tabor*. Caius, *Of Englishe Dogges*, 1576, tr. Fleming (ed. 1880, p. 16), 'a Hare (being a wilde and skippishe beast) was seene in England to the astonishment of the beholders, in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1564, not onely dauncing in measure, but playing with his former feete vppon a tabbaret, and obseruing iust number of strokes (as a practicioner in that arte)'. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon*, ii. ii (1638, C4): '*Taber*. Why sir, you doe not play upon me. *Sencer*. Though I cannot, yet I have knowne an Hare that could.' John Taylor, *A Bawd (Workes)*, 1630, p. 104: 'I haue seene a *Hare* get her master and dames liuing, with playing on a *Tabor*.'

108. *intend*. *C.R.* v. ii. 3.

116 foll. Compare the prologue to R. Edwards's *Damon and Pithias*, 1571:

But now for to be briefe, the matter to expresse,
Which here wee shall present: is this *Damon* and *Pithias*.
A rare ensample of Frendship true, it is no Legend lie,
But a thinge once donne in deede as Hystories doo discrie,

Whiche doone of yore in longe time past, yet present shalbe here,
Euen as it were in dooynge now, so liuely it shall appeare:
Lo here in *Siracusæ* thauncient Towne, which once the Romaines
wonne,
Here *Dionisius* Pallace, within whose Courte this thing most strange
was donne,
Which matter mixt with myrth and care, a iust name to applie,
As seemes most fit wee haue it termed, a Tragicall Commedie.

125. *a Sheepes eye*. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Oeillade*, An amorous looke, affectionate winke, wanton aspect, lustfull iest, or passionate cast, of the eye; a Sheepes eye'.

128. *old Cole*. Fleay identified with Friar Cole, a character in *Lust's Dominion*, 1657 (possibly *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*, 1600, by Day, Dekker, and Haughton). Apparently a synonym for 'pandar'. Cf. *A Pleasant Commedie Called Looke about you*, 1600, 11^v:

La. O Madam this vile man would haue abused me,
And forcst me to his closset.

Rob. Ah olde cole, now looke about, you are catcht.

And Marston, *The Malcontent*, II. ii (1604, C4^r), Malevole's greeting to the bawd Maquerelle. 'Blesse ye, cast a Ladies: ha *Dipsas*, howe doost thou old *Cole*? *Maq*. Old *Cole*? *Mal*. I old *Cole*; me thinkes thou liest like a brand vnder these billets of greene wood. He that will inflame a yong wench's hart, let him lay close to her: an ould *Cole* that hath first bin fired, a pandresse, my halfe burnt lint, who though thou canst not flame thy selfe, yet art able to get a thousand virgins tapers afire.' Elsewhere the phrase seems to mean little more than 'old fellow': e.g. in Dekker's *The Honest Whore*, part II (1610, G3^v): 'Say no more, old cole, meet me anon at the signe of the Shipwracke.' In *Satiromastix*, I. ii (1602, D1^r), Dekker applies the term to Jonson: Tucca has insisted that Horace must be friends with Marston and Dekker, and Horace readily agrees: 'Saist thou me so, olde Coale? come doo't then: . . . Ile haue thee in league first with these two rowly powlies: they shal be thy Damons and thou their pithyasse.' (There is no reference here, as Gifford supposed, to the interlude of this scene: Tucca only wants to call Horace 'pithy ass'.)

133. *Collier*. An insult: *Alch*. I. i. 90.

156. *Swan*. The site is marked by Old Swan Lane and the Swan Stairs just west of London Bridge.

175. *Hogrubber*, 'one who rubs hogs; hence, a term of opprobrium': O.E.D., quoting Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1638, III. ii. iv. 1, 'The very rusticks and hog-rubbers . . . if once they taste of this Loue liquor, are inspired in an instant'. Apparently a derisive term for a swineherd.

Pickt-hatch. E.M.O., Characters 86.

180. *Harne watch, harne catch*. Caxton, *Reynard the Fox*, ed. Arber,

p. 50, 'I shal vnbynde my sack, yf he wil secke harm he shal fynde harme'.

189. *there's no talking*. Full of point to an audience many of whom had crossed by water to reach the Bankside.

192. *Dauphin my boy*. Quoted in *King Lear*, III. iv. 99; where Steevens, on the authority of an old gentleman, cited a stanza from some ballad written to commemorate a battle or a tournament in France:

Dolphin my boy, my boy,
Cease, let him trot by;
It seemeth not that such a foe
From me or you would fly.

203. *is sent her*. 'It was the fashion not only for the puppets of the text, but for those of flesh and blood, to introduce themselves to strangers with a propitiary cup of wine, which preceded their appearance.' Gifford, illustrating it from Harley MS. 6395, *Mery Passages and Jeastes*, with an anecdote of Jonson: 'Ben Jonson was at a tavern, in comes Bishop Corbet . . . into the next room. Ben Jonson calls for a quart of *raw* wine and gives it to the tapster. "Sirrah", says he, "carry this to the gentleman in the next chamber, and tell him I sacrifice my service to him." The fellow did, and in these terms. "Friend", says Bishop Corbet, "I thank him for his love, but prithee tell him from me that he is mistaken, for sacrifices are always *burnt*."'

205. *the Coney*. Rooms in taverns had each a special name. 'Score a pint of bastard in the Half-moon' at the Boar's-Head tavern in Eastcheap (1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 26); and Mistress Quickly had a 'Dolphin-chamber' (2 *Henry IV*, II. i. 84). The fashion lasted into the nineteenth century: 'Lights in the Sun, John', says the landlord of The Saracen in *Pickwick*, ch. li; and the inn at Yarmouth in *David Copperfield*, ch. viii, had 'a nice little bedroom with "Dolphin" painted on the door'.

207. *Sack . . . sherry*. Sack was a generic name for all white wines; sherry was sometimes designated *sherris sack*, but not necessarily. Cokes is made to air his ignorance.

222. *my Hobby-horse is forgotten*. Another of Cokes's quotations from the refrain of a popular ballad noticed in *Ent. Althorp*, 286, G.M. 741; *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 25-6; *Hamlet*, III. ii. 130; and *Old Meg of Hereford-shire*, 1609, B4, 'But looke you who here comes, Iohn Hunt the Hobby-horse, wanting but three of a hundred'—i.e. years of age—''twere time for him to forget himselfe, and sing but O, nothing but O, the Hobbie-horse is forgotten'.

276. *a hone and honero*. E.H. v. i. 7.

279. *Betweene you and I*. E.M.I. v. iii. 62, 'with . . . EDWARD, and I'.

306. *setting their match*, appointing to meet. Hence jocularly used of fixing on a spot for a robbery, 1 *Henry IV*, I. ii. 103.

321. *Dunmow-bacon*. Suggested by the famous fitch.

323. *Westphalian*. Jonson in his own copy of Scriverius, *Martial*,

xiii. li (= liv), glossed *perna*, 'the forgammon of Bacon', and *missa de Menapis*, 'Westphalian'.

361. *the Master of a Schoole*. Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse 367-343 B.C., according to some accounts, after his abdication kept a school at Corinth.

363. *wit . . . to keepe himselfe warme*. C.R. II. ii. 49.

v. v. Lord Dorset in an epilogue to Medburne's translation of Molière's *Tartuffe* (*The French Puritan*, 1670) alluded to this scene:

Many have been the vain Attempts of Wit,
Against the still-prevailing Hypocrite:
Once (and but once), a Poet got the day,
And vanquish'd *Busy* in a Puppet-Play.
But *Busy* rallying, Arm'd with Zealous Rage,
Possesst the Pulpit, and pull'd down the Stage.
To laugh at English Knaves is dangerous then,
Whilst English Fools will think 'em honest Men.
But sure no zealous Rabby will deny us
Free leave to act our Monsieur *Ananias*.

17. *Shimei*. 2 Samuel xvi. 5-13.

23. *gaped as an oyster*. Gifford illustrated from a specimen-prayer cited in John Eachard's *The Ground and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into*, 1698, p. 62: 'Our Souls are constantly Gaping after thee, O Lord, yea verily, our Souls do gape, even as an Oyster gapeth.'

69 foll. *It is not prophane*. Selden, *Table-Talk*, 1689, F4^v, s.v. 'Religion', discussed this passage: 'Disputes in Religion will never be ended, because there wants a Measure by which the Business would be decided: The Puritan would be judged by the Word of God: If he would speak clearly, he means himself, but he is ashamed to say so; and he would have me believe him before a whole Church, that has read the Word of God as well as he. One says one thing, and another another; and there is, I say, no Measure to end the Controversie. 'Tis just as if Two Men were at Bowls, and both judg'd by the Eye: One says 'tis his Cast, the other says 'tis my Cast; and having no Measure, the Difference is Eternal. Ben Johnson Satyrically express'd the vain Disputes of Divines by *Inigo Lanthorne*, disputing with his puppet in a *Bartholomew Fair*. It is so; It is not so: It is so, It is not so, crying thus one to another a quarter of an Hour together.'

85. *feather-makers i' the Fryers*. *Alch.* I. i. 128-9.

87. *puffes*, a fabric gathered in at the edges and left full in the middle as if inflated.

93. *Fashioner*, tailor (or dress-maker). First used in this sense by Jonson: a Fashioner is a character in *The Staple of News*.

97. *Dagonet*, King Arthur's fool.

99, 100. *the Male* . . . Often quoted before and after the date of the

present play; e.g. by Prynne, *Histrion-mastix*, 1633, p. 179, 'These Playes wherein men act any womens parts in womans apparell, must needs be sinfull, yea, abominable unto Christians'. This is proved by Deuteronomy xxii. 5, 'The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abominable unto the Lord thy God'. Prynne argues the case at length on pages 178-210.

Selden has an elaborate discussion of the text in his *Works* (ed. Wilkins, 1726, ii, coll. 1690-6) in a letter to Jonson written on 28 February 1615 soon after the date of *Bartholomew Fair*. He explains it as a prohibition of magical rites in which the sexes exchanged dresses. He adds in his *Table-Talk*, 1689, F3, that by properly explaining the text he converted 'Mr. Crashaw from writing against plays'.

118. *carried it away*, 'brought it off', won the day.

v. vi. 19. *stepp'd aside*, gone off the track, missed the way.

21. *Et digito . . .* Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 160.

28. *Kinsman*. Very laxly used for husband.

35. *Mirror of Magistrates*. See Induction 143.

45. *greene Madame*. iv. v. 92.

48. *redde te Harpocratem*, 'reduce yourself to silence'. Modelled on Catullus' 'patruum reddidit Harpocratem' (lxxiv. 4). For Harpocrates see *Sej.* v. 414 n.

68. *Bridget*. A slip of Jonson's for 'Grace'.

94. *a stake in Finsbury*. *E.M.I.* i. i. 48-9 n.

95. *out o' the ayre*. *E.M.I.* ii. iii. 48 n.

108. *Alice*. The only passage in the play where Mistress Overdo's Christian name is mentioned.

Epilogue

3-5. *what store . . . licence*. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 51, 'dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter'.

THE DEVIL IS AN ASS

TIME AND PLACE IN THE PLAY

The action takes place in one day. Pug has leave of absence from hell for that time only and it expires at midnight (i. i. 134, 156). The wooing scene with the comedy of the cloak (i. vi) takes place in the morning, and Merecraft, who has just come to town, has not time to pull off his boots before he is hurried to Fitzdottrel (i. vii. 7, 8). Wittipol makes a prompt call at Mistress Fitzdottrel's house in the second act (ii. 41-5), and the second interview follows in scene vi. In iii. v. 34-5 Fitzdottrel is preparing to go to the play after dinner when he is told to expect the interview with the Lady

President an hour later (vi. 58); plays began at 2 o'clock. It is dark in v. i. 45 when the scantily dressed Ambler returns home, and Pug's irrelevant question 'Is't so late Sir?' (v. ii. 24) tallies with this. His return to hell at midnight is in scene vi. This makes the closing scene at Fitzdottrel's house very late, but Fitzdottrel is supposed to be bewitched, and the company are watching at the bedside of an invalid.

The setting is within a narrow area of the City of London. Gifford was puzzled about the opening scene. 'Satan and Pug probably make their entrance from a trap-door (some rude representation perhaps of Hell-mouth), and the dialogue may be supposed to take place in their journey from the infernal regions.' The scene is London (ll. 11-31). The trap-door may have been used, and Satan would have horns, a blackened face, and a cloven hoof. So Pug in this first scene probably. The traditional habit of the Vice was a long coat like that of the fool (I. i. 85), described as 'a Iuglers ierkin, with false skirts, like the *Knaue of Clubs*' (*S. of N.* 2 Intermean, 15-16); according to Harsnet (*Popish Impostures*, p. 114) he had a cap with asses' ears.

In the second scene Fitzdottrel comes out of his house and walks (I. iv. 1) in the lane where Pug introduces himself to him (sc. iii). At scene iv, line 106, he takes Pug into the house; the action proceeds there from scene v to Act II, scene v. Mistress Fitzdottrel sends a message to Wittipol

to for-beare his acting to mee,
At the Gentlemans chamber-window in *Lincolnes-Inne* there,
That opens to my gallery. (II. ii. 52-4.)

In the fourth scene of the second act her husband sends her up to her gallery (l. 2), i.e. to the upper stage, to which the action is transferred in scene vi: '*This Scene is acted*', says the stage-direction at line 38, '*at two windo's, as out of two contiguous buildings*'—Manly's chambers being opposite the gallery. The windows are near enough for Wittipol to '*growe familiar in his Courtship*', play with her paps and kiss her hands (stage-direction, l. 71). At line 23 Pug enters below and detects the meeting. In scene vii Fitzdottrel speaks out of his wife's window (st. dir., l. 8), and Pug re-enters below (st. dir., l. 23). At line 28 '*Fitzdottrel enters with his wife as come downe*', and the action continues on the lower stage with Merecraft, Inge, and Trains (sc. viii). The first five scenes of the third act take place inside Fitzdottrel's house. Then they move to Lady Tailbush's, 'hard by', 'i' the lane' (III. v. 11); the characters would enter by the opposite door at the side of the stage. From Act III, scene vi, to Act v, scene ii, the setting is at Lady Tailbush's. The change-

over is made as before in the text: 'Come, we must this way', says Merecraft to Pug, and when Pug asks 'How far is't', he is told 'Hard by here Ouer the way' (III. v. 66-7). In the fifth act, scenes iii to v are in Fitzdottrel's house and the action concludes there after an interval in Newgate (scenes vi and vii) where Pug obtains his release from earth and the explosion at his passing blows down a part of the prison.

The wooing of Mistress Fitzdottrel by Wittipol in this play has, as F. G. Fleay pointed out,¹ a clear counterpart in the Charis poem of *Underwood*, ii and xix. It is a unique episode in Jonson's dramatic work, because it is inspired by romantic love. Jonson's wooers, as a rule, are prosaic people, like Surly, Winwife, and Love-wit, whose affection is stimulated by the prospect of a dowry. In *The New Inn*, the only play of Jonson's in which love plays a predominant part, Lovel, old enough to be Lady Frampul's father, wins her by a disquisition on the philosophical nature of love based on the *Symposium* of Plato. But Wittipol's love-making (I. vi, II. v) is anything but Platonic. It is ardent and poetical and culminates in the lyric

Doe but looke, on her eyes. They doe light
All that *Loue's* world compriseth,

with its delicate imagery of the untouched lily and the whiteness of the new-fallen snow. The song in its fuller form is given in the 'Triumph' of Charis (*Und.* ii. 4), and Wittipol in the play, like Jonson himself in private life, urges as an excuse for illicit love that the husband deserves anything that may befall him. In the play the gibe is driven home by the episode of the cloak. Wittipol urges

Let not the signe o' the husband fright you, Lady.
But ere your spring be gone, inioy it. Flowers,
Though faire are but of one morning. Thinke,
All beauty doth not last vntill the *autumne*.
You grow old while I tell you this. And such,
As cannot vse the present, are not wise. (I. vi. 127-32.)

And the lady is made to answer,

I haue a husband, and a two-legg'd one,
But such a moon-ling, as no wit of man
Or roses can redeeme from being an Asse. (Ibid. 157-9.)

¹ *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, i, pp. 324-5. Fleay's further attempt to identify Fitzdottrel as Sir Edward Coke and his wife as Lady Elizabeth Hatton is wild conjecture.

So Jonson tells Charis (*Und.* xix. 19-28):

Slip no occasion; As time stands not still,
I knowe no beautie, nor no youth that will.
To use the present, then, is not abuse,
You have a Husband is the just excuse
Of all that can be done him; Such a one
As would make shift, to make himself alone,
That which we can, who both in you, his Wife,
His issue, and all Circumstance of life,
As in his place, because he would not varie,
Is constant to be extraordinarie.

This identification of Wittipol's situation with Jonson's suggests an explanation of the curiously abrupt ending of the intrigue in Act IV, scene vi. Wittipol has Mrs. Fitzdottrel in his power, when suddenly, at her entreaty, he takes the advice of Manly and chooses to be her friend rather than her lover. The satire of the plot is blunted by Wittipol's generosity. But the tribute to Charis (*Und.* ii. v. 42)—

All is *Venus*: save unchaste—

applies equally to Mistress Fitzdottrel. Jonson's treatment of her seems to have had a background of personal experience as romantic as the play. He frequently repeated to Drummond the seventh of the Charis poems, 'For Loves-sake, kisse me once againe', and we infer that the love-making ended in a few kisses and the presentation of verses he had written in this lady's honour. Probably the affair was over by 1618. The opening poem to Charis is a graceful introduction, much later than its companion pieces, with no passion in its tone but with the exquisite compliment that Charis's beauty had the power 'to make the old man young'.

The Persons of the Play

2. *Pug*, imp, small demon. So the Satyr is named in *Ent. Althorp*, 57: cf. 'Puck'. In II. ii. 128 with a quibble on the sense of 'pet'.

3. *Iniquity. The Vice*. Described with the dress he wore in *S. of N.*, 2nd Intermean, 14-16. In the old moral interludes he accompanied the Devil and, when in the end virtue triumphed, a fiend carried him away to hell; he plays this part with *Pug* (v. vi. 73-7). Shakespeare refers to him in *King Richard III*, III. i. 82, 'the formal vice, Iniquity', and in *1 Henry IV*, II. iv. 438, Falstaff is called 'that reverend vice, that grey iniquity'. Iniquity plays this part in *The Nice Wanton*, 1560, and in *King Darius*, 1565.

12. *Guilt-head*. Taken from the name of a fish, 'Golden eye or Guilt-head' (Sylvester, *Du Bartas*, 1591, I. v. 314 margin), with a head marked by gold spots or lines: in *Und.* lxxxv. 50 'Golden-eyes' translates the

Latin *scarus*. The name is variously given to the striped tunny, the dorado, and the golden wrasse. Harrison in his *Description of England*, III. iii (ed. Furnivall, ii. 18), gives 'gilthed' as one of the names of the pike 'when he ageth'. There may be an undercurrent of allusion to usury: cf. *Disc.* 1306-8, 'The great theeves of a State are lightly the officers of the Crowne; they hang the lesse still; play the Pikes in the Pond; eate whom they list'.

13. *Plutarchus*. Explained III. ii. 21 foll.

14. *Either-side*. Another of Jonson's hits at lawyers. Sir H. Finch, *Law*, 1636, p. 186, enumerating slanders, cites as a form of double-dealing 'To call . . . an Attornie Ambodexter, or to say that he dealeth corruptly'.

18. *Ambler*. Cf. Amble, Lady Allworth's usher in Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

The Prologue

1. *The Diuell is an Asse*. Gifford thought that the actor who said this pointed to the title hanging up on the stage: cf. *C.R.* Ind. 40-2, *Poet.* Ind. 27-8. Mr. W. J. Lawrence prefers to take it as an announcement of the actor at the first performance, the titles of new pieces not being given on the bills ('Title and Locality Boards', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xlv, p. 154), but his evidence is far from clear.

4-20. *no place*. Jonson has allusions to the practice of gallants in the private houses sitting upon the stage (*C.R.* Ind. 116-46), but here only he makes a protest about its inconvenience.

6. *a thumbe-ring*, a signet-ring worn on the thumb. Falstaff, when young, 'could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring' (*1 Henry IV*, II. iv. 321-2). For spirits in a thumb-ring Dr. W. S. Johnson quotes S. Harsnet, *A Declaration of Popish Impostures*, 1603, p. 13, of treasure-hunters, '3 or 4 priests, *deuill-coniurers*, and 4 *discouerers*, or *seers*, reputed to carry about with them, their familiars in rings, and glasses, by whose suggestion they came to notice of those golden hoards'.

8. *tract*. Rather oddly used of such a confined space as the stage.

15. *young adders*. Harrison, *The Description of England*, III, ch. vi (ed. Furnivall, ii, p. 34), 'I did see an adder once my selfe that laie (as I thought) sleeping on a moulehill, out of whose mouth came eleuen yoong adders of twelue or thirteene inches in length a peece, which plaied to and fro in the grasse one with another, till some of them espied me. So soone therefore as they saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in her bellie, much like vnto a soft white iellie'.

16. *no South*, i.e. no backs.

17. *Muscouy glasse*, mica. G. Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, 1591, p. 10: 'In the prouince of *Corelia*, and about the riuier *Duyna* towards the North sea, there groweth a softe rocke which they call *Slude*. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which

naturally it is apt for and so vse it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne.'

22. *the Diuell of Edmonton*. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* is an anonymous play noticed in *S. of N.* 1st Intermean, 67-81, and in T. M.'s *The Blacke Book*, 1604, E3: 'And being set out of her Shoppe, (with her man afore her, to quench the iealousie of her Husband) shee by thy instructions shall turne the honest simple fellow off, at the next turning, and giue him leaue to see the merry Diuel of *Edmunton*, or a Woman kild with kindnesse.'

26. *the Diuell is in't*. A glance at Dekker's play, printed in 1612, *If It be not Good, the Devil is in It* (or 'If this be not a good Play' in the running title). Fleay noted that this play suggested Jonson's title, and there are some parallels of idea. Pluto says to his Spirits (B2),

were you honest diuels
Each officer in hell would haue at least,
A brace of whores to his break-fast: aboue vs dwell,
Diuels brauer and more subtile then in Hell.

On H4 Lurchall says 'You haue out-reacht me', and Bartervile replies, 'Ile out-reach the diuell'. On 1. 2 there is a devils' conference which Scumbroth, up a tree, watches unseen:

Diu. Walke round hels shamble, thou shall see there stick
Some 4. butcher soules, puft queintly vp with pricks.
Scu. 4 Sweete-breads I hold my life, that diuels an asse.
1 Diu. Taylors ore-reache vs, for to this tis growne,
They scorne thy hell, hauing better of their owne.
Scu. They feare not sattin, nor all his workes.

1. i. 1. *Hoh, hoh*. A parody of the opening roar with which the Devil entered in the medieval plays. Thus in the fifteenth-century *Conversion of St. Paul*, III. ii (*Digby Mysteries*, ed. Furnivall, p. 43), Belial enters, 'Ho, ho, beholde me, the my3te prince of the partes infernall'; T. Ingelend, *The Disobedient Child*, c. 1560, Fiii, the Devil enters, 'Ho, ho, ho, what a felowe am I'. W. Stevenson, *Gammer Gurtons Needle*, 1575, ed. Bradley, III. ii. 12, 13:

By the masse, ich saw him of late cal up a great blacke devill!
O, the knave cryed, 'ho, ho!' he roared and he thundred.

4. *my mon'th*. What did the imps do with their month, and where did they go? This humorous idea has a slight parallel in Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, IV. xlv, where a devil has leave from Lucifer to 'go for a holiday and recreation' in the Island of the Popefigs where the devils 'often went to pass their time' with the natives.

5. *pui'nee Diuell*, inferior devil. Cf. the 'puisne' or junior judge in the superior courts of common law.

8. *laming a poore Cow*. Puck competed with the witches, to whose malice all ailments of cattle were attributed. G. Gyffard, *The Subtill Practises of Deuilles by Witches*, 1587, D3, 'Then the witch is suspected, examined, and confeseth that she killed such a man, or such a mans cattell, or made them lame'.

9. *a Sow*. Cf. Dekker and Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton*, v. ii (1658, p. 58), 'she bewitched Gammer, *Wash-bowls Sow*, to cast her Pigs a day before she would have farried'.

10. *crossing of a Mercat-womans mare*, crossing its path and diverting it to a road away from the market.

13. *to stale the yest*. So of Mother Maudlin in S.S. II. viii. 28, 'The House-wifes Tun not worke!'

14. *the butter come not*. So Puck in *M.N.D.* II. i. 36-7 will

sometimes labour in the quern,

And bootless make the breathless houswife churn.

Burns, *Address to the Deil*, 55-8, tells of warlocks and hags meeting the devil in churchyards:

Thence, countra wives, wi' toil an' pain,
May plunge an' plunge the kirk in vain;
For O! the yellow treasure's taen
By witching skill.

15. *the housewifes cord, or . . . spit*. This remedy is in R. Scot's *The discoverie of witchcraft*, 1584, p. 281: 'There be twentie seuerall waies to make your butter come, . . . as to bind your churne with a rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c.'; G. Gyffard, *A Dialogue concerning Witches*, 1593, B2^v, 'the good wife R. all the laste weeke could not make her butter come'. Her husband consulted a wise man, 'and when he came home, they did but heat a spit red hotte, and thrust into the creame, vsing certain wordes, as hee willed him, and it came as kindly as anie butter that euer she made'.

16. *Ribibe*, an abusive term for an old woman. Jonson took the word from Chaucer, *The Freres Tale*, D 1376-8:

This Somnour, ever waityng on his pray,
Rod forth to somne a widowe, an old ribybe,
Feynyng a cause, for he wolde brybe.

The primary meaning is 'rebeck', an early fiddle: Skeat suggests 'a pun upon *rebekke* . . . and *Rebekker*, a married woman, from the mention of Rebecca in the marriage-service'. Skelton in *Elinor Rummyng*, 492, has 'There came an old rybybe; She halted of a kybe'.

18. *play round Robbin*. Usually associated with mad pranks and mischief, but here virtually 'play the incubus'. There is a suggestion of it in Harsnet, *Popish Imposture*, 1603, p. 134, 'the bowle of curds & creame . . . set out for Robin good-fellow the Frier, & Sisse the dairy-maide, to meete at *hinch pinch and laugh not*, when the good wife was a bed'.

21. *a Middlesex Iury*. *E.M.I.* 1. ii. 89 n.

24. *strengths*. *Sej.* III. 617.

32. *Lancashire*. See T. Potts, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, 1613, relating the trial and condemnation of fifteen women and four men for witchcraft on 19 August 1612. There was a later scare in 1634 which inspired Heywood and Brome's play *The late Lancashire Witches*. Gifford, writing in 1816, said that 'Lancashire is still famous for its witches' who annoy 'balls and music-meetings'.

33. *Northumberland*. No witch cases there have been recorded at this period: Ewen's *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials (1559-1736)* does not give any, nor does Francis Hutchinson's *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, 1718, ch. ii.

41. *Fraud*. A Vice in Preston's *King Cambises*, 1561, B:

My name is Ambidexter, I signifie one
That with both hands finely can play.

42. *Couetousnesse*. *S. of N.* 2nd Intermean, 6-13. A character in *Respublica*, 1553, is 'Avarice, alias, Policie, the Vice of the Plaie'; he says (1. i. 13, 21-2):

My veray trewe vnchristen name ys Avarice,
I will my name disguise
And call my Name polycie, in steede of Covetise.

42. *Lady Vanity*. *Volp.* II. v. 21 n.

43. *old Iniquity*. See above, Persons of the Play.

44 ff. The metre, four beats with a ripple of unstressed syllables and rhyming couplets, is taken from the old moralities and in keeping with the character. Jonson had used it in *Volp.* 1. ii for Mosca's interlude.

47. *lackst thou Cards*. In Ulpian Fulwell's *Like wil to like*, 1568, Iij, Newfangle the Vice brings in a knave of clubs and offers it 'vnto one of the men or boyes standing by':

Ha, ha, ha, ha! now, like vnto like, it wil be none other,
Stoup gentle knaue and take vp your brother.

or Dice. In *The Nice Wanton*, 1560, Aiiij, Iniquity the Vice is discovered: 'He casteth dice on the board.'

48. *cog*, play tricks, cheat.

49. *thy dagger*. Cf. line 85.

50. *by Gogs-nownes*. Fulwell, *Like wil to like*, 1568, Cijb, 'By gogs nowns chad thought ich had been in my bed'.

lustie Iuuentus. *An Enterlude called lustie Iuuentus*. *Lyuely describing the fraillie of youth: of nature, prone to vyce: by grace and good counsayll, trayneable to vertue*, by Robert Wever, was first printed by William Copland about 1565. The name became proverbial. Cf. Richard Barnfield, *Helens Rape (Poems)*, ed. Arber, p. 40, 'Old lad, and bold lad, such a lustie Iuuentus'; T. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon*, iv. i

(1638, F3^v), Chastly 'very gallant' is addressed, '*Lusty Iuventus*; will it please you to draw neere?'

51. *like a penthouse*. *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 15, 'with your hat penthouse-like o'er the shop of your eyes'.

52. *breeches of three fingers*. The breadth of a finger was a popular unit of measure. Prince Hal said that Falstaff had 'three fingers' of fat on his ribs (1 *Henry IV*, iv. ii. 71). In the text the phrase seems to refer to the padding of the breeches.

doublet all belly. Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, ed. Furnivall, i, p. 55: 'Their dublettes are noe lesse monstrous. . . . For now the fashion is to haue them hang downe to the middest of their theighes, . . . beeing so harde-quilted, and stuffed, bombasted and sewed, as they can verie hardly eyther stoupe downe, or decline them selues to the grounde, soe styffe and sturdy they stand about them.'

53. *cock-stones*. A provocative: Marston, *The Dutch Curtezan*, iv. iv (1605, F3^v), 'Mary: Hees gone forsooth to eate a cawdle of Cock-stones'.

56. *Pauls steeple*. *Und.* xliii. 193. This feat was impossible, as Gifford points out. The pointed spire of Paul's was struck by lightning on 4 June 1561 and burnt down as far as the stone-work, leaving only a square tower. The work of restoration was not commenced till 1633, though funds had been collected for the purpose long before.

Standard in Cheepe. A conduit set up by John Wells, Mayor, in 1430 (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, pp. 264-5, ii, p. 251). Cf. Middleton, *Any Thing for a Quiet Life*, i. i (1662, B1^v), 'Beaufort. And what news stirring in Cheapside? *Water-Camlet*. Nothing new there my Lord, but the *Standard*. *Beau*. Oh that's a Monument your wives take great delight in.'

58. *needle of Spaine*. 'The making of Spanish Needles, was first taught in Englande, by *Elias Crowse* a Germaine, about the Eight yeere of Queene *Elizabeth*, and in Queen *Maries* time, there was a *Negro* made fine Spanish needles in Cheapside, but would neuer teach his Art to any' (Stow, *Annals*, 1615, f. 948a). *N.I.* i. i. 32; *Chlor.* 154.

60. *Petticoate-lane . . . Smock-allies*. The suburbs had an evil reputation, and these names keep up the innuendo. Petticoat Lane is now Middlesex Street, Whitechapel, and was formerly Hog Lane. The ground was built over in Stow's time with garden houses and small cottages, but he gives no hint of their being used for immoral purposes; he remembered the lane forty years before with 'fayre hedgerowes of elme trees, with Bridges, and easie stiles to passe ouer into the pleasant fieldes' (*Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 127). Smock Alley was off Petticoat Lane.

61. *Shoreditch, Whitechappell*. Disreputable quarters: *E.M.I.* iv. vii. 44-5 n.

61-2. *Saint Kathernes . . . the Dutch there*. The site is now marked by St. Katharine's Docks. In the 'New and Choice Characters' added to the sixth impression of Overbury's *Wife*, 1615, K7^v, '*A drunken Dutch-man resident in England*' is described: 'Let him come ouer neuer

so leane, & plant him but one Moneth neere the Brew-houses in S. Catherines, and hee'll be puft vp to your hand like a bloat Herring.' For Dutch drinking cf. *C.R.* v. iii. 135, and Andrew Borde, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge*, 1542:

And I am a Holander, good cloth I doo make,
To much of English beare, diuers times I do take.

A lady alewife in St. Katharine's is mentioned in *S. of N.* iii. ii. 106 and is a character in *The Masque of Augurs*, 117 foll.

patternes of their cloth or weaving.

63. *Custom-house key.* *E.M.I.* iii. ii. 69.

66. *the Dagger . . . the Wool-sacke.* *Alch.* i. i. 191, v. iv. 41-2.

69. *Belins-gate*, 'a large Watergate, Port or Harbrough for shippes and boats, commonly arriuing there with fish, both fresh and salt, shell fishes, salt, Oreniges, Onions, and other fruits and rootes, wheate, Rie, and graine of diuers sorts for seruice of the Citie, and the parts of this Realme adioyning' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 206). The spelling is due to the legend, recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that the gate was built by the British king Belin about four hundred years before Christ.

70. *shoot the Bridge*. 'Some of the arches' of old London Bridge 'were too narrow for the passage of boats of any kind. The widest was only thirty-six feet, and the resistance caused to so large a body of water by this contraction of its channel produced a fall or rapid under the bridge so that it was necessary to "ship oars" to shoot the bridge, as it was called—an undertaking, to amateur watermen especially, not unattended with danger. I may add that with flood-tide it was impossible, and with the ebb-tide dangerous, to pass through or shoot the arches of the bridge; in the latter case prudent passengers landed above bridge, generally at the *Old Swan-stairs*, and walked to some wharf, generally *Billingsgate*, below it' (Cunningham, *Handbook of London*, 1850, p. 297). Foxe in the *Acts and Monuments*, 1563, f. 1712a, relating how the Princess Elizabeth was sent to the Tower by Queen Mary at the time of the Wyat rebellion, describes the boat 'lyeng and houering vpon the water an houre, for that they coulde not shoote the bridge, the Bardge men being verye vnwylling to shoote the same so soone as they did, because of the daunger thereof. For the sterne of the boate stroke vpon the ground, the fal was so bigge, and the water was so shallowe'. Iniquity proposes the impossible shooting of the bridge up stream.

70. *the Cranes i' the Vintry.* *S.W.* ii. v. 114.

71. *gimblets.* *E.M.O.* v. iv. 37.

85. *wooden dagger.* In Ulpian Fulwell's *Like will to Like*, 1587, Eij^v, New fangle the Vice threatens Tossplot and Roister:

Now am I driuen to play the maister of fence.

Come no neer me you knaues for your life:

Lest I stick you both with this wood knife:

Back I say back thou sturdy beggar:

body of me they haue tane away my daggar.

{ They haue him
down & beat
him he crieth
for help.

In *S. of N.* 2nd Intermean, 11–13, and in *Tw. Night*, iv. ii. 120–6, the clown's use of the dagger is vividly depicted:

Like to the old Vice, . . .
 Who with dagger of lath,
 In his rage and his wrath,
 Cries 'Ah, ah!' to the Devil—
 Like a mad lad—
 'Pare thy nails, dad.'

92–3. *mount vp on a joynt-stoole . . . To put down Cokely.* *B.F.* III. iv. 125–6, *Ep.* cxxix. 13, 16 '(mounted on a stoole) . . . Thou dost out-zany COKELY'.

92. *Iewes-trumpe.* *E.M.O.* III. vi. 74.

94. *Vennor.* Richard Vennar, a popular rhymmer, a member of Balliol and Lincoln's Inn, fooled the public with a piece called *England's Joy*, announced to be played at the Swan Theatre on 6 November 1602; he disappeared after taking the entrance-money (see *L.R.* 50 n.). He died about 1615 in the Counter (W. Fennor, *The Compters Commonwealth*, 1617, p. 64).

96. *New-nothing*, a worthless novelty. J. Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured*, 1616, p. 74, 'thou art vtterly vnable . . . to buy . . . me thy best boy a new nothings to hang on my sleeue'. The words 'from *New-nothing*' go grammatically with 'a rime'.

97. *Almaine-leape.* Cotgrave, 1611, s.v. 'Saut', '*Trois pas et vn saut*, The Almond leape'; Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 1611, '*Chiarantána*, a kinde of Caroll or song full of leapings, like a Scotch gigge, some take it for the Almaine-leape'. Cf. Bishop Barlow, *An Answer to a Catholike English-man*, 1609, p. 231, 'Now heere the *Censurer* makes an *Almaine leape*, skipping 3. whole pages together'.

into a custard. At city dinners the Lord Mayor's fool leaped into a huge custard which was a standing dish, the 'custard politique' of *S. of N.* II. iii. 61. Cf. Glapthorne, *Wit in a Constable*, II. i (1640, D):

Ile write the city annals,
 In famous meter which shall far surpass
 Sir Guy of Warwicks history: or Iohn Stow upon
 The custard with the foure and twenty Nooks
 At my Lord Majors feast.

99. *ouer their shoulders.* For the French hood see *T. of T.* iv. v. 95 n. 'Since it was worn over the back of the head as far as the ears, the face had a becoming frame of hair. Of course, such hoods were easily disarranged' (Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama*, p. 233).

113. *the yellow starch.* A fashion introduced by Mrs. Turner the poisoner, who was an agent of Lady Essex in the Overbury murder; Coke directed her to wear yellow-starched linen at her execution. B. Rich, *The Honestie of this Age*, 1614, p. 35, 'But amongst all the rest of these ill becomming follies, that are now newly taken vppe, (mee

thinks) these yellow starcht bandes shoulde bee euer best suited, with a yellow *Coate*'; Middleton, *The Widdow*, v. i (1652, H3), '*Mar.* That Suit would hang him, yet I would not have him hangd in that Suit though, it will disgrace my Masters fashion for ever, and make it as hatefull as yellow bands'.

114. *Hum*, strong or double ale. Cf. v. viii. 72, *S. of N.* iv. ii. 166; T. Heywood, *Philocothonista, or, The Drunkard*, 1635, p. 48, 'To adde to these chiefe and multiplicity of wines, . . . yet there be Stills and Limbecks going, swetting out *Aquavitæ* and strong waters, deriving their names from *Cynnamon*, *Lemmons*, *Balme*, *Angelica*, *Anniseed*, *Stomach-water*, *Humm*, &c.'

115. *Meath*, and *Obarni*. Cf. *Pimlico. Or Runne Red Cap*, 1609, C4^v, on the drinks of 'Northern Climes':

With spiced Meades (wholsome, but deere)
As *Meade Obarne*, and *Meade Cherunck*,
And the base Quaffe by Pesants drunck.
With all the rest that whet the sprites
Of Russes and cold Muscouytes.

Obarni was scalded mead (Russian *obvarnyi*, 'scalded').

119. *rope of sand*. v. ii. 6 n.

127. *garters*. II. v. 10.

roses, fourescore pound. *S.W.* II. ii. 68; H. Peacham, *The Truth of our Times*, 1638, p. 61, speaks of 'shoo-tyes, that goe under the name of Roses, from forty shillings to three, foure, and five pounds the paire. Yea a Gallant of the time not long since, payd thirty pound for a paire'; Massinger, *The City Madam*, iv. iv (1658, p. 64):

Rich pantables in ostentation shown,
And roses worth a family.

128. *cut-worke smocks*. *B.F.* iv. vi. 20.

143. *our tribe of Brokers*. *E.M.I.* III. v. 31-2.

148. *your soone at nights relation*. For this calling to account of the day's work see Jonson's note on *M. of Q.* 152 with the quotation from P. L. Elich's *Dæmonomagia*.

156. *the midnights cocke*, the 'first cock-crow' shortly after midnight (1 *Henry IV*, II. i. 17; *King Lear*, III. iv. 114). The second cock-crow was at three o'clock (*Rom. and Jul.* iv. iv. 4); the third after five.

i. ii. 1. *Bretnor*. Thomas Bretnor, almanac-maker, 'student in astro-nomie and physicke'; his almanacs and prognostications from 1605 to 1618 and one for 1630 survive. Middleton refers to him in *The Inner-Temple Masque*, 1619, B4:

This Farmer will not cast his seed ith' ground
Before he looke in *Bretnor*, there he finds
Some word which hee hugs happily, as, Ply the box,
Make Hay betimes, *It falls into thy Mouth*.

He also translated and edited Angelo Sala's *Opiologia; or a treatise concerning Opium*, 1618. Anagrammatized as Norbert, he is a character in *The Bloody Brother* of Fletcher (1637); his method, if Fitzdottrel consulted him, is set forth in the play, iv. i (1640, G2):

But there's one *Norbret*, . . .
 Has made a mirrour, a meere looking-glasse,
 In show you'd think't no other, the forme ovall, . . .
 Which renders you such shapes, and those soe differing,
 And some that will be question'd, and give answers.
 Then has he sett it in a frame that wrought
 Unto the revolutions of the starres,
 And so compacted by due proportions
 Unto their harmony doth move alone
 A true *Automaton* . . .
 He has been about it above twenty yeares,
 Three seavens, the powerfull and the perfect numbers.

2. *Gresham*. Edward Gresham, another almanac-maker, an agent of the Overbury murderers; when Forman died in 1611, '*Gresham* another rotten *Engin*' succeeded him in the service of Mistress Turner but 'did not hold out long' (Wilson, *Life of King James the First*, 1653, p. 70). He was another astrologer. 'This man was had in *suspition* to have had a hand in the *Gun-powder-plot*, he wrote so near it in his *Almanack*', says Michael Sparke, *Truth Brought to light and discovered by Time*, 1651, p. 20.

Fore-man. S.W. iv. i. 150.

Francklin. An apothecary who supplied the poisons for Overbury's murder, a Yorkshire man, 'a swarthy, sallow, crooked-backt fellow' (Wilson, *ibid.*); he was executed in 1615. His confessions are recorded by Sparke, *Truth Brought to Light*, pp. 149-50, 158-9, in the trial on 16 and 27 November 1615.

Fiske. W. Lilly, *History of His Life and Times*, 1715, pp. 29-31: 'In this year 1633 I became acquainted with *Nicolas Fiske*, Licentiate in Physick, who was born in Suffolk, near *Fram(l)ingham* Castle, of very good Parentage, who educated him at Country Schools, until he was fit for the University; but he went not to the Academy, studying at home both Astrology and Physick, which he afterwards practised at *Colchester*. . . . He came afterwards unto *London*, and exercised his Faculty in several places thereof. (For in his Youth he would never stay long in one House.)' In 1633 he was tutor to Lord Treasurer Weston's son. 'He was a Person very studious, laborious, of good Apprehension, and had of his own Industry obtained both in Astrology, Physick, Arithmetick, Astronomy, Geometry and Algebra, singular Judgment: He would in Astrology resolve Horary Questions very soundly; but was ever diffident of his own Abilities: He was exquisitely skilful in the Art of Direction upon Nativities, and had a good Genius in performing Judgment thereupon.' He failed as a teacher, and he died

poor in his seventy-eighth year. He is the 'La-Fiske' of *The Bloody Brother*. Dyce quotes Butler's *Hudibras*, part ii, canto iii. 402-7:

And nigh an *Antient Obelisk*
Was rais'd by him, found out by *Fisk*,
On which was written . . .
Many rare pithy Saws concerning
The worth of *Astrologick* learning.

Sauory. Abraham Savory, an actor in the Duke of Lennox's company in 1605; they played in the provinces from 1603 to 1608 (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, p. 241). In a lawsuit (*Chancery Proceedings*, Series II, C3/392/5) of 27 May 1623, when he was prosecuted for defrauding Thomas Windsor, he is described as 'Abraham Savory otherwise Shrovery of Southwark gentleman'. We next hear of him as a conjuror: Michael Sparke, *Truth brought to Light by Time*, 1651, p. 138, connects him with the case of the Overbury poisoning; 'Mrs. Turner also confessed that Dr. Savorie was used in Succession after Forman, and practised many sorceries upon the Earle of Essex his person'. Archbishop Abbot reporting on him to Coke says he pretended to be a doctor but was more probably a conjurer; Abbot was examining him for circulating Popish literature beyond seas (*Domestic State Papers*, James I, 16 October 1615). A letter of his to Coke on 24 October attempts to refute a charge that he tried to blackmail Mistress Turner. He was not one of the agents of the poisoning; at any rate, he got off scot-free.

7. *virgin-parchment*. Paracelsus, *De Philosophia Occulta* (*Opera*, 1603-5, part x, p. 7): 'Et amantes quidem Nigromantici sedulo semper allaborarunt, vt experimentum aliquod nanciscerentur, quo puellis suis per somnum se offerrent, et eo ardentius postmodum amarentur. Multi characteres, verba, interdum propria nomina, extracto proprio ex venis sanguine, in pergameno (*vt vocant*) virgineo, &c. descripserunt & puel-larum spondis aut puluinaribus subdiderunt.'

8. *rauens wings*, used as a property. Cf. Mother Sawyer's call to her familiar in *The Witch of Edmonton*, 1658, v. i:

Thou art my Raven, on whose cole-black wings
Revenge comes flying to me.

pentacles, figures of three intersecting triangles making up five lines (late Latin *pentaculum*). 'Pentacula, amuletum, signa vel sigilla collo appensa creduntur a malignis spiritibus & fascino quouis præsuerare' (M. Ruland, *Lexicon Alchemiæ*, 1612). When marked on a man's body, it was supposed to point to the five wounds of Christ.

9. *characters*, magical signs, *N.I.* III. ii. 45.

17-18. *a good house . . . the Fitz-dottrel's*. Cf. the La-Fools 'as ancient a family, as any is in *Europe*' (*S.W.* I. iv. 39, 40).

20. *If they be not . . .* Borrowed with much humour from the syllogism of Cratippus to prove the reality of augury: 'Si sine oculis non potest exstare officium et munus oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi non

fungi suo munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis ut vera cerneret, is habet sensum oculorum vera cernentium. Item igitur, si sine divinatione non potest officium et munus divinationis exstare, potest autem quis, cum divinationem habeat, errare aliquando nec vera cernere, satis est ad confirmandam divinationem semel aliquid esse its divinatum ut nihil fortuito cecidisse videatur. Sunt autem eius generis innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem confitendum est' (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 71, cited by Gifford).

31. *I long for thee.* *T. of T.* v. ii. 21.

43. *The burn't child.* *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, Proverbs, ii. ii (1562, Fijj), 'Burnt childe fyre dredth'.

47. *wrought pillows.* *B.F.* iv. ii. 98.

1. iii. Pug's offer of service has an analogue in the morality of *Mundus et Infans* (1520), in which Folly the Vice begs to be taken into service by Manhood, and without wages. He is accepted on condition that he calls himself Folly only, instead of his real name Folly and Shame.

5. *while*, until.

9. *hide a clouen foote.* Cf. Webster, *The White Devil* (1612), ed. Lucas, v. iii. 103-5:

Bra. Why 'tis the Devill.

I know him by a great rose he weares on's shooe
To hide his cloven foot.

Chapman, *Cæsar and Pompey*, ii. i (1633, D^v):

Fro. Yet you cannot change the old fashion (they say)
And hide your clouen feet.

Oph. No? I can weare
Roses that shall spread quite ouer them.

13. *cater*, acater, purveyor.

27. *Vnder your fauour.* *E.M.I.* iii. ii. 18 n.

34. *the Peake.* *G.M.* 121-2. *That Hole.* The legend of the Devil's Arse, the Peak Cavern, is given *ibid.* 1034-137.

38. *Foure pound.* The three pounds of *Alch.* i. i. 16 suggests a low rate of wages. John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured*, 1616, p. 17; of a general rise in prices: 'Then might he'—i.e. the farmer—'hire a very good manservant for twentie groates wages: now can he not haue any so good for twice forty shillings at least.' With this cf. J. M., *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingman*, 1598, E4, where the lower rate is paid: a farmer, offering his son to a gentleman and being refused, says, 'I will apparell him at my owne charge, he shall aske nothing but meate, drinke, and a Lyuerie, with other necessaries I will maynteine him like a man'; the gentleman accepts, 'calling to minde that hereby he might saue foure Markes and a Lyuerie, beside a preferment that his Man would expect for his long and dutifull seruice'. This is cited as a common practice.

42. *a kinde of exercise*. Massinger, *The Bond-man*, II. i (1624, E), Asotus, who has been beating his slave Graculo, says:

How braue we liue!
That haue our slaues to beat, to keepe vs in breath,
When we want exercise.

1. iv. 1. *lift him*. So the more elaborate metaphor in lines 48–51.

4. *Mathematicall*, exact, or, as we might say, 'scientific'.

35. *catholike*, comprehensive, all-embracing.

39. *three score pound*. It cost fifty, I. vi. 28. Extravagant, even for a cloak; stage-cloaks sometimes cost £19 or £20 (*Shakespeare's England*, II, p. 267).

43 (margin) *Play-bill*, such as would usually be fixed on a post as an advertisement.

47–8. *he'll part With's cloake*. The episode of the cloak, as Langbaine first pointed out, is adapted from the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, Day 3, Novella 5: Francisco Vergellesi parts with a horse on a similar condition: 'Il Zima dona a messer Francesco Vergellesi un suo palla freno, e per quello con licenza di lui parla alla sua donna, ed ella tacendo, egli in persona di lei si risponde, e secondo la sua risposta poi l'effetto segue.' The story is alluded to by H. C. in *The Forrest of Fancy*, 1579, Rii.

60. *Good time*. E.M.I. I. ii. 9.

71. *keepe warme your wisdome*. C.R. II. ii. 48–9.

72. *lade*, load oppressively. In a similar context (I. vi. 160–6) Fitzdottrel is told that he cannot 'scape his lading'.

96. *migniard*. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Mignard*, migniard, prettie, quaint, neat, feat; wanton, daintie, delicate'. Cf. '*migniardise*, and quaint *Caresses*', S. of N. III. i. 31.

97. *defend*, forbid.

101. *Schemes*, figures of rhetoric (Greek σχήματα). M.L. II. v. 32.

Prince Quintilian. Jonson recommended Drummond to study Quintilian in order to correct his style (*Conv.* II. 12–14); the *Discoveries* show how closely he had studied this great master of rhetoric himself. 'Prince' is an interesting touch of appreciation.

I. v. 1. *hope o'*. Machievelli's *Florentine historie*, trans. Bedingfield, 1595, p. 140, 'The Earle . . . shut himselfe vp in Poppi, not hoping of any aide'.

8. *Africk*. E.M.O. III. vi. 178. For American monsters Raleigh's *The discovery of . . . Guiana* (1596) mentions people whose heads appear not above the shoulders, their eyes being in their shoulders and their mouths in the middle of their breasts (ed. Payne, p. 244).

17. *for hidden treasure*, which could only be obtained by diabolic help. In 'A Discourse of Duels and Spirits' added to the 1665 edition of R. Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, II, ch. iv, § 33, we read of 'such Spirits as are Protectors of hidden Treasures, . . . ever haunting such places where money is conceal'd, and retaining malevolent and poysonous

Influences, to blast the Lives and Limbs of those that dare to attempt the discovery thereof'; the case is cited of Peters of Devonshire, who was 'reduced to Ashes with his Companions in the twinkling of an eye' when digging for treasure.

22. *gold-mountaines*. *Cat.* II. 309.

1. vi. Susanna Centlivre has a similar scene in *The Busy Body*, 1709, but the details vary, and she appears to have used Boccaccio rather than Jonson, who has varied from his original in one important point. In Boccaccio the interview is not in the hearing of the husband; Jonson has changed this in order to make Fitzdottrel look a more consummate fool. In *The Busy Body* Sir George Airy pays a hundred guineas to Miranda's guardian, Sir Francis Gripe, who plans to marry her. He is to remain in the same room, but out of earshot. The silence is not imposed on Miranda; it is a trick of her own to fool her guardian. She is in love with Airy, and sends a message to him, in presence of her guardian, 'to keep from the garden Gate on the left Hand; for if he dare to saunter there, about the Hour of Eight, as he used to do, he shall be saluted with a Pistol or a Blunderbuss'. Airy wins his mistress in the end.

5. *eat or drunke*. *Sej.* III. 597-8.

10. *wedlocke*. *Poet.* IV. iii. 28.

18. *Niaise*. C. Butler, *The English Grammar*, 1623, b3^v, 'a *nias* hauk [not an eyas] F. *niais*, It. *nidaso*, taken out of the nest'. Jonson's explanation *tane crying out of the nest* explains the 'little eyases that cry out on the top of question' in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 335. Littré in his *French Dictionary*, s.v. '*niais*': '1^o Terme de fauconnerie. Qui n'est pas encore sorti du nid, et qui a été pris au nid, en parlant des oiseaux de vol. 2^o Fig. Qui est simple et encore sans usage du monde.' We have commented on this pointless note of Jonson's in vol. vi, p. 152.

21. *within the seuen yeere*. Used for a long period: cf. *S. of N.* I. v. 59, V. iv. 12.

33. *Rise vp between the Acts*. III. v. 42-4, *N.I.* Ded. 12; Chapman, *All Fooles*, 1605, Prologue:

Great are the giftes giuen to vnited heades,
To gifts, attyre, to faire attyre, the stage
Helps much, for if our other audience see
You on the stage depart before we end,
Our wits goe with you all, and we are fooles.

37-8. *come To see vs . . .* Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, i. 99, of women at the public games: 'Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae.' *S.W.* IV. i. 60.

40. *wusse*. *E.M.I.* I. i. 36.

56. *pragmaticke*, officiously busy, intrusive.

58. *Pinnace*. As in Congreve, *Old Bachelor*, 1693, v. vii, 'A goodly pinnace, richly laden . . . Twelve thousand pound, and all her rigging'.

Fitzdottrel was apparently too obtuse to realize the equivocal character of the metaphor: see *B.F.* II. ii. 72-3, '*Punke, Pinnace, and Bawd*'.

83. *Court Parliament*. The phrase suggests the medieval courts of love; it refers to such adaptations of them as the court of Cupid and Alceste in Chaucer's prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, or the 'Love's Court of Requests' which Jonson introduced into *The New Inn* (III. ii, IV. iv), to discuss love and valour.

88. *at all caracts*, to its utmost value. *E.M.I.* III. iii. 22.

89, 90. *soule*, *In stead of salt*. See *B.F.* IV. ii. 54-6 n.

99. *geere*, jeer.

127. *the signe o' the husband*. *E.M.I.* V. v. 49, 'you signe o' the Souldier'.

131. *You grow old . . .* Horace, *Odes*, I. xi. 7, 8:

Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

132. *use the present*. *Und.* xix. 19-23:

As time stands not still,
I know no beautie, nor no youth that will.
To use the present, then, is not abuse,
You have a Husband is the just excuse
Of all that can be done him.

With this last couplet cf. II. vi. 64-5.

138. *taste a tricke in't*. *E.M.I.* IV. x. 61.

142. *cautelous* combines the ideas of over-caution and deceit. *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 129, 'Swear priests and cowards and men cautelous'.

159. *roses*. 'An allusion to the metamorphosis of Lucian into an ass; who, being brought into the theatre to show tricks, recovered his human shape by eating some roses which he found there. See the conclusion of the treatise, *Lucius, sive Asinus*' (Whalley).

180. *other ensignes*, i.e. horns.

197-8. *the happie mixture . . . of our soules*. *C. is A.* I. vi. 47.

214. *caroch*. *C.R.* IV. ii. 39.

216. *Hide-park*. At this date beginning to be a City resort: *S. of N.* Prol. 14:

How many Coaches in Hide-parke did show
Last spring.—

and *New World*, 246-9, 'Ha' they any places of meeting with their Coaches, and takeing the fresh open aire, and then covert when they please, as in our *Hide-Parke*, or so?' *Und.* xv. 109. J. Mayne, *The Citye Match*, v. ii (1639, p. 53):

Dor. I doe expect it; yes, Sir, and my Coach,
Six horses, and *Postilion* . . . Then Ile have
My Footmen to run by me when I visit,
Or take the ayre sometimes in *Hide-park*.

Black-Fryers. Isaac Oliver, Cornelius Janssen, and Van Dyck resided there, and it became a painters' quarter because it lay outside the jurisdiction of the guilds in the City.

219. *a middling Gossip*, a go-between.

222. *almond milke*. See the recipe in 'Ancient Cookery' appended to *Ordinances for the Government of the Royal Household* (Edward III to William III), 1790, p. 447, 'Botyr of Almondes' and 'Crem of Almonde Mylk'.

240. *Blanck Manger*. The correct form of the word, as in Chaucer, *Prologue*, 387.

1. vii. 9. *what is a Projector?* Fully answered by T. Brugis in *The Discovery of a Proiecter. Shewing the beginning, progresse, and end of the Projector and his Projects*, 1641. John Wilson's comedy *The Projectors* (1665) is a satire on the class: Sir Gudgeon Credulous is a 'Projecting Knight'—formerly 'A Mathematician, a Pol, a Star-gazer, a Quack, a Chaldean, a Schoolman, a Philosopher, an Asse, a broken Grammarian, and most abominable Poet, . . . now at last . . . a most confident, ignorant Projectour'. He has points of contact with Fitzdottrel.

25. *Almanack-men*. Such men as Bretnor and Gresham (1. ii. 1, 2).

11. i. 1. *a whore, a bawd*. *S. of N.* iv. i. 27; Dekker, *Worke for Armourers*, 1609, D4^r, 'Vsurie was the first that euer taught Money to commit incest with *Gold* and *Siluer*, his neerest kinsmen. Brokers are now their Baudes.'

3. *Via*. *E.H.* 11. ii. 34.

6. *lees of wine, or dregs of beere*. For sophisticating aqua vitae cf. *Alch.* 1. 53 n.

20. *Wood-cock*. The name means 'simpleton'.

36. *undertaker*. *S.W.* Ded. 10.

53. *the Pan*, the hollow. A petition from the inhabitants of the fen towns of Suffolk and Cambridge outside the Isle of Ely, 1606, is quoted in B.M. Additional MS. 34218, f. 91b: 'such overflowe of waters dothe alreadie passe easilie enoughe from those fenny grounds where discent is, and dothe run to the pann or lowest grounds, where their fall and resting is, and soe thereby the worke of drayninge can little availe or profitt the said vplande fferme groundes, but rather ympaire them and make them lesse profitable'; they ask therefore that the scheme of drainage may 'concerne such groundes onely in the sayd fenne Townes as are alwayes surrounded and doe lye in the bottome and pann of the sayd ffennes'.

64. *th'Earledome of Pancridge*. *T. of T.* 111. vi. 6.

71. *Borachio*, from Spanish *borrácha*, a leather bag or wine bottle (der. *bórra*, a goat-skin). Minsheu, 1617, 'the Spanish *Boráchoe*, or bottle commonly of a pigges skinne, with the haire inward, dressed inwardly with razen and pitch to keepe wine or liquor sweet'.

83. *Harrington*. *M.L.* II. vi. 101, IV. viii. 74. A brass farthing token, for coining which John Stanhope, Lord Harrington, obtained a patent on 10 April 1613. He was to make £25,000, the surplus profit to go to the King. The grant caused great dissatisfaction.

88. *neale*, temper, anneal.

117. *England beares no Dukes*. 'There was apparently some unwillingness to create dukes as a title of honour in the Norman race; probably because the Conqueror and his immediate successors were Dukes of Normandy, and did not choose that a subject should enjoy similar dignity with themselves. The first of the English who bore the title was Edward the Black Prince, . . . created Duke of Cornwall by charter . . . in 1337. The dignity being subsequently conferred on several of the blood-royal and of the nobility who came to untimely ends, an idea seems to have been entertained by the vulgar that the title itself was ominous' (Gifford). Warner in *Albions England*, 1597, pp. 214-16, gives a complete verse catalogue of English dukes: 'Of fortie seuen, but twentie two a naturall death did die.' There were no dukes in England from the execution of Norfolk in 1572 till the creation of Buckingham in 1623.

123. *diuident*. III. iii. 201. An early and incorrect form of 'dividend', -*end* being an unusual, and -*ent* a well-known ending (*O.E.D.*).

144. *Bermudas*. *B.F.* II. vi. 77.

151. *puts off man, and kinde*. *M.L.* v. ix. 6 ('woman'), *Disc.* 1161-2. Cicero, *Pro Ligario*, v. 14, 'humanitatem exuisses'; *De Finibus*, v. 35, 'hominem exuens ex homine'.

160-7. Copied by Webster in *The Devils Law-Case*, I. ii. 194-209, where *Romelio* tells the waiting-woman:

Looke as you love your life, you have an eye
Upon your Mistresse; I doe henceforth barre her
All Visitants: I do heare there are Bawds abroad,
That bring Cut-works, & Man-toons, & convey Letters
To such young Gentlewomen, and there are others
That deale in Corne-cutting, and Fortune-telling—
Let none of these come at her on your life,
Nor *Dewes-ace* the wafer-woman, that prigs abroad
With Muskmeloons, and Malakatoons;
Nor the Scotchwoman with the Citterne, do you marke,
Nor a Dancer by any meanes, tho he ride on's foot-cloth,
Nor a Hackney Coachman, if he can speake French. . . .
Nor the Woman with Maribone puddings. I have heard
Strange juggling tricks have been conveyd to a woman
In a pudding.

162. *lace-woman*. *S.W.* II. v. 72. In R. Armin's *The two Maids of More-clacke*, 1609, D, Tutch the clown gives Tabitha a letter, Sir William notices it: 'what a message? letters, ha, daughter, i'le be your secretary, nay hide not, iuggle not with me. . . . *Tabitha*. 'Tis a carde of lace sir,

which he brought me. *Tutch.* I bone-lace sir. *S. Will.* Bone-lace subscrib'd too like a letter, lace waeu'd o' ten bones, ist so? euen so.'

French-masques. Stow said masks 'were first deuised, and vsed in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there receiued of the best sort for gallant ornaments, and from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacre of Paris' (*Annales*, ed. Howe, 1631, p. 1038). But Miss Linthicum (*Costume in the Drama*, p. 272) shows that they were earlier.

163. *with wafers.* Beaumont, *The Woman-Hater*, II. 1 (1679, p. 474), "'Twas no set meeting certainly; for there was no wafer-woman with her these three days on my knowledge'; Fletcher, *The Maid in the Mill*, I. iii (1647, p. 3):

am I not able (Cosen)
At my years and discretion, to deliver
A Letter handsomly! is that such a hard thing?
Why every wafer-woman will undertake it.

165. *marrow-puddings.* *B.F.* I. iii. 6 n.

168-76. From Plautus, *Aulularia*, 90-100:

Cave quemquam alienum in aedis intro miseris.
Quod quispiam ignem quaerat, exstingui volo,
ne causae quid sit quod te quisquam quaeritet.
Nam si ignis vivet, tu exstinguere extempulo.
Tum aquam aufugisse dicito si quis petet.
Cultrum securim pistillum mortarium,
quae utenda vasa semper vicini rogant,
fures venisse atque abstulisse dicito.
Profecto in aedis meas me absente neminem
volo intro mitti. Atque etiam hoc praedico tibi,
si Bona Fortuna veniat, ne intro miseris.

Gifford happily interpreted the last phrase from a story told him in childhood by his nurse: 'Once upon a time there was an old chuff, and when he brought home money he used to say, "Wife, this must not be spent: it must be laid by for *good fortune*". As he did this often, a neighbour chanced to overhear him: so he dressed himself like a wayfaring man, and when the husband was busy elsewhere knocked at the door. "Who are you?" said the wife. "I am Good Fortune, and I am come for the money which your husband has laid by for me." So this simple woman gave it to him, and when her good man came home told him very pleasantly that Good Fortune had called for the money which had been so long kept for him.' For a variant in which the name is 'Here-afterthis' see J. Jacobs, *More English Fairy Tales*, p. 220.

II. ii. 10. *tract*, attraction.

30. *attemp.* *O.E.D.* recognizes this spelling for the verb, not for the noun. Cf. Chapman, *Ovids Banquet of Sence*, 1595, C3^v, 'Attempts, and

not entreats, get Ladies larges(s)'; Strode, *The Floating Island*, 1655, v. xi, 'Boldnesse for just attempes, Feare of unfit'.

50-1. *no such foule . . . to be had with stalking.* B.F. iv. ii. 21 n.

77. *Nupson.* E.M.I. iv. vi. 59.

78. *with my Masters peace.* A latinism, 'with his good leave', softening an over-strong context. Ovid, *Amores*, III. ii. 60, 'Pace loquar Veneris, tu dea maior eris'.

79. *to'accuse . . . doth confesse.* B.F. i. v. 49-52.

81. *spic'd conscience.* Sej. v. 201.

104. *a Cokes.* B.F. i. v. 53.

123. *Pickardill.* 'In the early nineties the French fashion of erected broad collar or band was introduced. To hold this band erect, a frame containing a lining of stiffened linen or buckram—and for the lace or cobweb lawn band, a silk-wrapped frame—was made. The frame retained the tab-border of former days, and was called by the French a *peccadelle*, but Englished "picadilly, picadell, pickadil"'—Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama*, p. 164, correcting earlier definitions. Blount, for instance, in his *Glossographia*, 1656, explained it as a stiff collar. Blount added a note on Piccadilly, 'the famous ordinary near St. James's', giving as one explanation that 'one Higgins, a Tailor, who built it, got most of his estate by Pickadilles, which in the last age were much worn in England'.

With the text compare *Und.* xv. 69, 70:

Ready to cast, at one, whose band sits ill,
And then, leape mad on a neat Pickardill.

II. iii. 15. *parcel-Diuell.* Poet. III. iv. 160, 'parcell-poet'.

21. *I told you in* I. iii. 41-3.

25. *tentiginous*, excited to lust (from Latin *tentigo*).

26. *Incubus.* S.S. II. ii. 10; R. Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft*, 1584, II, ch. ix, witches 'vse venerie with a diuell called *Incubus*'.

35. *six mares.* IV. ii. 11, *Alch.* IV. iv. 46.

37. *bare.* The coachman of a great lady drove with head uncovered. IV. ii. 12, N.I. IV. i. 17-18.

46. *Ingine*, natural ability (Lat. *ingenium*). Perhaps with a quibble on the name of his agent.

47. *winged ploughes.* A development of 'an engine called a water-plough' which John Gilbert was licensed to make on 16 July 1618 (S.P.D. Jas. I, xcviij).

48. *mills.* Nabbes, *Covent-Garden*, I. iv (1637, p. 11), 'I can assoone credit an impossibility. Thou in love! why 'tis more improbable then the projection of draining Marsh-land with a wind-mill.' Randolph, *The Muses Looking-glasse*, III. i (1638, p. 40):

Banausus. I have a rare device to set *Dutch* windmills
Upon *New-market* Heath, and *Salisbury* Plaine,
To draine the Fens.

Colax. The Fens sir are not there.

Bau. But who knowes but they may be?

Col. Very right:

You aime at the prevention of a danger.

II. iv. 2. *Chuck.* *E.H.* v. i. 173.

5. *'Tis fatall.* Dr. W. S. Johnson quotes Edward Hall's chronicle *The union of the two . . . famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1550, Henry VI, f. lxixb: 'It seemeth to many men, that the name and title of Gloucester, hath bene vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerse, whiche for their honor, haue been erected by creacion of princes, to that stile and dignitie, as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to Kynge Edward the third, and this duke Humfrey, whiche thre persons, by miserable death finished their daies, and after them kyng Richard the .iii. also, duke of Gloucester, in ciuill warre was slaine and confounded: so that this name of Gloucester, is taken for an vnhappie and vnfortunate stile, as the prouerbe speaketh of Seianes horse, whose ryder was euer vnhorsed, and whose possessor was euer brought to miserie.'

6. *Spenser . . . the younger.* Hugh le Despenser married the eldest sister of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, killed at Bannockburn. He succeeded to a portion of Gilbert's estate and was sometimes, incorrectly, called Earl of Gloucester. The real earl was his elder brother Thomas. Hugh an adherent of Edward II was executed by the barons in 1326. Thomas was beheaded at Bristol in 1400.

8. *Thomas of Woodstocke* (1355-97), the youngest son of Edward III, created Duke of Gloucester by his nephew, Richard II, in 1385. He was murdered in 1397.

10. *Humphrey* (1391-1447), the youngest son of Henry IV, created Duke of Gloucester in 1414; protector during the minority of Henry VI. He died suddenly at Bury under arrest on 22 February 1447; the suspicions of foul play are unfounded.

13. *from the Play-bookes.* Shakespeare's York and Lancaster plays. Dyce quotes Corbet's 'Iter Boreale' (*Poems*, 1647, p. 12): Corbet says of his host at Bosworth:

why, he could tell
The Inch where *Richmond* stood, where *Richard* fell;
Besides what of his knowledge he could say,
He had Authentique notice from the Play;
Which I might guesse by's mustring of the Ghosts.

Gifford quotes Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, 1612, F3: 'Thirdly, playes haue made the ignorant more apprehensiue, taught the vnlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discouery of all our *English* Chronicles: & what man haue you now of that weake capacity, that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded euen from *William* the Conqueror, nay from the landing of *Brute*, vntill this day, being possest of their true vse.'

15 (margin). *He whispers him of a place.* A mere bit of stage-business, which it is absurd to attempt to verify.

23. *Groen-land*, the Dutch form of the name derived ultimately from Old Norse Grœnland. A common English spelling at this date.

27-32. From Horace, *Satires*, II. ii. 129-32:

Nam propriae telluris erum natura neque illum
nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille;
illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,
postremo expellet certe vivacior heres.

33-7. Copied by Webster in *The Devil's Law-Case*, II. i. 163-7:

why looke you,
Those lands that were the Clyents, are now become
The Lawyers; and those tenements that were
The Countrey Gentlemans, are now growen
To be his Taylors.

II. v. 2. *Pluck out my tongue.* v. vi. 47.

10. *can.* Gifford's 'cannot' is wrong: Mistress Fitzdottrel could not show her garters. B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1619, p. 12, 'she that can dance a synquepace aboue ground, so lofty that a man may see her silken garter'; and Massinger, *The City Madam*, 1. i (1658, p. 6):

Mary. These Roses will shew rare; would t'were in fashion
That the Garters might be seen too.

Milliscent. Many Ladyes

That know they have good legs, wish the same with you.

Gallants begged their mistresses' garters: 'this's her garter my dagger hangs in', says Fastidius Briske in *E.M.O.* II. vi. 24-5. Cf. *C.R.* III. iv. 69.

II. vi. 20. *enuy*, hatred (Lat. *invidia*).

21. *defeate*, ruin; literally 'undoing'.

35. *paint*, blush. So 'to paint white' is 'to turn pale'.

59. *violenced*, violated.

64-5. *Und.* xix. 22-3.

71 st. dir. *playes with her paps.* C. is A. II. ii. 37-8 n.

72. *sister-swelling breasts*. Cf. Plautus, *Frivolaria*, fragm. 8, 'Tunc papillae primulum sororiabant', and Bonefons, *Pervigilium Veneris* (*Pancharis*, 1592, p. 18):

〈Per〉 has papillas
 Primulum tibi iam sororiantes.

75. *salts*, leaps (Lat. *saltus*).

76. *valley*. Cupid is made to say of Charis in *Und.* II. v. 33-4:

And betweene each rising breast,
Lyes the Valley, cal'd my nest.

78. *crisped*, closely curled. In *Ch. Tilt*, 58–60, Love says of the bridegroom, 'Was there a curle in his haire, that I did not sport in? or a ring of it crisp'd, that might not haue become Ivnos fingers?' With *crisped groues* cf. *Und.* xix. 5, 6 (also of Cupid):

By that tall Grove, your haire, whose globy rings
He flying curls, and crispeth, with his wings.

Jonson is copying the Latin *crispus*, 'curly head', applied to the fir-tree by Ennius ('*abies crispa*'), to the box-tree by Claudian ('*buxus crispata*'), and to the leaves of parsley by Columella ('*crispae frondis apium*').

79. *Silke-wormes kell*, cocoon. *S.S.* II. viii. 22.

80–2. *runne . . . flying.* *Und.* II. ix. 10–12:

with *crisped* haire
Cast in thousand snares, and rings
For *Loves* fingers.

83. *In milke, and roses.* *C.R.* v. iv. 439–40 n.

85. *well-torn'd*, rounded and polished as if by the wheel. Cf. 'ill-torn'd Verses', *A.P.* 628 (Horace's '*male tornatos versus*'), and *Disc.* 2046, 2443. So *τορνεύω* and *ἀποτορνεύω* in Greek.

85. *as with the Billyard ball.* *Und.* ii. 9. 19, 20:

Even nose, and cheeke (withall)
Smooth as is the Billiard Ball.

86–7. *the banks of love . . . gather kisses.* *Ibid.* ii. 5. 24–6:

And, above her even chin,
Have you plac'd the banke of kisses,
Where, you say, men gather blisses,

and *ibid.* xix. 9, 10:

by your lips, the banke of kisses,
Where men at once may plant, and gather blisses.

So Marston, *The Dutch Courtezan*, ed. Bullen, III. i. 4, 5:

Purest lips, soft banks of blisses,
Self alone deserving kisses.

92. *when I said* in I. vi. 80–1.

94–113. Printed with a prefatory stanza in *Und.* ii. 4, 'A Celebration of CHARIS'. An adaptation with a touch of parody of lines 104–13 is found in Suckling's *The Sad One*, iv. iii.

104–7. Expanded from Martial, v. xxxvii. 6 (*Puella cui non praeferas*) 'nivesque primas liliumque non tactum'.

II. vii. 2. *that*. Dr. W. S. Johnson explains as an ellipse, 'provided that'. We left it in the text, but we now believe it to be a misprint for 'than'.

13. *resolu'd*. Wittipol quibbles, taking the word to mean 'convinced': *E.M.I.* 1. v. 44.

15. *brokers blocke*, . . . *property*. A reference to the cloak and to Fitzdottrel's passion for displaying it on the stage. 'Taylors blocks', *Und.* xliv. 99.

17. *shoote mine eyes at him*. *Volp.* v. viii. 2.

33. *huishers*. *Sej.* v. 450. *Fine-pac'd*. Pug is put through his paces, *III.* v. 22.

34. *o'the knee*. *Alch.* iv. iv. 44-5.

37. *From forraigne parts*. *For.* xiii. 72. *at all pieces*. Originally of armour, armed at all points, head-piece, shoulder-piece, thigh-piece.

11. viii. 9. *bed-fellow*. A sign of the closest intimacy: Nares says that letters from noblemen to each other often began with this address. Lord Scroop, who conspired against Henry V, had sometimes been his bedfellow (*Henry V*, 11. ii. 8).

21. *for men*. Described in *Und.* xliv. 88-97.

26. *Lady*. 'The Spanish Lady' of *B.F.* 1. i. 24.

33. *Oracle-Foreman*. *S.W.* iv. i. 150.

35. *tinctures*, dyes used as a cosmetic. *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 1614, Africa, ch. xiv, negros, puzzled at a white man's colour, 'with spittle rapped his skin, to see whether his whiteness were naturall, . . . perceiving it to be no tincture, they were out of measure astonished'.

38. *Doxey*. *Alch.* 111. iii. 23.

58. *cracke*. *C.R.* Ind. 167.

64. *Dicke Robinson*. Acted in *Catiline* in 1611. In *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, licensed 1611, an additional manuscript note in the margin to lines 1928-9 (Malone Society's reprint), 'Enter Ladye | Rich Robinson', illustrates the statement in the text.

72. *carue*. *S.W.* iv. i. 42 n.

73. *frolicks*, erotic or satiric couplets wrapped round a sweetmeat. A dish was placed on the table after a supper, and the guests picked them out and sent them to one another, as seemed appropriate. Gifford says he had often seen the game on the Continent, but not in England. Associated with drinking by Dekker in *The Guls Horne-booke*, 1609, B2, 'the Englishmans healthes, his hoopcs, cans, halfe cans, Gloues, Frolicks, and flapdragons'.

74-5. *burst your buttons . . . seame*. *B.F.* 1. ii. 72-3.

100. *A Forrest*, i.e. the right to all the bucks in a forest.

103. *Statute*, a recognizance empowering the creditor to hold the debtor's land in case of default.

104. *hedge in*, to secure a debt by including it in a larger one for which better security is obtained. *O.E.D.* quotes Donne's letter to Sir H. Goodyere (*Works*, 1839, vi, p. 382): 'I owed you a letter in verse before by mine own promise, and now that you think that you have hedged in that debt by a greater by your letter in verse, I think it now most seasonable and fashionable for me to break.'

III. i. 10. *a good man*. *M.L. Ind.* 72; *Merch. of Venice*, I. iii. 12-16; Marston, *The Dutch Curtezan*, III. ii (1605, E2^v), 'Mal: I am not at this time furnished, but ther's my bond for your Plate. Gar: Your bill had been sufficient, y'are a good man.'

20. *our two Pounds, the Compters*. *E.M.I.* II. i. 77-8 n., 'your citie pounds, the Counters'.

33. *matching in our owne tribes*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, III. ii (1679, p. 74), 'Wid. Good twelve i'th'hundred keep your way, I am not for your diet, marry in your own tribe *Iew*, and get a Broker'.

35. *rerum natura*. *S.W.* III. ii. 5.

III. ii. 8. *You may hap' see him*. Cf. 'Happe how happe may' (Chaucer), 'Hap what hap may' (Shakespeare). Jonson's punctuation shows that he regarded *hap'* as a shortened form of 'haply'.

12-13. *a long vacation . . . honesty*. The gibe recurs, *S. of N.* I. iii. 46-7.

34. *plume*. A scarlet ostrich-feather was worn by the Gentlemen of the Artillery. R. Nicolls, *Londons Artillery, Briefly containing The noble practise of that worthie Societie*, 1616, pp. 99, 104, refers to the musters of 8 August, 27 September 1615, as noteworthy. A footnote on p. 104 says the 'souldiers for their armes and furniture, both for service and shew, were well and rightly appointed, imitating the old Romans, in their garnish of feathers, which, as it is a sight braue and terrible to the enemie, so it is goodly and delightfull to friends'.

38. *the posture-booke* also mentioned in *Und.* xlv. 28; *T. of T.* v. vii. 45-6 cites a book of 'All the postures Of the train'd bands o'the Countrey'. The standard work was Jacob de Gheyn's *The Exercise of Armes for Caliuers, Muskettes, and Pikes After the ordre of his Excellence Maurits Prince of Orange*, 1607; Gervase Markham also gave the postures in *The Souldiers Accidence; or an Introduction into Military Discipline*, 1625.

41. *Finsbury battells* in Bunhill Fields. On 12 February 1615 there was licensed to H. Gosson a ballad *The musteringe of Soulgiers in ffinsbery*.

42-3. *law . . . conscience*. The same antithesis as in *Volp.* v. iii. 97-8.

45-6. *traine the youth . . . truth*. This couplet, with the variant 'bring up the youth', reappears in *Und.* xlv. 25-6: it is a quotation from some verses on the train-bands of the City; Fleay suggested from *The Artillery Garden* of Dekker.

III. iii. 6-12. To the same effect is *E.H.* II. ii. 74-87: with 'worshipfull man' (l. 8) cf. 'worshipfull Rascal' in this passage, l. 85.

22-33. Dr. W. S. Johnson compares Webster, *The Devil's Law-Case*, 1623, II. i. 178-91, ed. Lucas: '*Ario*. This comes of your numerous Wardrobe. *Rom.* I, and wearing Cut-worke, a pounce a Purle. *Ario*. Your daintie embroydered stockings, with overblowne Roses, to hide your

gowtie anckles. *Ro.* And wearing more taffety for a garter, then would serve the Gally dung-boat for streamers. . . . And resorting to your whore in hir'd velvet, with a spangled copper fringe at her netherlands. *Ari.* Whereas if you had staid at Padua, and fed upon Cow-trotters, and fresh beefe to Supper. . . .'

25. *Godwit.* *S.W.* i. iv. 48.

26. *Globes, and Mermaides*, theatres and taverns. Cf. 'your *Globes*, and your *Triumphs*', i.e. theatres and pageants, *Poet.* III. iv. 201. For the Mermaid see *B.F.* i. i. 34.

32. *stoter*, 'a Dutch coin worth two stuivers and a half' (*O.E.D.*). *S. Rowlands, Dr. Merrie-man*, 1609 (ed. 1877, p. 14), a mountebank says:

Now for a Stoter you a Box may haue,
That will the liues of halfe a dozen saue.

33. *blanks*, small French coins, originally of silver, but afterwards of copper.

41. *They owe you* . . . Cf. *Martial*, II. iii:

Sexte, nihil debes, nil debes, Sexte, fatemur.
Debet enim si quis solvere, Sexte, potest.

and *Harington, Epigrams*, 1618, I. lxiv:

Don Pedro's out of debt, be bold to say it,
For they are said to owe, that meane to pay it.

51. *vn-to-be-meltd.* *E.M.I.* i. v. 121, 'vn-in-one-breath-vtterable'.

62. *Master of the Dependances.* A 'dependance' was a quarrel 'depending' or awaiting settlement: *E.M.I.* i. v. 112. The 'masters' were needy bullies who offered their services to the timorous, ascertaining for them the authentic grounds of a quarrel and professing to settle it according to the laws of the duello. *Massinger, The Maid of Honour*, I. i (1632, B2^v), speaking of service in the field:

You will not finde there
Your Masters of Dependencies to take up
A drunken brawle, or, to get you the names
Of valiant Chievaleirs, fellowes that will bee
For a cloake with thrice died veluet and a cast suite
Kick'd down the stairs.

Fletcher and Massinger, The Elder Brother, v. i (1679, p. 122), 'Masters of dependencies, that by compounding differences 'tween others, supply their own necessities'.

66. *Their writing, and their speaking, against Duells.* This begins in February 1614 with King James's *Edict, and seuerer Censure against Priuate Combats and Combatants; Whether within his Highnesse Dominions, or without. The Charge of Sir Francis Bacon Knight, His Maiesties Attorney generall, touching Duells, vpon an information in the Star-Chamber against Priest and Wright. With the Decree of the Star-chamber*

in the same cause, 1614, was entered on the Stationers' Register on 5 March. A proclamation of 25 March 1616 'against Steeleets, Pocket Daggers, Pocket Dagges and Pistols' speaks of 'Our Edict proceeding from our pen' having 'put down and in good part mastered that audacious custom of Duellos and challenges'. Duellists who tried to get over to Calais were stopped if possible. Two members of the Inns of Court, Thomas Bellingham and Brice Christmas, were stopped at Dover in November 1616, but apparently fought their duel, were imprisoned, fined £1,000 by the Star Chamber, forbidden to wear arms again or to come near the Court, though the imprisonment and the fine were afterwards remitted.

77. *distast*, quarrel. *M.L.* i. i. 33.

78. *feeling*. *E.H.* v. iii. 75.

79. *the hand-gout*. *M.L.* iii. v. 38-41:

You cannot but with trouble put your hand
Into your pocket, to discharge a reckoning.
And this we sonnes of Physick doe call *chiragra*,
A kind of Crampe, or Hand-Gout.

Martial, i. xcvi:

Litigat et podagra Diodorus, Flacce, laborat.
Sed nil patrono porrigit: haec cheragra est.

83. *pieces*. The piece or double sovereign was 22s.

110. *Businesse*. A technical term in this sense: cf. the 'master of the *Duel*' in *Merc. Vind.* 154-7, 'that's the word of tincture, the businesse. Let me alone with the businesse, I will carrie the businesse. I doe vnderstand the businesse. I doe finde an affront i' the businesse.'

133. *hawings*. *E.M.I.* i. iv. 61.

140. *Chartell*. *E.M.I.* i. v. 113, 'You shall *chartel* him'.

ore-tenus, by word of mouth.

149. *Bermudas*. Gifford explained of the disreputable alleys near Covent Garden mentioned in ii. i. 144 above and in *B.F.* ii. vi. 77. But Nares's explanation of this passage as a reference to fraudulent debtors going out as colonists, as in Virginia, is more likely. A colony, which was an offshoot of the Virginia company, went out there in 1612.

165. *St. Georges-tide*. *And lent the Lords-men, chaines* . . . Repeated in *Und.* xlv. 10-17.

170. *Pimlico*. *Alch.* v. i. 6. For the military reference cf. *Und.* xlv. 21. The position is marked in *The Manner of the March and Embattelling of the Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries Of the City of London, the 26. of September 1643*, A4, where Pimlico and Mount Mill with a line of breast-work in front of them are opposite to Islington.

173. *Bristo-stone*, a transparent rock-crystal described in Camden's *Britannia*, transl. Holland, 1610, p. 239, 'Somersetshire': 'From hence', i.e. from Bristol, 'as *Avon* holdeth on his course, there are on ech side very high cliffes by nature set there (as it were) of purpose, the one of

them which on the East side overlooketh the river beareth the name of *S. Vincents rock*, so full of Diamants, that men may fi[i]ll whole strikes or bushels of them. These are not so much set by, because they be so plenteous. For in bright & transparent colour they match the Indian Diamants, if they passe them not: in hardnesse onely they are inferior to them; but in that nature her selfe hath framed them pointed with six cornered or foure cornered smooth sides; I thinke them therefore worthy to be had in greater admiration.'

Cornish counterfeit. Camden, *ibid.*, p. 186, 'Cornwall': 'And not only tin is here found, but therwith also gold and siluer; yea, and Diamonds shaped, and pointed angle wise, smoothed also by nature it selfe: whereof some are as big as walnuts and inferiour to the Orient Diamonds, in blacknesse and hardnesse only.' B. Rich, *My Ladies Looking Glasse*, 1616, p. 53, 'a malecontent, a right *cornish Diamond*, that although a *counterfeit*, would yet be set in gold'.

177. *Paragon.* 'A perfect diamond; now applied to those weighing more than a hundred carats' (O.E.D.). *Ent. Althorp*, 310.

183. *forty.* *Poet.* i. ii. 200 n. Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1608, C4^v: 'As for example, if an ignorant Chapman comming to beate the price, say to the Horse-courser, your Nagge is very old, or thus many years old, and reckon ten or twelue, he clappes his hand presently on the buttock of the beast, and prayes hee may bee damb'd if the Horse be not vnder fwe; meaning that the horse is not vnder fwe yeares of age, but that he stands vnder fwe of his fingers, when his hand is clapt vpon him.'

185. *better Fathers*, i.e. the Puritans have outgone the Jesuits: *Alch.* iii. ii. 150-3. Cf., too, *B.F.* i. ii. 60-1, 'the diuell can equiuocate, as well as a Shop-keeper'.

188. *deneer.* Cotgrave, 1611, '*Denier*; m. A pennie, a deneere; a small copper coyne valued at the tenth part of an English pennie'.

213. *the Asse.* In Aesop's fable of the Lion, the Ass, and the Fox.

217. *bullions.* 'More fully *bullion-hose*: Trunk hose, puffed out at the upper part in several folds' (O.E.D.). R. Brome, *The Sparagus Garden*, ii. vi (1640, E3^v):

shaking your
Old Bullion Trunkes over my Trucklebed.

231. *too-too.* *Sej.* ii. 397.

iii. iv. 13. *Cioppinos.* *C.R.* ii. ii. 60.

30. *caution*, security: cf. the 'caution money' at the Universities.

35. *Proue'dor*, purveyor. Jonson's spelling points to the sixteenth-century form 'proveador'.

45-8. Dr. W. S. Johnson compares Webster, *The Devils Law-Case*, ii. i. 197-9, ed. Lucas: 'You have certaine rich citie Chuffes, that when they have no acres of their owne, they will goe and plow up fooles, and turne them into excellent meadow.'

49. *fact*, manufacture.

III. v. 2. *the row*. Goldsmiths' Row, built by Thomas Wood, goldsmith, in 1491, and described by Stow as 'the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes, that bee within the Walles of London, or else where in England, . . . betwixt Bredstreet end & the Crosse in Cheape. . . . It contayneth in number tenne fayre dwelling houses, and foureteene shoppes, all in one frame, vniformly builded foure stories high, bewtified towards the streete with the Goldsmithes armes and the likenes of woodmen, in memory of his name, riding on monstrous beasts, all which is cast in lead, richly painted ouer and gilt, these he gaue to the Goldsmithes with stockes of money to be lent to young men, hauing those shops, &c.' (*Survey*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 345).

30. *the French-time*, the *congé*, a low bow.

33. *Académies*. II. viii. 21.

42-3. Cf. I. vi. 33.

45-6. Contrast Massinger, *The Guardian*, 1633, Prologue 15-17:

nor dares he profess that when
The Critiques laugh, he'l laugh at them agen.
(Strange self-love in a writer!).

77. *one of your double Cloakes*. The 'turn'd cloake' of v. vi. 55; it could be worn on either side and was of two colours and fashions. The cut and colour of the beard could also vary. S. Rid, *Martin Mark-All*, 1610, G, of thieves: 'Besides they haue clokes *Tormosant*, as they call them, made with two out-sides, that weare them howsoeuer the right side will bee alwaies outward: now their artificiall beards and heads of haire withall, will make them seeme to dance in a net a long time ere they be espied.'

III. vi. 34. *retchlesse*, reckless.

38-9. *Woe to the seuerall cudgels*. From Plautus, *Captivi*, 650, 'Vae illis virgis miseris quae hodie in tergo morientur meo'.

IV. i. 18. *to night*, last night.

58. *made honest* . . . *Parliament*. S. of N. iv. iii. 27, U.V. xxxiv. 103-4.

IV. ii. 11. *Haue with 'hem*, go with them. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 234-5: 'Cel. Will you go, coz? Ros. Have with you' (= Come along).

12. *bare*. II. iii. 37.

21. *call me Taile-bush*. S.W. iv. iii. 14-15.

26. *Tooth-picks*. E.M.O. iv. i. 40. Cf. H. Chettle, *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, II. i (1631, C3^v), Prince Jerome, who has written a poem on toothpicks, says, 'Nay sirra, ile get a patent from the Duke, my father, for the *Cum Priuilegio* for that poem, *Ad imprimendum solum*; besides thou shalt haue a priuledge, that no man shall sell tooth pickes without thy seale'.

53. *chawing*. C. is A. II. ii. 17.

61. *spruntly*, smartly.

iv. iii. 6. *Neuer to kisse*. Dr. W. S. Johnson quotes Minsheu, *Pleasant . . . Dialogue in Spanish and English*, 1623, pp. 51-2: 'W. I hold that the greatest cause of dissoluteness in some women of *England* is this custome of kissing publikely. . . . G. In Spaine doe not men vse to kisse women? I. Yes the husbands kisse their wiues, but as it were behinde seuen walls, where the very light cannot see them.'

33. *Decayes the fore-teeth*. *Und.* xxxiv. 12, 'Spanish receipt, to make her teeth to rot'.

guard the tongue. *Disc.* 335-8.

39. *Mad-dames*. *T. of T.* III. v. 4 n.

45. *seruants, lovers*.

iv. iv. Wittipol's catalogue of cosmetics in this scene is more Italian than Spanish; for instance, 'a(c)qua nanfa' in line 461 instead of the Spanish 'agua nafa'. We have not discovered the book from which Jonson extracted them, but we have used Leonardo Fioravanti's *Compendio de' Secreti Rationali*, 1596, book IV, 'Nel qual si tratta della materia de belletti, che usano le donne per ornarsi la faccia'; *I Secreti de la Signora Isabella Cortese, ne' quali si contengono cose minerali, medicinali, artificiose, & Alchimiche, & molte de l'arte profumatoria, appartenenti a ogni gran Signora*, 1574; *The Secrets of the reuerend Master Alexis of Piedmont* (Girolamo Ruscelli?) containing excellent remedies against diuerse diseases, . . . with the manner to make Distillations, Perfumes, Confitures, Dyings, Colours, Fusions, and Meltings, translated by William Warde, 1595; Richard Surfleet's translation of Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault's *Maison Rustique, or the Countrie Farme*, 1600; the dictionaries of Florio, 1598, 1621, and the 1659 edition edited by Giovanni Torriano, and of Minsheu, 1617 and 1625.

18. *Water of Gourdes*. *Alexis*, iv. 68^b, recipe 'To make a very good water of Gourdes, as well garden Gourdes as wilde'.

19. *Flowers of Glasse*. *Alexis*, 68^a, 'Powder of glasse'. *Flowers*, ashes.

20. *Bread dough-bak'd*. A very old fucus: 'coctae siliginis offas Accipit et madidae', Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 472-3.

21. *Goats-milke* . . . 23. *white Pigeons*. Surfleet, III. lxxi, p. 600: 'A water vsed amongst the Ladies of the Court, to keepe a faire white and fresh in their faces. Take a white pigeon, a pinte of goats milke' . . .

21. *whites of Egges*. *Poet.* iv. v, ff. 66-7. Surfleet, p. 599: 'Water of the whites of eggs: Take the whites of new eggs about twelue, fine cinna-mon an ounce and asses milke twelue ounces, distill all in a glasse stillitory: this water maketh a woman looke gay and freshe, as if she were but fiteene yeeres old.'

23. *white Pigeons, and pine-kernells*. *Alexis*, f. 66^a, 'To make a water that wyll make a whyte and pale persone well coloured. | Take white Pigeons, and fatten them with Pine-apple kernelles . . . distill them in a limbecke with half a loffe of Sucharine Alom, . . .'

24. *perseline*. R. H., *Salernes Regimen*, 1634, p. 145, 'To destroy Warts, nothing is better then to rubbe them with Purslaine'.

hares gall. Alexis, f. 71^b, 'Another maner to make the face fayre. | Take the gall of a Hare, of a Cocke or Henne, and Eeles, temper them with Honnye . . .'.

27. *Aluaqada*, white lead. Incorrect form of 'Aluayálde'; Minsheu, 'Aluayalde o blanquéte'; modern Spanish, 'albayalde'.

28. *Argentata* (Ital.), white ceruse; Spanish, 'argentadas'. Fioravanti, iv. 43, p. 140, 'Del modo di fare bianca la faccia con argentata di solimato, & argento uiuo'. Cortese, pp. 150-4, gives recipes for 'Argentata che fa bianca e liscia la faccia'.

30. *Allum Scagliola*, flaked gypsum. Ital., 'alume'; Span., 'Alumbre'. Florio, 1659, 'Scagliuolo, a kind of Alum'; modern Italian 'scagliuola'.

Pol di pedra. Dr. de Winter conjecturally explains as 'Polvo di pietra', rock-alum. 'Pol', from 'pulus' for 'pulvus', survives in Portuguese: 'pedra' with undiphthongized *e* is a common variant in Italian dialect (A. Ewert).

31. *Zuccarino*. Florio, 1611, 'Zuccherini, all manner of pretty things made of sugar-paste'. 'Zuccaro, any kind of Sugar.'

Turpentine of Abezzo, pitch-pine sap: *abezzo*, archaic Italian for 'abete', fir-tree. Torriano adds 'olio di abezzo' to Florio, s.v. Abezzo, 1659.

32. *Wash'd in nine waters*. In Cortese, p. 152, the recipe for 'Argentata perfettissima' begins 'Terebintina d'abezzo lauata a noue acque'.

Soda di leuante, soda with effervescent qualities, sodium carbonate.

33. *Or your ferne ashes*. Florio, 1611, 'Soda, a kind of Ferne ashes whereof they make glasses'.

Beniamin di gotta, gum benzoin. Span. *benjui*, Ital. *benzoi*, mod. Ital. *benzòe*, Engl. *benjoin*, corrupted to *benjamin*. Mentioned as an Italian scent in C.R. v. iv. 309-10.

34. *Grasso de serpe*, snake's fat. Another ingredient of the 'Argentata perfettissima' of Cortese (see l. 32).

Porcelletto marino, sturgeon. Florio, 1659, 'Porcello, Porcelletto, Porcellino, a pig, a hoglin, also a young Sturgeon fish'.

35. *Oyles of Lentisco*. Cortese, p. 131, gives the recipe for 'Olio di lentisco per uolto'. *Lentisco*, lentisk, the mastic tree.

Zucche. Cortese has recipes: p. 130, 'Olio de Zucche'; p. 136, 'Acqua de zucche per il uiso'.

Mugia. The word is corrupt. Professor A. Ewert makes two suggestions: (1) for *muogia*, dialectal development from **molliare* (from e.g. French *mouiller*) to be equated with Portuguese *mólha*, brew, infusion, and possibly with the Spanish *moje*. But *muogia* means 'bath' (in the old Italian dialect of Treviso), and this is rather remote. (2) Possibly connected with *mugo*, 'pianta delle pinacce che da una resina profumatissima'.

38. *With a piece of scarlet*. *Volp.* III. iv. 63 n.

39. *Looke at sixteene*. Cortese, p. 198, has a recipe 'Acqua che fa bella faccia, e di età di quindecì anni'.

40. *white hen, of the Lady Estifanias*. *S. of N.* i. ii. 99, 'Right Spanish perfume, the Lady Estifania's'.

45. *Carrauicins*. Unintelligible, in spite of its correcting a misprint '*Carrnuacins*'. 'There is a superficial resemblance to a South French form *garabiye*, wild rose, which goes back to a *car*- root' (A. Ewert).

Pipitas. Florio, 1659, '*Pipita*, as *Pipata*, also the tender top of any hearb or bough'.

Sope of Cyprus. Cortese, p. 180, 'Poluere de cipri (rossa)'.

47. *glidder'd*, glazed over.

50. *In decimo sexto* repeats the 'sixteen' of line 39. Ordinarily it denotes a diminutive person or object, as in *C.R.* i. i. 51.

52. *Virgins milke*. Surflet, p. 604: 'Virgins milke is thus made with a filtre: take litarge of golde made into powder three ounces, infuse them in six ounces of white vineger either raw or distilled, or else in squils vineger the space of three howres in a vessell by it selfe: in another vessell set likewise to infuse *sal nitrum*, or common salt in common water, or in water of plantaine, nightshade, or some other fit for the purpose: distill them by filtre, each of them apart, and after that they be distilled, mingle them together. This virgins milke is good to heale ringwormes, and saucie and red faces.' Other recipes in Cortese, pp. 144, 197.

Ooglio reale. Cortese, p. 189, has a recipe '*Olio reale perfettissimo*'.

55. *Cataputia*, the caper-spurge. Florio, 1598, '*Cataputia, Catapuzza*, the hearbe spurge'.

Rouistico (Ital.), privet. Florio, 1659, '*Rovistico*, as *Ligustro*, also hops'.

56. *muta*, dye. Cortese, p. 147, '*Muta per leuar il Sole della faccia, delle man, e del collo*'.

63. *dwindle*. *Alch.* v. iv. 15.

66. *Grandee's*. For the accent cf. *Alch.* iii. iii. 51, '*A Grande*, girl'.

69. *Cioppino's*. *C.R.* ii. ii. 59. Described by Coryat in his *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 261-2: 'There is one thing vsed of the Venetian women, and some others dwelling in the cities and townes subiect to the Signiory of Venice, that is not to be obserued (I thinke) amongst any other women in Christendome: which is so common in Venice, that no woman whatsoever goeth without it, either in her house or abroad; a thing made of wood, and couered with leather of sundry colors, some with white, some redde, some yellow. It is called a Chapiney, which they weare vnder their shoes. Many of them are curiously painted; some also I haue seene fairely gilt: . . . There are many of these Chapineys of a great heighth, euen halfe a yard high, which maketh many of their women that are very short, seeme much taller then the tallest women we haue in England. Also, I haue heard that this is obserued amongst them, that by how much the nobler a woman is, by so much the higher are her Chapineys. All their Gentlewomen, and most of their wiues and widowes that are of any wealth, are assisted and supported eyther by men or

women when they walke abroad, to the end they may not fall. They are borne vp most commonly by the left arme, otherwise they might quickly take a fall.'

71. *Spanish pumps*. E.M.O. iv. vi. 112 n.

77. *Guarda-duennas*, or *Escudero* (87, 200). '*Escudero*. . . . *An Esquire*, a Seruingman that waits on a Ladie or Gentlewoman, in Spaine neuer but old men and gray beards' (Minsheu, 1623).

81. *Vmbrella*. Coryat, *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 111-12: 'Also many of them doe carry other fine things . . . that will cost at least a duckat, which they commonly call in the Italian tongue *ymbrellaes*, that is, things that minister shadow vnto them for shelter against the scorching heate of the Sunne. These are made of leather something answerable to the forme of a little cannopy, & hooped in the inside with diuers little wooden poores that extend the *ymbrella* in a pretty large compasse. They are vsed especially by horsemen, who carry them in their hands when they ride, fastening the end of the handle vpon one of their thighes, and they impart so large a shadow vnto them, that it keepeth the heate of the sunne from the vpper parts of their bodies.' Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 1617, part III, i, ch. ii, p. 21: 'On the contrary, in hot regions, to auoide the beames of the Sunne, in some places (as in *Italy*) they carry Vmbrels, or things like a little Canopy ouer their heads, but a learned Physician told me, that the vse of them was dangerous, because they gather the heate into a pyramidall point, and thence cast it downe perpendicularly vpon the head, except they know how to carry them for auoyding that danger.'

82. *hoope*, farthingale.

142. *Pastillos*. Florio, 1611, '*Pastilli*, little pasties, pastelets, chewets'. *the Dutchesse of Braganza*. Query, mother of the Queen of Charles II.

143. *Coquettas*, Spanish rolls or buns.

Almoiauanas (Span.). Minsheu, '*Almojáuana* . . . A cake made of flower, and cheese, a cheese-cake'. Arabic, *al-mojabanah*, from *jibn*, cheese.

Mantecada's (Ital.), wafers made of lard and sugar.

144. *Alcoreas*. Ital. and Span. *alcorza*: Jonson probably wrote '*Alcorcas*'. Minsheu, '*Alcórça* . . . a conserue of the rindes of lemons'.

Mustaccioli (Ital.). Florio, 1611, '*Mustacci*, those we now call Marchpanes, some thinke was anciently a kind of paste made with fine flower and sweet wine'.

145. *Peladore*, a depilatory (Span.). Minsheu, '*Peladura*, pilling'. *Alexis*, f. 76^b, 'An ointment to make the heares fall from any place of the body'.

146. *aqua nanfa* (Ital., but *aqua* should be *acqua*), orange-water. Span. *agua nafa*. Florio, 1598, '*Nanfa*, sweete or perfumed water, smelling of muske and orange leaues'. Surfet, p. 597, '*Water of naffe or orange flowers*': 'take flowers of oranges, distill them in a glasse stillitorie, or in an earthen one well baked and glased and with a

small fire: you may put them the flowers of citrons if you will. The water must be kept in glasse bottles couered with fine mats and well stopped.'

147. *for gloues*. For Spanish perfumed gloves see *C.R.* v. v. 392-5, *Alch.* iv. iv. 13-4.

the Marquesse Muja. Untraced.

150. *piueti*. Minsheu, s.v. *Pevetes*, or '*Pebetes* . . . a kinde of small perfume, it is long like a clove'.

Spanish-cole, a fumigation such as that in *C.R.* v. iv. 326.

154. *my female wit*. A play on the sense of 'simple' found in *Poet.* iv. ii. 37. Cf. 'M^{rs} B' in *Newes of my morning worke*, added to Overbury's *A Wife*, 1614, H3, 'That a man with a female wit is the worst *Hermaphrodite*'.

155-6. So *Und.* xv. 81-2.

164. *Pimlico*. III. iii. 170.

the Saraband, a lascivious Spanish dance in triple time. Jonson calls the tune to it 'the bawdy Saraband' in *S. of N.* iv. ii. 133.

166. *Squeake, spring*. *Und.* xv. 75-6:

squeake, spring, itch,
Doe all the tricks of a saut Lady Bitch.

180. *comming*. *Volp.* II. vi. 74.

191-2. *What things . . . make them*. So *E.M.I.* iv. vii. 146-8.

202. *a barren head*. II. iii. 36-7.

204. *waste*. A quibble on 'waste' and 'waist'.

206. *Dulnesse* . . . So *B.F.* I. ii. 17.

208. *daw*, daunt, disconcert.

229. *brach*. *Alch.* I. i. III.

IV. v. 32. *at the tall board*, gaming table. Webster, *The Devil's Law-case*, ed. Lucas, II. i. 187, 'Shaking your elbow at the Taule-board'. *Taule* is a remarkable survival of Middle English *tavel*, with *v* vocalized to *u*; *taule* is an old French form from *tabula*. 'Valour' (31) is 'value' in the sense of 'capacity to pay' his score or his losses.

IV. vi. 42. *leg, strain'd for this Dottrel*. II. ii. 50-1.

IV. vii. 37-9. Cf. *Disc.* 173-4.

54. *sous't him*, swooped, pounced upon him. This keeps up the hawking metaphor in 'fly her home' (*B.F.* II. iv. 42-3) and 'out of his pownces'.

65. *Duke o' Shore-ditch*. *T. of T.* III. vi. 5 n.

73 (margin). *baffles*, subjects to public disgrace, here especially by taking his wife away. The phrase was used of degrading a recreant knight, who, among other indignities, was hung up by his heels. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, VI. vii. 27:

And after all, for greater infamie,
 He by the heeles him hung vpon a tree,
 And baffuld so, that all which passed by,
 The picture of his punishment might see.

Fletcher and Massinger, *Thierry and Theodoret*, iv. ii (1679, p. 458):

Brun. You sirrah, be't your care to find out one
 That is poor, though valiant, that at any rate
 Will, to redeem my servants reputation,
 Receive a publique baffling.
Bawdbe. Would your Highness
 Were pleas'd to inform me better of your purpose.
Brun. Why one, Sir, that would thus be box'd
 Or kick'd, do you apprehend me now?

84. *an after-game.* B.F. II. iii. 41.

v. i. 29. *My L. Majors Banqueting-house*, in which the Mayor and Corporation dined after their official visits to the Bayswater and Paddington conduits, was on the site of Stratford Place in Oxford Street. The *Conduit-head* referred to in the text was close by. Whalley speaks of nine conduits in all, erected about 1238 for supplying the City with water. The Banqueting House was taken down in 1737 when the cisterns were arched over. Gayton in his *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 119, cites a euphemism owing to the proximity of Tyburn, 'tell their friends that they are invited for a yeare and a day to the Lord Mayors Banqueting House, (which is all one with *Apud inferos cœnabimus*)'.

39. *hard-wax.* E.M.O. v. vi. 21.

41. *pen, and ink.* S.W. v. i. 11.

tooth-picks. E.M.O. iv. i. 40.

42. *All vnder one.* Cotgrave, s.v. 'Chemin', 'Tout d'un chemin, all vnder one'.

47. *Saint Giles's, Cripplegate.*

48. *Irish penance.* A reference to the rugs worn by the wild Irish: cf. *Irish Masque*, 146, and Fletcher, *The Night-walker*, v. i (1679, pp. 225-6):

We have divided the Sextons
 Houshold-stuff among us, one has the rugg, and he's
 Turn'd Irish.

v. ii. 2. *yoaking foxes, milking of Hee-goates.* Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 90-1:

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maeui,
 Atque idem iungat volpes et mulgeat hircos.

For the latter labour see *Disc.* 1050 n.

5, 6. *drawing . . . bodies.* E.H. iv. ii. 142.

6. *ropes of sand.* 1. i. 119; a proverb in Aristides, ii. 309, 'Εκ ψάμμου σχοινίον πλέκειν.

7. *Catching the windes* . . . N.I. iv. iv. 269; a proverb in Erasmus, Δικτύω ἀνέμους θηρᾶς (*Adagia*, I. iv. 63).

11. *fleas within a circle*. Cf. H. Medwall, *Nature*, part ii, 636–42 (ed. Brandl), Bodily Lust ordered to keep together the Seven Deadly Sins, says:

Mary, I shall do what I can thereto,
 . . . But I shall tell you what,
 I had leuer kepe as many flese
 Or wyld hares in an opyn lese,
 As undertake that.

31. *three peny Gleeke*. *Alch.* II. iii. 285. C. Cotton in *The Compleat Gamester*, 1674, p. 90, says that 'most frequently they play at Farthing, Half-penny, or Penny-Gleek, which in play will amount considerably'.

35. *Thom. o' Bet'lem*. The earliest known version is in Giles Earle's song-book, 1615, contained in British Museum Add. MS. 24665; first printed in the *Prince d'Amour*, 1660. The music is in Chappell, i, p. 175.

40. *Scripticks*. Historically sceptics are those who doubt the possibility of real knowledge; humorously applied to Ambler's mental confusion on being answered completely beside the purpose. We have suggested in the textual introduction to the play that this marginal note is really a direction to the printer to ensure the misspelling in the text.

v. iii. 2. *fizzling*, breaking wind silently.

3. *castle-soape*. More correctly 'Castile soap', a fine and hard variety made with olive oil and soda.

6. *Darrels tricks*. *Und.* xlix. 42. John Darrel, a Puritan preacher and exorcist, notorious for his cures and their subsequent exposure, commenced operations in 1586 when he cast out an evil spirit from Catharine Wright of Ridgway Lane, Derbyshire. 'The boy o' Burton' was Thomas Darling; an old woman named Alice Goodridge was committed to Derby jail for bewitching him and died there while awaiting trial in 1596. The 'Seven in Lancashire' were children or connexions of Nicholas Starkie of Cleworth; the victim in this case was Edmund Hartley, executed at Lancaster in 1597. The crowning case was that of William Sommers of Nottingham in the same year; after two investigations by commissioners, the first favourable to Darrel, the second a crushing exposure, he and his brother preacher and accomplice, George More, were degraded and imprisoned for imposture in 1599. There is a whole literature on Darrel. (1) *A Breife Narration of the possession, dispossession, and repossession of William Sommers: and of some proceedings against Mr Iohn Darrell preacher, with his defence.* 1598. (2) *A Breefe Apologie proving the possession of William Sommers, by Darrel, but published without his knowledge.* 1599. (3) *An Apologie, or Defence of the possession of William Sommers . . . wherein this worke of God is cleared from the evil name of Counterfaytinge,* by Darrel. 1599. (4) *A Discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel . . . in his proceedings Concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham: of Thomas*

Darling, the boy of Burton at Caldwell: and of Katherine Wright at Mansfield, & Whittington: and of his dealings with one Mary Couper at Nottingham, by Samuel Harsnet. 1599. (5) *The Triall of Maist. Dorrell, Or A Collection of Defences against Allegations not yet suffered to receiue conuenient answers. Tending to cleare him from the Imputation of teaching Sommers and others to counterfeit possession of Divells. That the mist of pretended counterfetting being dispelled, the glory of Christ his royall power in casting out Divels (at the prayer and fasting of his people) may evidently appeare.* 1599. (6) *A Detection of the Sinnful, Shamful, Lying, and Ridiculous Discours, of Samuel Harshnet.* 1600. (7) *A true Narration of the strange and grevous Vexation by the Devil, of 7. Persons in Lancashire, and William Somers of Nottingham. Wherein the doctrine of Possession and Dispossession of Demoniacs out of the word of God is particularly applied vnto Somers, and the rest of the persons controuerted,* by Darrel. 1600. (8) *A true Discourse concerning the certaine possession and dispossession of 7 persons in one familie in Lancashire, . . . By George More, Minister and Preacher of the worde of God, and now (for bearing Witnesse vnto this, and for iustifying the rest) a prisoner in the Clinke, where he hath continued almost for the space of two yeares.* 1600. (9) *Dialogicall Discourses of Spirits and Divels, declaring their proper essence.* By John Deacon and John Walker, 1601. Occasioned by the Somers case. (10) *A Summarie Answer to al the Material Points in any of Master Darel his bookes. More especiallie to that one booke of his, intituled, the Doctrine of the Possession and Dispossession of Demoniacs out of the word of God.* By Deacon and Walker, 1601. (11) *A Survey of Certaine Dialogical Discourses,* by Darrel. 1602. (12) *The Replie of Iohn Darrell, to the Answer of Iohn Deacon, and Iohn Walker.* 1602.

28. *in Potentiâ. Alch. II. iii. 134.*

v. iv. 16. T. Brugis, in *The Discovery of a Proiecter*, 1641, pp. 6–15, a scheme for a new furnace or kiln which will roast, bake, boil, starch clothes, ‘without sight of fire or touch of smoak’, exactly illustrates Meercraft’s methods.

17–19. *forkes . . . in Italy. Volp. IV. i. 28.*

22. *Signet*, the small official seal to give authority to a document.

23. *my priuate. Cat. III. 481.*

34. *ap-perill. T. of T. II. ii. 93.*

v. v. 11. *God-fathers in law.* An old joke for a jury. Gifford quotes *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 393–5:

In christening thou shalt have two godfathers:
Had I been judge, thou shouldst have had ten more,
To bring thee to the gallows, not to the font.

And Bulleyne, *A Dialogue both pleasaunte and pietifull*, 1564 (ed. A. H. Bullen, p. 80), ‘I did see him ones aske blessing to xii. Godfathers at ones’.

44. *possesse him with all.* *E.M.I.* i. v. 33-4.

46. *veer'd*, let out.

47. *emissaries.* *S. of N.* i. ii. 47-9.

50. *A Boy o' thirteene yeere old.* Thomas Darling is referred to in Darrel's *Brief Apologie*, 1599, p. 28, as 'a boy of 13. yeares of age'. But Professor Kittredge notes that *But t'o-ther day* does not suit 1596, and he cites the case of John Smith of Leicester, a pretended demoniac, who caused nine women to be hanged there on 18 July 1616: see *Modern Philology*, ix. (1911), pp. 195-209.

58. *straine 'Boue Ela*, the highest note in the scale—a frequent metaphor. Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, v. i. (1602, IV), 'Truely, I have strained a note above Ela, for a deuise'.

v. vi. i. *garnish.* *M.L.* v. viii. 42. Cunningham quotes from John Howard, the prison reformer: 'A cruel custom obtains in most of our gaols, which is that of the prisoners demanding of a new comer garnish, footing, or (as it is called in some London gaols) chummage. *Pay or strip* are the fatal words. I say fatal, for they are so to some, who, having no money, are obliged to give up part of their scanty apparel; and, if they have no bedding or straw to sleep on, contract diseases which I have known to prove mortal.' Garnish was abolished by 4 George IV, c. 43, § 12.

8. *hang'd out.* So v. vii. 5, viii. 126.

10. *Time be drunke, and sleepes.* Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 282, 'Credo edepol equidem dormire Solem atque adpotum probe'. Cf. *N.I.* iv. iv. 232.

13. *with my fact.* *E.M.I.* v. v. 45.

18. *cold yron . . . confute thee.* Jonson quibbles on the original meaning of the Latin *confuto*, to cool by mixing cold water with hot, to allay.

37. *lewd*, ignorant.

54. *cheated on.* *Volp.* i. iv. 158.

64. *Prouinciall*, the spiritual head of a province, more especially among the Jesuits.

Cheaters. Dr. W. S. Johnson quotes Dekker, *The Belman of London*, 1608, 'Of cheating Lawe': 'the Highest in place, and the Highest in perdition is the Cheating Law or the Art of winning money by false dyce: Those that practise this studie call themselves Cheators, the dyce Cheaters, and the money which they purchase Cheates: borrowing the tearme from our common Lawyers, with whome all such casuals as fall to the Lord at the holding of his Leetes, as Waifes, Strayes, & such like, are sayd to be Escheated to the Lords vse and are called Cheates.'

Bawd-ledger. Adapted from 'ambassador ledger', i.e. resident ambassador.

67. *I'll ha' brimstone.* The devil's agents were punished in the mystery plays for failure. In *The Castle of Perseverance* Belial thrashes the Seven Deadly Sins—'et verberabit eos super terram' is the stage-note—for letting Humanum Genus escape; in *Mary Magdalene* the Seven Sins for

letting Mary escape are beaten, drenched with pitch, enclosed in a house, and burnt.

74-7. Cf. *Conv. Drum.* xvi. 411, and Ulpian Fulwell, *Like will to Like*, F: 'Heer entreth the Deuil.' He addresses Newfangle the Vice:

Ho, ho, ho, mine own boy, make no more delay,
But leap vpon my back straight way.

'Later', says a stage-direction, 'He rideth away on the deuils back.'

74. *dearling*. *E.M.I.* II. v. 22.

v. vii. 1. *Iustice Hall*, the name of the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey.

v. viii. The slight episode of sham possession in *Volpone*, v. xii. 22-33, may be compared.

13. *send for his wife. And the two Sorcerers*. An important point in witch-hunting. The victim had fits when his torturers approached him (see ll. 43-4). Somers had fits in this way, but after one alleged witch, Widow Boote, went away, she was brought secretly to his chamber twice or thrice, and he, not knowing this, remained quiet (Harsnet, *Discovery*, pp. 143-4).

29. *the Diuell speakes*. This was always Darrel's explanation of the ravings of his sham demoniacs.

31. *wis*, certainly.

33. *with a Wanion*. *E.H.* III. ii. 87.

35. *How he foames*. Somers's confession quoted in Harsnet's *Discovery*, p. 81, says of Darrel's method: 'For foaming, he rolled his tongue in his mouth, & then put out some little spittle betwixt his lips: but said, that I might soone learne to doe it better, by rolling a stone in my mouth, but especially if I could get a little soape to vse at such times.' Cf. line 69. Darrel's *A Brief Apologie*, p. 11, says of Somers, 'He foamed abundantly (like vnto the horsse) and that for an houre together, so as it roped downe all along on his brest, and yet euer and anon was wiped away.' A piece of black lead was found in his mouth when he foamed (Harsnet, *Discovery*, p. 233).

40. *the Couerlet*. Many of Somers's tricks were played 'under a couerlet'. Harsnet, *Detection*, pp. 134-5, 'Lying vppon his bedde with a Couerlette cast ouer him, hee moued by chance he knew not how, some parte of his body, when hee was supposed to be in a fitte, and therefore senceles'; and, according to Darrel, 'the Deuill appeared vnder the saide Couerlette in the similitudes of Kitlinges or whelpes, he himselfe hauing seene, and felt them'.

70. *act a little*. Darrel, *A true Narration*, p. 18: 'This eueni(n)g he acted many sines, by signs & gesturs most liuly representing and shadoing them out vnto vs: as namly brauling, quarriling, fighting, swaring, robbing by the high wayes, picking and cutting of purses, burglarie, whordom, prid both in men and women, hypocrisie, slugishnes

in hearing of the word, drunckennes, glotinye, also dauncing with the toyes thervnto belonging, the manner of antique dances, the games of dicing and carding, the abuse of the viole with other instruments, at the end of sundrie of these he laughted excedingly, diuers times clapping his handes on his thighes for ioye.' Harsnet (*Discovery*, p. 120) quotes a contemporary ballad:

And after that he did bewray,
how men at Dyce and Cards do play.
He shewed the manner of our Fardingales,
our Buskes, and Perriwigges, Masks, and Vales,
and by clapping of his handes,
hee shewed the starching of our bandes.

71-5. Sir Paul's Puritanism is typical of a city magistrate, especially his animus against players: cf. *Alch.* III. ii. 89. For the Devil and tobacco cf. John Taylor, *The Nipping or Snipping of Abuses, with A Proclamation from Hell in the Devils name concerning the propagation, and excessive use of Tobacco*, 1614: apparently there was some affinity between the smoke of hell and the smoke of tobacco.

75. *Starch! the Diuells Idol.* *Alch.* III. ii. 82.

81. *Figgum.* Found only here, and unexplained.

103-7. Faintly suggestive of Cock-Lorrel's menu in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

91. *phrenticke*, frantic. Jonson probably spelt it 'phren'ticke' to reproduce the Greek φρενιτικός.

107. *Guilt-head*, a quibble on the sense of 'pike'.

110. *Crambe.* *T. of T.* IV. i. 99 n.

111. *some Greeke.* Harsnet, *Discovery*, p. 221, 'Two or three wordes of Latine, which hee had learned at the schoole, was sufficient to giue it out, that in his fittes, he spake Greeke, Hebrew, and Latine'. All he did say was '*Ego sum Deus, Ego sum Rex: and sometimes, etiam, non &c., minime, and otherwise, not any saying, or sentence whole together*' (ibid., p. 254).

112-14. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 850-2.

116. *Quebrémos el ojo* is absurdly mistranslated 'Let's breake his neck': *el ojo* is 'eye', not 'neck'. 'Quèbrar les ojos' is not Spanish unless it is a far-fetched gallicism, like the French 'crever les yeux'—'burst', and hence 'destroy the eyes' (A. Ewert.)

117. Darrel, *A True Narration*, p. 2: 'vpon the Tuseday after new yeares day Ianuarie. 4. (1597) Iohn Starchie was readinge, somthinge gaue him such a blowe one the necke, that he was soddenlye stricken downe with an horrible scryke, saying that Satan had broken his necke, and laye tormented pitifully for the space of 2 howres.'

118. 'Please, sir, if you have money, give me a share of it.'

121. *by his seuerall languages.* Marston, *The Malcontent*, I. iii (1604, B2): '*Ferrard.* I study languages: who doost thinke to be the best linguist of our age? *Mal.* Phew, the Diuell, let him possesse thee, hee'le teach thee to speake all languages, most readily and strangely.'

133. *St. Pulchers*, the church of St. Sepulchres near Newgate. S.W. IV. v. 116.

142. *tell truth . . . T. of T.* II. ii. 139.

144. *my Mouse*. Harsnet, *A Discouery*, p. 53, quotes Darrel: 'The booke of the boye of *Burton* sayeth that towards the ende of the fast for his pretended dispossession, he began to heaue & lift vehementlie at his stomacke, and getting vp some fleagme and choler, said (pointing with his finger, and following with his eyes) looke, looke, see you not the mouse that is gone out of my mouth? and so pointed after it, vnto the farthest part of the parlor.'

THE STAPLE OF NEWS

THERE was much contemporary satire on the newsmongers of the period, but none of it so finished as Jonson's achievement in this play. Fletcher glanced at it in *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, IV. ii, licensed 1626, where Forobosco, a conjurer, offers to call up 'the ghost of some lying Stationer, a Spirit shall looke as if butter would not melt in his mouth, a new *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*'. A customer remarks 'There was a captaine¹ was rare at it'. Forobosco replies 'that captaine writ a full hand gallop, and wasted indeed more harmlesse paper than ever did laxative Physick', and offers to create 'A new office for writing pragmaticall Curranto's'. Shirley in the first scene of *The Schoole of Complement*, 1631, Li, credits decayed soldiers with fabricating war-news: they 'will write you a battel in any part of *Europe* at an houres warning, and yet neuer set foot out of a Tauerne, describe you Towns, Fortifications, Leaders, the strength ath enemies, what Confederates, euery dayes march, not a Souldier shall lose a haire, or haue a bullet fly betweene his Armes, but hee shall haue a Page to wait on him in *quarto*, nothing destroyes 'em but the want of a good memory, for if they escape contradiction they may be chronicled'.

Minor satirists were Donald Lupton in *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed*, 1632, with a feeble chapter on 'Currantoes or weekly Newes', pp. 140-3; and Richard Brathwaite in *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters*, 1631, in which 'A Corranto-coiner' is pungently described on pp. 15-24: 'You shall many times finde in his *Gazetta's*, *Pasquils*, & *Corranto's* miserable distractions; here a City taken by force, long before it bee besieged; there a Countrey laid waste before ever the enemy entered. . . . Yet our best comfort is, his *Chymera's* live not long; a weeke is the longest in the Citie, and after their arrivall, little longer in the Countrey. Which past, they melt like

¹ Captain Gainsford: see I. iv. 17 n.

Butter, or match a pipe and so *Burne*.¹ But indeede, it is the height of their ambition, to aspire to the imployment of stopping mustard-pots, or wrapping up pepper, poudre, staves-aker, &c., which done, they expire.'

Two important articles in *The Library* record the chief facts about these papers: 'English Newsbooks, 1620-1641' by Laurence Hanson (1938, vol. xviii, no. 4), and a 'Short-title Catalogue of English Corantos and Newsbooks, 1620-1642' by Folke Dahl (1938, vol. xix, no. 1). *A History of English Journalism* by J. B. Williams, 1908, covers the early part of the field.

It is worth noting that there had been in contemporary London an office which might have helped Jonson to conceive his notion of the Staple. It is described in *A true transcript and Publication of his Maiesties Letters patent. For an Office to bee erected, and called the Publike Register for generall Commerce. Whereunto is annexed an Ouerture and explanation of the nature and purport of the said office, for their better vnderstanding and direction that shall haue occasion to vse it, By Sir Arthur Gorges, Knight. The second Edition enlarged, and published by Authoritie. Printed at Britaine Borsse for Iohn Budge, and are there to be sold at his shop. 1612*. This office was run by Gorges and Sir Walter Cope, and it failed. There is a final note, 'This Office is kept at the new Bricke building, next within the Middle temple Gate'.

Jonson carefully avoids making his Staple a printing-office. After the news has been examined and registered, it is issued as written news.

It is the printing we oppose.
We not forbid that any *Newes*, be made,
But that't be printed; for when *Newes* is printed,
It leaues Sir to be *Newes*. (I. v. 46-9.)

He made the same distinction in the masque of *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, 33-5, acted at Court on Twelfth Night 1621.

TIME AND PLACE IN THE PLAY

The action takes one day. The first scene is before 6 a.m. with the heir coming of age (cf. line 11). The Office of the Staple opens in the fourth scene. Lickfinger, the cook, is asked in Act III. ii. 181 'Is dinner ready?' It is over at the end of the act (cf. IV. i. 2). At III. ii. 320 the Office is shut up till 2 o'clock. At the end of the play

¹ Nicholas Bourne, a partner with Butter.

young Penyboy alludes to what has happened in the morning (v. i. 3, 18).

The first scenes are located in Penyboy junior's lodgings. The rest of the act (scenes iv to vi) is at the Office of the Staple 'almost on the same floore' (I. ii. 32). The second act takes place in Penyboy senior's house. Pecunia and her train are 'hid in the study' (scene v) where she 'sits in state' (l. 44). Most of the third act is at the Staple, but there is a return to Penyboy senior's house in scene iv. The fourth act is set in the Apollo room of the Devil tavern, and the last act is again in Penyboy senior's house.

How imperfectly Jonson's allegory is fused with real life in the play is seen in the fifth act when the Office of the Staple vanishes in smoke.

THO. Our Staple is all to pieces, quite dissolu'd! P. Iv. Ha!

THO. Shiuer'd, as in an earth-quake! heard you not

The cracke and ruines? we are all blowne vp! (v. i. 39-41.)

Cymbal, the governour, comes back to commonplace life as 'grand-Captaine the *Ieerers*' (ibid. 47-8). With this crude explanation there is an end of the Staple and its administrator.

The Staple of News and The London Prodigal

Dr. de Winter first pointed out in the Yale edition of the play the resemblances between the anonymous play of *The London Prodigal*, published in 1605, and *The Staple of News*; we have accepted, but with some qualifications, the evidence he produces that the plot of Jonson's play was probably suggested by this earlier work.¹ Old Flowerdale in *The London Prodigal* plays a similar part to Penyboy Canter. He comes home in the disguise of a sailor named Kester, announces his own death, and is taken into his son's service, which enables him to watch the young man's extravagance and profligacy. He produces a will in which his son is found to be disinherited; the father and son concoct a sham will which secures the hand of an heiress whom the prodigal treats brutally and turns off. The father protects her, and she also becomes a servant in disguise, 'a Dutch frow'. The prodigal, beggared, turns highwayman and is imprisoned for robbery and wife-murder. The father and wife throw off their disguise, the prodigal repents, and is saved.

Dr. de Winter tabulates fourteen minor parallels which, if they were sound, would show that Jonson had minutely studied the play. They are mostly verbal points. For instance, in v. iii. 20 a porter is called 'A man of decent carriage'; in *The London Prodigal* porters

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 180-2.

are called 'men of good carriage'. In IV. iv. 121-3 Penyboy Canter, recovering Pecunia, says:

I will take home the *Lady*, to my charge,
And these her *seruants*, and leaue you my *Cloak*,
To trauell in to Beggers Bush.

In *The London Prodigal*, III. iii, when the disguised father takes the forsaken wife he says:

Come, Girle, though it be late, it falls out well,
Thou shalt not liue with him in beggers hell.

There is little significance in such parallels.

For the allegorical element in the play there is no parallel in *The London Prodigal*, but a source has been found for this in *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality*, published in 1602 and acted at Court probably in 1601. It is archaic in tone and may have been a revival, or a revision, of an earlier morality. Mr. A. B. Stonex¹ argues that the main situation, the moral, and the roles of the abstract characters are 'surprisingly alike' to Jonson's. Money, a boy, the son of Mistress Fortune, is eagerly sought after; for a short time he is in the grip of Tenacity, who

Kept me close prisoner.
But once he would have smothered me in a chest,
And strangled me in leather. . . .
He would never let me abroad to go,
But lock'd me up in coffers, or in bags. (IV. i.)

Later Money is caught by Prodigality. He runs away from a feast, and is finally placed in the safe hands of Liberality, 'chief steward to Virtue'.

Compare in *The Staple of News*, IV. iii. 41-6, Pecunia's account to Statute of her treatment by Penyboy senior, the usurer:

But once he would ha' smother'd me in a chest,
And strangl'd me in leather, but that you
Came to my rescue, then, and gaue mee ayre.
STA. For which he cramb'd vs vp in a close boxe,
All three together, where we saw no *Sunne*
In one *sixe moneths*.

Here again Jonson seems to have caught up a suggestion, but he has transformed what he borrowed from this lifeless play.

The Persons

2. *the Canter*, one who uses the 'cant' of thieves; one of the 'canting crew'; a rogue, vagabond.

¹ In *P.M.L.A.* xxx (1915), pp. 821-30, 'The Sources of Jonson's *The Staple of News*'.

4. *Cymbal*. A name evidently suggested by the 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbal' of the Bible; the character has not been identified and may be as imaginary as the Staple. In v. vi. 8 he is called 'tinckling Captain'.

5. *Fitton*, i.e. liar. Cf. 'fittons' (lies), *C.R.* i. iv. 22. He contributed court scandal.

6. *Almanach*. *Doctor*. For this combination see Drs. Bretnor and Gresham, *D. is A.* i. ii. 1, 2.

8. *Madrigal*. *Poetaster*. Jonson had satirized Sir John Daw as a madrigal-maker in *S.W.* ii. iii. 24-40; he regarded the form as light and frivolous.

9. *Picklock*. *Man o' law* appropriately represents Westminster Hall. Cf. 'some picklocke o' the Law', *B.F.* iii. v. 278.

12. *Nathaniel*. The stationer Nathaniel Butter: see i. iv. 13 n.

13. *Barber*. Cf. *S.W.* iii. v. 23-6.

14. *Pecunia*. Cf. Barnefield's *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, 1598, and Horace's 'regina Pecunia', *Ep.* i. vi. 37.

20. *Lick-finger*. Named after the proverb, 'A poor cooke that maie not licke his owne fingers' (*Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, K). The combination 'Master Cooke, and parcell Poet' is from Athenaeus: see iv. ii. 5-42 n.

22. *Linener*, shirt-maker, linen draper.

29. *Gossip Expectation*. *M.L.* chorus i. 42, *Nept. Tr.* 54.

The Prologue for the Stage

2. *heare, not see*. *B.F.* Ind. 65, 'Spectators or Hearers'.

5. *The maker*. So Jonson liked to term the poet: cf. *Disc.* 2347-51 n.

14. *Coaches in Hide-parke*. *D. is A.* i. vi. 216.

15. *Medleyes*. A fashionable ordinary in Milford Lane. Wotton, writing to Sir T. Wentworth on 8 April 1628, says 'when we were last merry together at Medley's' (*Life and Letters*, ed. Pearsall Smith, ii, p. 306), and Nathaniel Bacon to his wife, 16 February 1626, 'Yesterday ther was a quarrel at Medlye's ordenary betwixt the Lo. Henry Paulett & Sr Will. Sturton; they went secretly into a chamber & fought. Paulett is runn through the body, not likely to live; the other, hurt in iij places, is apprehended.'

16. *Dunstan* or The Devil Tavern, the signboard representing St. Dunstan pulling the Devil by the nose. See *Leges Convivales*, vol. viii, pp. 651-7.

the Phœnix near the Phoenix Theatre in Drury Lane. Phoenix Alley is now Hanover Court west of Bow Street.

25. *instruct your youth*. *Volp.* Ded. 23-9.

26. *Acme*, the period of full growth. Here first spelt in English; Jonson writes ἀκμή in *Disc.* 923.

30. *left . . . to write*, i.e. begun to write badly.

Prologue for the Court

Note the sonnet-form, which Jonson disliked (*Conv. Dr.* iv. 60-3).

8. *Nut-crackers*. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, iv. ii. 65-6, satirize fellows that

go hungry to a play, and crack
More nuts than would suffice a dozen squirrels.

And E. Gayton, *The Art of Longevity*, 1659, p. 83, of hazel-nuts:

Yet upon these the vulgar sort do feed
And at the Play houses, betwixt the Acts,
The Musick Room is drown'd with these Nut-cracks.

The Induction

7. *o' the stage*. C.R. Ind. 140-6.

9. *to see, and to be seene*. Ovid, also quoted S.W. iv. i. 60.

12-13. *It's merry when Gossips meet*. Ent. Blackfriars, 275.

28-31. Cf. N.T. 54-62.

36-7. *you neuer did wrong*. Cited as a phrase of Shakespeare in *Disc.* 664, where see the note.

40. *best penn'd*, have most feathers.

44-7. The satirical reference has not been traced.

45. *beaten satten*, embroidered satin. Cf. *The Romance of Duke Roland*, c. 1400, l. 287, 'Baners beten with gold'.

48. *Book-holder*, prompter.

Mend your lights. Cf. Marston, *What You Will*, Induction (1607, A2), Doricus calling for lights: 'I so, so, pree thee Tyer-man, set Signior Snuffe a fier, he's a chollerick Gentleman, he will take Pepper in the nose instantly, feare not'; and Beaumont's comments on the audience prefixed to the Quarto of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, 26-8 (1609? A3^v):

Some like if the wax lights be new that day;
But multitudes there are whose iudgement goes
Headlong according to the actors clothes.

56. *Man-Midwife*. The earliest example of the word in the O.E.D.: cf. 1. v. 77.

61. *he is within*. A similar picture in C.R., Induction 160-6.

63. *like a tun*. The first allusion to the poet's corpulence: cf. *Intermean* iv. 8, M.L. 1. ii. 34, Chorus iii. 22, and *Und.* lii. 4-6.

spurges, froths, foams. Ent. Blackfriars, 258, and the noun 'spurging', M. of Q. 161.

74. *Embleme*. E.M.I. v. v. 35.

1. i. For the conception of these early scenes cf. Horace, *Satires*, ii. iii. 226-37, and J. Cooke, *Greenes Tu quoque*, 1614, D3, where Bubble, newly come into his estate, says: 'heere Geruase, take this bag, And runne presently to the Mercers, buy me seuen ells of horse flesh colour'd taffeta, nine yards of yellow sattin, and eight yards of orange tawney veluet; then runne to the Tailers, the Haberdashers, the Sempsters, the Cutlers, the Perfumers, and to all trades whatso'er that belong to the

making vp of a Gentleman; and amongst the rest, let not the Barber bee forgotten: and looke that hee be an excellent fellow, and one that can snacke his fingers with dexteritie.'

St. dir. *trouses*, trews, close-fitting drawers over which the hose and breeches were drawn: cf. 1. ii. 2.

2. *And*, an', if.

3. *Look* . . . Echoes the opening line of Donne's *Elegie on Prince Henry* (*Poems*, ed. Grierson, i, p. 267), 'Looke to mee faith, and look to my faith, God' (F. A. Pottle in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xl, pp. 222-3).

6. *perspicills*, optic glasses. *N.I.* ii. vi. 16, Whalley compares Tomkis, *Albumazar*, 1. iii (1615, B4):

Sir, 'tis a perspicill, th'best vnder heauen:
With this Ile read a leafe of that small *Iliade*
That in a wall-nut shell was desk't, as plainly,
Twelue long miles off, as you see *Pauls* from *Highgate*.

11, 12. Nares cites this as an early mention of a repeating watch.

12. *thy pulse*. *E.M.O.* iv. iv. 5, 6, 'at euery pulse of my watch'.

19. *sue out* . . . *Liuary*, 'institute a suit as heir to obtain possession of lands which are in the hands of the court of wards' (*O.E.D.*).

24. *prosecut'st*, followest in the chase (Lat. *prosequor*).

27. *write man*. Massinger, *The Emperour of the East*, 1. i (1632, B3):

whose yeeres now

As you see, write him man.

1. ii. 3. *Her'n-sew*, heron: 'heronsewe' in Chaucer, *The Squire's Tale*, 68.

14. *for three liues*, a lease which is to remain in force during the life of the longest liver of three specified persons (*O.E.D.*).

16. st. dir. *sayes*, tries on. *E.M.O.* iv. ii. 100.

21. *in procinctu*, in readiness, at hand: Lat. *procinctus*, 'girded up'. Originally a military phrase, as Milton uses it, *Par. Lost*, vi. 19.

39. *a loaf*. A common joke against tailors: cf. *B.F.* v. iii. 80-2.

47. *Emissaries*. This 'fine new word' has been used already in *D. is A. v. v.* 47.

55. *canst*, knowest.

60. *Pauls, Exchange*. Traditional centres of gossip: cf. Florio, *Second Frutes*, 1591, p. 141, 'A man must giue no more credite to Exchange and Poules newes, than to fugitiues promises, and plaiers fables'. For the middle aisle of Paul's see *E.M.O.* Act III; Earle, *Microcosmographie*, 1638, p. 8, describes it as 'the generall Mint of all famous lies, which are here, like the legends of Popery, first coyn'd and stamp't in the Church'.

68. *Ambler*. Cf. *N.T.* 295, 'Graue Mr *Ambler*, Newes-master of *Poules*'.

70. *Froy Hans Buz*, Matthew de Quester (an anglicized form of German or Dutch 'Coester' or 'Koster'), who was at that time Postmaster

of England for Foreign Parts (J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism*, p. 22). He was appointed along with his son on 30 April 1619; the appointment was confirmed on 19 December 1622 by a proclamation in the *Domestic State Papers*, 1623-5, clv. 61. There are further references to his Dutch nationality in 'butter-box' (Intermean II. 53) and in his being a countryman of the dopper (III. ii. 148).

72. *M'. Burst*. 'Bat: Burst. A broken Citizen, an in-and-in man' is a character of the *New Inn*.

80. *grudging*, a secret longing: so *G.M.* 1142. Cf. the French *avoir envie*.

88. *Æsops Asse* tried to win his master's favour by copying the behaviour of the dog and got a beating.

99. *Lady Estifania's*. *D. is A.* IV. iv. 40.

102. *Italian prints*. *C.R.* II. iv. 70 n.

103. *Arras hangings* . . . *Taylor's Libraries*. Cf. *P.A.* 133-5.

111. *The Taylor* . . . The Greek proverb εἶμαρ' ἀνὴρ; 'Vestis virum facit' in Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. i. 60.

112-18. Cf. *Disc.* 1502-8.

113. *fool'd* . . . *vp*. The 'vp' has the sense of finality, as in 'burn up', 'clean up', 'kill up'.

121. *A broken sleeue* . . . *F.I.* 162-3, and *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, I. ix, C, 'A broken sleeue holdth tharme backe'. *Broken*, worn out at the elbow, making it possible 'to play at peep-arm'.

129. Gifford marked here the entrance of Haberdasher, Linener, Hatter, and Shoemaker, but the last was sent to fetch the Spurrier, and Haberdasher and Hatter are identical; in *E.M.O.* IV. vii. Fungoso gets a hat from his haberdasher.

132. *In print*. *E.M.O.* II. v. 19, 'you are a gallant in print'.

133. *blocke*. *C.R.* I. iv. 186. *passant*, current.

138-9. Repeated *N.I.* I. iii. 116-17.

139. *appeare to 'hem presently*, answer to the names at once.

I. iii. 9. *margents*, flanks.

16. *Bill-men*. A quibble on the 'bills' or pikes with hooked points carried by the watchmen.

27. *if case*. 3 *Henry VI*, v. iv. 34, 'If case some one of you would fly from us'.

31. *Casamates*, embrasures. *O.E.D.* quotes Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of moderne Warre*, 1598, glossary: 'Casamatta, a Spanish word, doth signifie a slaughter-house, and is a place built low vnder the wall or bulwarke, not arriuing vnto the height of the ditch, seruing to scowre the ditch, annoying the enemy when he entreth into the ditch to skale the wall.'

35. *strengths*. *Sej.* III. 617.

38. *nothing but Totalis*. Dekker, *The Guls Horn-booke*, ch. vii (1609, F2), describing a gallant in a tavern: 'When the terrible Reckoning (like an inditement) bids you hold vp your hand, and that you must answere it at the barre, you must not abate one peny in any particular,

no, though they reckon cheese to you when you haue neither eaten any, nor could euer abide it, raw or tosted: but cast your eie onely vpon the *Totalis* and no further; for to trauerse the bill, would betray you to be acquainted with the rates of the market, nay more, it would make the Vintners beleeeue, you were *Pater familias*, and kept a house, which I assure you is not now in fashion.'

40-1. From Seneca, *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, x. 3, "'Multum habet." Aut avarus aut prodigus est; si prodigus, non habebit, si avarus, non habet.'

43. *Chanter*. Cf. i. vi. 70, 'Well chanted, Old *Canter*, thou singst true'. He has entered singing in this scene.

47. *A long vacation*. *D. is A.* III. ii. 12-14.

53. *right Rippon*. Ray, *Proverbs*, 1670, p. 256, 'As true steel as Rippon rowels'.—'It is said of trusty persons, men of metal, faithful in their employments. Rippon . . . is a Town famous for the best *spurs* of England, whose *rowels* may be enforced to strike through a shilling, and will break sooner than bow': quoted by Nares, who says James I, visiting Ripon in 1617, was presented by the Corporation with a gilt bow, and with a pair of spurs costing £5.

57. *Sir Bevis Bullion*. A neat pseudonym for Sir Bevis Bulmer, a famous mining engineer and speculator knighted in 1604. He mined lead in Scotland in 1576 and in the Mendips in 1586. In 1587 he shared with Adrian Gilbert and John Poppler a very profitable silver mine at Combe Martin near Ilfracombe, which yielded £10,000 for the first two years and £1,000 for two years later. He searched for gold in Scotland at various points; a contemporary account by Stephen Atkinson, whom he trained, *The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland*, 1619, was printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1825. On 24 March 1606 Bulmer received a grant for five years of all the gold and silver mined in the kingdom on condition that he paid rent of one-sixth of the produce; on 25 April 1608 he was appointed master of the mines for life with a yearly fee of £1,440 Scots for himself and three assistants. Finally, owing to his prodigality and to his having too many irons in the fire, he died in debt in 1615. A full account of him is given by H. M. Robertson, 'Sir Bevis Bulmer, A Large-Scale Speculator', in *The Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1931, iv, no. 1.

65. *Ale, and nutmegges*. G.M. 935-7, and Chaucer, *Sir Thopas*, 52, 'And notemuge to putte in ale'.

i. iv. 2. *Carpet*, table-cloth. S.W. iv. v. 257.

6. *Spinola*. Volp. II. i. 51: for the *Egges* see III. ii. 46-52.

13. *a Butterwoman, aske Nathaniel*. The first of several allusions to the printer and newsmonger, Nathaniel Butter. On 25 September 1622 he issued his first newspaper in co-operation with William Shefford, *Newes from most parts of Christendom*. On 27 September he co-operated with another leading newsmonger, Thomas Archer, on a budget of continental news issued in the form of letters from foreign correspondents.

His weekly news continued to appear under various titles; an extant number, *The Newes of the present week*, dated 12 May 1623 and published by Butter, Bourne, and Shefford, is marked as the thirty-first of a series. In 1630 he began to issue half-yearly volumes of foreign news, such as *The German Intelligencer*. He died on 22 February 1664. The puns on his name are frequent: see Intermean II. 51-61, Intermean III. 14-18; Middleton, *A Game at Chesse*, 1624, ed. Bald, I. i. 330, of a packet of Jesuit news from Germany, 'Thinke theyue seald this with Butter'; Brathwaite, *Whimzies*, 1631, 'A Corranto-coiner', pp. 21-2, 'Yet our best comfort is, *Chymera's* live not long; a weeke is the longest in the Citie, and after their arrivall, little longer in the Countrey. Which past, they melt like *Butter*, or match a pipe and so *Burne*'; S. R., *The Noble Soldier*, 1634, F4, 'Bal. Woo't not trust an Almanacke? Cor. Nor a Coranta neither, tho it were seal'd with Butter; and yet I know where they both lye passing well.'

15. *Exchange, or Pauls*. B. Rich, *My Ladies Looking Glasse*, 1606, p. 52: 'The News-monger', 'about ten of the clocke in the fore-noone, you may hitte vpon him in the middle walke in *Pauls*: but from aleauen to twelue, hee will not misse the *Exchange*.'

17. *when the Captaine liu'd*. Captain Thomas Gainsford, for whom see our introduction to the play, vol. II, pp. 173-5. Shirley comments in *Love Tricks*, 1631, on the number of soldiers, especially sham soldiers, who supplied news: see Act I, scene i.

The line is a parody of *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xiv. 111, 'It is not now as when *Andrea* liu'd'. Cf. Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West*, part i, v. i (1631, p. 57):

It is not now as when *Andrea* liv'd,
Or rather *Andrew* our elder Iourneyman;

and Fletcher, *The Woman's Prize*, II. vi (1679, p. 239), 'Tis not now As when *Andrea* liv'd'.

I. v. 8. *Apocryphall*. *Alch.* I. i. 127.

11. *Coranti*. *Und.* xliii. 81. *Gazetti*. *Volp.* v. iv. 83.

14-21. Repeated from *News from the New World*, 33-43, after which the project of a Staple of News is broached.

20. *Liegers*, resident agents.

23. *Mercurius Britannicus*. From 1625 to 1627 news-sheets appeared 'Printed for Mercurius Britannicus'. Partly issued by Thomas Archer and partly by Butter (L. Hanson, *English Newsbooks, 1620-1641*, Bibliographical Society, 1938, pp. 371-4).

32. *How, do you call him there?* reads like a sly reference to Edmond Howes, who continued Stow's *Chronicle*. Cf. the similar innuendo in S.W. II. v. 124-5.

36-62. A second passage slightly adapted from *News from the New World*, 45-67, where the serpent in Sussex is cited as an example of the 'innocent Monster'.

59. *buttering ouer*. I. iv. 13.

61. *antiquated Pamphlets, with new dates.* A good example is the 'Strange news out of Sommersetshire' printed by John Trundle in a pamphlet entitled *The Miracle of Miracles*, 1613. It described how a headless bear tormented the wife of Stephen Cooper of Diche. In 1641 John Thomas reissued the pamphlet in a garbled form with a new title-page, *Most Fearefull and Strange Newes from the Bishoppricke of Durham*: here the victim's name was changed to Margaret Hooper of Edenbyres.

69. *Wit had married Order.* Cf. the play-titles *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*.

81. *as new as day.* This phrase is sneered at in *N.I.* iv. iii. 31, but Jonson uses it in *Forest*, ii. 40, *U.V.* xlv. 1.

104. *pragmaticke*, man of business.

119. *habilities.* *Poet.* iv. ii. 33.

126. *went out Master of Arts in a throng.* When James I visited Oxford in state in 1605, degrees were lavishly conferred on his retinue on 30 August. 'These Noblemen & diverse Knights were admitted in Scarlet Gowns and Hoods, & so were diverse after them, while they came but slowly. Afterwards they pressed in so thick, that the Register being there, with penn & Inck in his hand, could not take y^r names, neither did he or any man else aske, what they were, so they looked like gentlemen, & had gotten on a gown & a Hood, they were admitted' (account by an eye-witness in Harley MS. 7044, f. 105b). A grace was issued to degrade certain persons by name and any subsequently detected who had taken degrees in this way. Bishop Corbet says the same thing happened at Cambridge when the King visited there on 12 March 1615 (*Poëtica Stromata*, 1648, p. 37):

They make a scramble for Degree;
Masters of all sorts, and all Ages,
Keepers, Subcizers, Lackeyes, Pages,
Who all did throng to come a board.

130. *one o' the Musique.* Cf. *Love Rest.* 95-7. For the barber's cittern see *S.W.* III. v. 64.

1. vi. 3. *Cypresse.* *E.M.I.* i. iii. 120.

6. *Labells.* Huloet, *Abcedarium*, 1552, 'A labell hanging on each side of a miter, *infula*. Labelles hanging down on garlands, or crownes, *lemnisci*'.

39. *Cornish.* A reference to the tin mines, as in *Alch.* II. i. 35.

45. *her three names.* See *Intermean* II. 25-6 n.

67. *cram'd Diuines.* *N.I.* v. i. 18.

91-2. *a certaine itch In my right eye.* Theocritus, *Id.* iii. 37-8, ἀλλεται ὀφθαλμός μεν ὁ δεξιός ἤρα δ' ἰδησῶ αὐτάν; Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 107, 'Futurumst: ita supercilium salit'.

Intermean I. 27. *no man say, blacke is his eye, lay anything to his charge.* J. Northbrooke, *A briefe and pithie summe of the christian faith*,

1571, A3, of disguised papists: 'For they thinke nowe, that if they subscribe, obserue the order of seruice, and weare a side gowne, and a square Cap, a Cope, and a Surples, none can say blacke is their eyes, but that they are good protestantes'; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Cure*, III. i (1647, p. 133), 'I can say, black's your eye, though it be grey'.

35. *no play without a Foole*. Cf. *C. is A.* 1. ii. 69, 70. Gifford illustrated excellently from John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare*, ed. 1624, p. 68: 'It was wont, when an Enterlude was to bee acted in a Countrey-Towne, the first question that an Hob-naile Spectator made, before hee would pay his penny to get in, was, *Whether there bee a Diuell and a foole in the play?* And if the Foole get vpon the Diuels backe, and beate him with his Cox-combe til he rore, the play is compleate.' And T. Goffe, *The Careles Shepherdess*, 1656, pp. 4, 5, 8, acted at Salisbury Court: Landlord, a country gentleman, says:

Why, I would have the Fool in every Act,
Be't Comedy, or Tragedy, I've laugh'd
Untill I cry'd agen, to see what Faces
The Rogue will make: O it does me good
To see him hold out's Chin, hang down his hands,
And twirle his Bawble. There is nere a part
About him but breaks jests. I heard a fellow
Once on this Stage cry, *Doodle, Doodle, Dooe*,
Beyond compare; I'de give the other shilling
To see him act the Changeling once again.

Thrift. I never saw *Rheade* peeping through the Curtain,
But ravishing joy enter'd into my heart.

Finding there is no fool, he claims his shilling back.

Ile go to th'Bull, or Fortune, and there see
A play for two pence, with a Jig to boot.

45-6. *can write . . . can read too*. *P.A.* 142-3.

48. *Mrs. Trouble-Truth*. Intermean III. 52 groups her husband with Zeal-of-the-Land Busy.

51. *Schole of Westminster*. Explained in Intermean III. 42-9.

Doctor Lambe. An astrologer of the Forman type, who had a great reputation at this date: Fletcher has a similar allusion to his conjuring in *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, which was licensed in January 1626. In 1608 he was twice indicted at Worcester for magical practice; after the second trial he was imprisoned, but he was removed to the King's Bench prison in London. He was allowed to receive his clients there, and in June 1623, while actually in prison, he violated a girl of eleven. Though convicted by a jury, he was pardoned and released owing to the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, who patronized him and was popularly believed to be in league with the devil by his means. A fearful storm which broke over London on 12 June 1626 was thought to be Lamb's work. On 23 June 1628, as he was leaving the Fortune Theatre in

Finsbury, a mob attacked and nearly killed him; he was rescued with difficulty and placed in the Counter of the Poultry, where he died on the following day. Cf. *Intermean* III. 30.

56. *masque*. *B.F.* v. iv. 44.

64. *Patriot*. *Sej.* IV. 290.

67. *the Diuell of Edmonton*. *D. is A.* prol. 22. A third edition of the play was published in 1626. In the extant version Smug's part has been cut down; he appears merely as a hard drinker and a deer-stealer.

85. *intend*. *C.R.* v. ii. 3.

II. i. 4. *two i'the hundred*. 'The rate of interest was fixed, by a law passed in the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII and confirmed in the thirteenth of Elizabeth, to ten per cent. per annum; but by the statute of the twenty-first of James' (1624, two years before this play appeared), 'it was reduced to eight' (Gifford). Penyboy senior harps on it, II. iii. 32-49, III. iv. 34.

15, 16. *neuer made Good meale in his sleep*. *Poet.* I. ii. 86-7.

16-18. *sells the acates* . . . Pope in his *Imitation of Horace* (*Satires* II. ii) 'has very happily transferred this (for he did not find it in Horace) to the character of Avidienus, whom, like Penyboy, he makes to

Sell his presented partridges and fruits,
And humbly live on rabbits and on roots.' (Gifford.)

38-43. Cf. *Volp.* I. i. 25-7, and Horace, *Sat.* II. iii. 94-7, quoted in the note: add here Horace, *Ep.* I. vi. 36-7, 'fidemque et amicos Et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat'. 'But Jonson has an eye constantly on Aristophanes, and has introduced various allusions to the highly humorous scene in which Chremylus and his servant let Plutus into the secret of his own importance:

Χρ. ὥστε τοῦ Διὸς
τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν λυπῇ τι, καταλύσεις μόνος.
Πλ. τί λέγεις; δι' ἐμὲ θύουσιν αὐτῷ; Χρ. φήμ' ἐγώ.
καὶ νῆ Δι' εἴ τί γ' ἐστὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ καλὸν
ἧ χαρίεν ἀνθρώποισι, διὰ σέ γίγνεται
ἅπαντα τῷ πλουτεῖν γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπήκοα.

Plutus, 141-6.' (Gifford.)

II. ii. 21-2. *the Elements, And Accidence*. *The Elements of Armories*, 1610, by Jonson's friend Edmund Bolton, and *The Accedens of Armory* by Gerard Legh, 1562, and five later editions. *Armoiry* is the original spelling, e.g. in Caxton, archaic in 1626.

27. *induce*, introduce (Lat. *induco*).

40-1. *complexion*, (*A perfect Sanguine*). Like Chaucer's Frankleyn, 'Of his complexioun he was sangwyn' (*Prol.* 333).

63. *Castrills*. *S.W.* IV. iv. 192. Pyedmantle's 'Light on her Grace', 'taking the ayre', suggests the hawking metaphor.

II. iii. 1. *kidney* seems to anticipate the name of the 'waiter' at a coffee-house in Steele's *Tatler*, nos. 1, 10, 26, 268.

2. 'hem. Plural, because 'pox' = pocks.

11. *like light-foot Ralph*. Probably Lady Bedford's runner commemorated in one version of *U.V.* xlvii.

13-14. *two stone Of suet*. This was Vrsula's 'proportion' in *B.F.* II. ii. 81.

15-16. *like a watering pot . . . the knots*. So *T. of T.* I. i. 73-4, *B.F.* II. ii. 51-3.

51. *play Crop i' the fleete*, have your ears cropped in the Fleet prison.

53. *saucy Iacke*. *T. of T.* III. iii. 47, 'Jack-sauce'.

that's once, once for all, that settles it. Peele, *The Old Wines Tale*, 1598, Malone Reprint, 566-8, 'Iack shall haue his funerals, or some of them shall lie on Gods deare Earth for it, that's once'.

61. *custard politique*. *D. is A.* I. i. 97.

69. *indent*. A pun on the toothed or wavy line which (1) marked off the two halves of a legal document drawn up in duplicate, (2) formed the cut edge of two such separate documents: hence the use to express drawing up the documents, and finally to enter upon an agreement.

74. *coffins*, crusts of the pies. Sir E. Peyton, *The Divine Catastrophe of the Stuarts*, 1652, p. 25: 'Roger, Lord North, when carving one Day at Dinner, the Queen'—i.e. Elizabeth—'asked what that covered dish was; he lifting up the cover, replied, *Madam, it is a Coffin*, a word moved the Queen to anger: *And are you such a fool*, said she, *to give a Pie such a name?*'

83. *green Plouer*. *B.F.* IV. ii. 60-1.

II. iv. 1. *Money-Bawd*. Intermean II. 9. So Sir Moth Interest in *M.L.* is described in the list of characters as 'An Vsurer, or Money-baud'. Cf. *Ep.* lvii, 'On Bauds, and Vsurers'.

23. *goe to't in ryme*. *G.M.* 824.

27-8. *costiue . . . i'thy curt'sie*. *Alch.* II. iii. 26, 'caustiue of beliefe'.

29. *pill to purge away . . . melancholy*. Proverbial: Fletcher, *The Pilgrim*, I. i (1647, p. 48):

Madam, I think a lusty handsome fellow
If he be kind, and loving, and a right one,
Is even as good a pill, to purge this melancholy,
As ever *Galen* gave, I am sure more naturall.

Tom Durfey entitled his collection of poems in 1715 *A Pill to purge Melancholy*.

33. *Haire*, heir, with a quibble on 'hare'.

35. *Ram-Alley*. Now Mitre Court, Fleet Street. Cf. Barry, *Ram-Alley*, I. iii (1611, C), 'Ramme-alley stinks with Cookes and Ale'.

36. *dosser*, pannier. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Hotte*, a Scuttle, Dosser, Basket to carrie on the backe; (The right *Hotte* wide at the top, and narrow at the bottome)'.

38-9. *I must needs . . . who driues me.* *T. of T.* III. ix. 42, 'I must goe, needs, whom the Divell drives'.

41. *a Couy o' wits.* *Und.* xlvii. 22.

49. *peept*, of the tones of a ventriloquist: Whalley quoted Isaiah viii. 19, 'wizards that peep, and that mutter'. Cf. the *ἐγγαστρίμυθοι* of Greek oracles.

50. *a Fishmongers sleeues.* Gifford quotes 'the spiteful reflection on Horace, whose father is supposed by some to have been a dealer in fish: "Quoties ego vidi patrem tuum bracchio se emungentem"'.
 51. *perboil'd.* *E.M.I.* IV. i. 15.

74. *Ephemerides.* *Alch.* IV. vi. 48.

75. *turning ouer* the almanacs.

76. *twelue houses.* *Alch.* I. i. 96.

77. *Almutens*, the ruling planets in a horoscope. Massinger, *The City-Madam*, II. ii (1658, p. 25), 'And Mars Almuthen, or Lord of the Horoscope'.

Alma cantaras, or *almacantars*, parallels of altitude. Chaucer, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, I, § 18.

97. *dog-leech.* *Alch.* I. i. 103.

100. *London-bridge.* T. M., *The Blacke Booke*, 1604, C3^v: 'might with lesse cost keepe London Bridge in reparations euery fall, then Mistresse Bridget his wife; for Women and Bridges alwayes lacke mending; and what the aduantage of one Tide performes, comes another tyde presently & washes a way.' Gifford, writing in 1816, has a violent note: 'Two hundred years have nearly elapsed since this was written, and the observation still holds. . . . there is blood on the city. . . . Had an alderman or a turtle been lost there, the nuisance would have long since been removed.'

104-5. *strike The . . . tally*, cancel as with the stroke of a pen.

113. *Vnder the Rose.* A qualifying phrase: 'in confidence'. Fletcher and Massinger, *The Beggars Bush*, II. iii (1647, p. 80):

if this make us speake
 Bold words, anon: 'tis all under the Rose
 Forgotten: drowne all memory, when we drinke.

119. *Blushet.* *Ent. Highgate*, 249.

130. *Mas. Volp.* II. i. 55, 'MASS' STONE'.

144. *on departure*, on the point of leaving you.

158. *a feeling.* *D. is A.* III. iii. 78.

160. *thumbe-ring.* *D. is A.* Prol. 6. Falstaff in his youth 'could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring' (*1 Henry IV*, II. iv. 321-2).

168-75. From Plautus, *Aulularia*, 299-303:

Strob. Quin divom atque hominum clamat continuo fidem,
 suam rem periisse seque eradicarier,
 de suo tigillo fumus si qua exit foras.
Quin, quom it dormitum, follem obstringit ob gulam.
An. Cur? *Str.* Ne quid animae forte amittat dormiens.

169. *spar up*. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Barrer*. To barre, or sparre; to boult; also to lattice, or grate vp'.

172. *dryer then a pumice*. *Aulularia*, 297, 'Pumex non aequat aridus atque hic est senex'.

175. *no cobwebs*. *Aulularia*, 87, Euclio, told that his house is full of cobwebs, says 'Araneas mi ego illas servari volo'.

176. *cut-fingers*. *C. is A.* II. vii. 127.

178. *To fat . . . monkeys*. Cartwright, *The Siedge*, II. ii (1651, p. 115), to a Lady's attendant:

What doe you else but feel the Monky's pulse,
And cater Spiders for the queasie Creature
When it refuseth Comfits?

Brome, *The City Wit*, v (1653, F5), 'Knauery is restorative to me, as Spiders to Monkeys'.

178-80. *He has offer'd . . . Aulularia*, 308, 312-13:

Aquam hercle plorat, cum lavat, profundere. . . .
Quin ipsi pridem tonsor unguis dempserat:
Conlegit, omnia abstulit praesegmina.

206. *iuniper*. *E.M.O.* Characters, 53-4.

209. *clapper-dudgeon*, beggar born. The word has not been satisfactorily explained; the only suggestion is J. P. Collier's, that it refers to the beggar's knocking with a 'dudgeon' or dagger-hilt on the wooden clapdish which he carried (*E.M.I.* II. i. 79, 'claps his dish').

210. *to haue the begger follow him*. *C.R.* II. iii. 81-2.

II. v. 15. *Rogue*, an idle vagrant. IV. iv. 127.

16, 17. *maunds Vpon the Pad*, begs upon the highway. Thieves' slang: Harman, *A Caueat for Cursetors*, 1567, defines *maund*, 'to aske or require' and 'The hygh pad' as 'The high waye'.

44 (margin). *The study*. *Cat.* Prol. 15 st. dir.

47. *hand . . . lips*. *Alch.* IV. i. 34-5.

50-7. Gifford compares the picture of Medea in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 286-90, after Eros has smitten her:

βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κούρη
νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ φλογὶ εἴκελον ἀντία δ' αἰεὶ
βάλλεν ἐπ' Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, καὶ οἱ ἄηντο
στηθέων ἐκ πυκινὰ καμάτῳ φρένες, οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλην
μνήστιν ἔχε, γλυκερῇ δὲ κατείβετο θυμὸν ἀνίη.

65-7. From Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 19-25:

Magno curarum fluctuat aestu; . . .
Sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
Sole percussum aut radiantis imagine Lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.

84. *a crafty K'naue*. An allusion to the proverb, 'A crafty knave needs no broker', quoted *E.M.I.* III. v. 33-4.

94. *Tuft*, chief. Noted by the *O.E.D.* as a nonce-use: due to the alliteration.

101. *Are you aduis'd*, has it struck you? The phrase is 'a gentle note of admiration' (Gifford). *G.M.* 829.

121-2. *the blessed Pokahontas*. The 'historian' was Captain John Smith, author of *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624. Jonson girds at the passage in the dedication which recalls Amorphus in *Cynthia's Revels*, IV. iii. 274-88: 'Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous *Ladies*, and comparable but amongst themselues, haue offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: euen in forraine parts, I haue felt reliefe from that sex. The beauteous Lady *Tragabigzada*, when I was a slaue to the *Turkes*, did all she could to secure me. When I ouercame the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* supplied my necessities. In the vtmost of many extremities, that blessed *Pokahontas*, the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft saued my life.' The great king was Powhattan, overlord of the Indian tribes from the Atlantic seaboard to the 'falls of the riuers'. His daughter was kidnapped and kept as a hostage by the settlers in 1612; she was converted, baptized as Rebecca, and married an Englishman, John Rolfe. She visited England in 1616, was received at Court, and saw Jonson's *Masque of Christmas*. But the climate told upon her, and while preparing to return she died at Gravesend in March 1617.

124. *in womb of a tauerne*. A grotesque phrase for 'inside a tavern'; if it is quoted, we have not traced the author. The tavern was at Deptford.

127. *in Apollo*, in the Apollo room at the Devil Tavern in Fleet Street where Jonson and his 'sons' had their famous club. See the *Leges Convivales*, and the notes on them.

128. *Duke Wadloos*. Simon Wadloe first appears in the list of vintners returned by the Wardmote of Farringdon Without in January 1609, and yearly up to 1626. On 28 September 1608 he married by licence Margaret Blott at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street; a son John, who later succeeded him as innkeeper, was baptized there on 8 February 1623. He was buried on 30 March 1627 (T. C. Noble, *Temple Bar*, p. 82). Camden, *Remaines concerning Britaine*, 1636, has his epitaph on p. 143:

'Vpon *Simon Vadloe* Vintner, dwelling in Fleet-street, at the
signe of the Divell and Saint Dunstane.

Apollo & cohors Musarum

Bacchus vini & uvarum

Ceres pro pane & cervisia

Adeste omnes cum tristitia.

Diiq; Deæq; lamentate cuncti

Simonis Vadloe funera defuncti.

Sub signo malo bene vixt, mirabile!

Si ad coelos recessit, gratias Diabole.

130. *Simon the King*. There was a song 'Old Sir Simon the King'; it is quoted in the *Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Furnivall and Hales, 'Loose and Humorous Songs', p. 124. The song is mentioned under its refrain 'Hey ding a ding' in Laleham's *Letter from Kenilworth*, 1575. It was applied to Wadloe: cf. Davenant and Dryden's version of *The Tempest*, 1670, III. iii:

It was a cold gulp, such as this, which kill'd my famous
Predecessor, old *Simon the King*.

135. *haue her Armes set vp*. *Disc.* 199-201. Princes and noblemen used to set up their arms in places through which they travelled, and especially in the inns where they lodged; Gifford speaks of this being done by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in inns where he stayed occasionally on his way to the coast.

Intermean II. 3. *forespeake*. *C.R.* III. i. 31.

8. *Couetousnesse*. *D. is A.* I. i. 42.

12. *a wooden dagger*. *D. is A.* I. i. 85.

14. *Iniquity appears in The Devil is an Ass*.

15. *Hokos Pokos*. *M.L.* Chorus 1, 29; *M.A.* 268. Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark*, 1655, p. 29: 'I will speak of one man excelling in that craft'—i.e. juggling—'than others, that went about in King James his time, and long since, who called himself, *The Kings Majesties most excellent Hocus Pocus*, and so was he called, because that at the playing of every Trick, he used to say *Hocus pocus, tontus talontus, vade celeriter jubeo*, a dark composure of words, to blinde the eyes of the beholders, to make his Trick pass the more currantly without discovery.'

16. *like the Knaue of Clubs* seems to allude to a stage representation. There was a comedy called the Play of the Cards acted at Court in 1581; and Jonson's *The Fortunate Isles*, given at Court on Twelfth Night 1625, has the four Knaves in the antimasque (l. 421).

26. *three names*. I. vi. 45. Aurelia Clara Pecunia corresponds to the names of the Infanta of Spain, Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II and governess of the Netherlands.

33. *Infanta o' the Gipsies*. Cf. Fletcher, *Love's Pilgrimage*, quoted in vol. vi, p. 496.

51. *Butter*. I. iv. 13.

53. *butter-box*, *Buz*. I. ii. 70. For the reference to Dutchmen's appetite for butter see *E.M.I.* III. iv. 42-4.

64. *Almond butter*, 'a preparation made of cream and whites of Eggs boiled; to which is afterwards added, blanched almonds' (Chambers, *Cyclopedia, Supplement*, 1753).

69. *both Iuly and December*. "'Something too much of this'"—but the allusion is to the old proverb, *Butter is mad twice a year*, i.e. in *July*, when it is too soft, and in *December*, when it is too hard' (Gifford).

To the Readers

As a counterblast to Jonson's address to the readers and his statement that the news in the corantos was 'made all at home, & no syllable

of truth in it', we may quote this disclaimer which appeared in *Newes from Europe*, 19 March 1624, pp. 1, 2:

Gentle Reader,

Custome is so predominant in euery thing, that both the Reader and the Printer of these *Pamphlets*, agree in their expectation of weekly *Newes*, so that if the Printer haue not wherewithall to afford satisfaction, yet will the Reader come and aske euery day for new *Newes*; not out of curiosity or wantonness, but pretending a necessity, either to please themselues, or satisfie their Customers. Therefore is the Printer, both with charge and paines taking, very carefull to haue his Friends abroad supply his wants at home with pertinent Letters, and acquaint him with the Printed Copies beyond the Seas, that hee may acquaint you with such true intelligence as his fortune lights vpon: so that according to the affaires published else-where, sometimes you may haue two *Corantoës* in one Weeke. Which seeing it is for your sake, and especially that you may make the Country far off pertake of our *London Newes*, be so far generous to acknowledge this his kindnesse, and doe not dishearten him in his endeuors, by asking impertinent questions, and crossing his good intent, by making any doubt of the truth of his intelligence. For, to vse a little protestation, I can assure you, There is not a line printed or proposed to your view, but carries the credit of other Originalls, and iustifies it self from honest and vnderstanding authority: so that if they should faile there in true and exact discoueries, be not yet you too malignant against the Printer here, that is so far from any inuention of his owne, that when he meetes with improbability or absurdity, hee leaues it quite out rather then hee will startle your patience, or draw you into suspicion of the verity of the whole, because some one passage may be vntrue, or reiterated the second time.

III. i. 7. *is, all, for*. A good example of Jonson's emphatic punctuation: cf. in a slightly different sense *M. of Q.* 71, 'For we, all, stay' in Jonson's autograph.

31. *migniardise*. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Migniardise*: Quaintnesse, neatnesse, daintinesse, delicacie, wantonnesse; smooth or fair speech, kind vsage'. Cf. the adjective 'migniard', *D. is A.* I. iv. 96.

34. *Vertumnus*. *Sej.* III. 136.

37. *turn-pike*, turn-stile.

46. *stoupe*. *Sej.* I. 175; *Alch.* IV. iv. 10.

48. *retriue*, the recovery of game which has been once sprung. *N.I.* Argument 110, II. v. 130.

III. ii. 9-13. Cf. *Disc.* 1063-9.

23. *the Emperor*, Ferdinand II of Bohemia and Hungary.

24. *trailes a pike*, serves as a common soldier. Trailing a pike was the marching posture, carrying it in the right hand in an oblique position with the head forward and the butt nearly touching the ground.

Tilly, Johann Tzerclaes, Count of Tilly (1559-1632), general of the army of the Catholic League in the Thirty Years War. *Und.* xliv. 38.

32. Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria, founder of the Catholic League.

33-4. Bouttersheim . . . Scheiter-huyssen. See *Ep.* cvii. 25-6 n.

34. Liechtenstein. A small principality in the Tyrol.

36. Spinola . . . Iesuits. Query, a reproduction of some inane gossip due to a confusion with Father Spinola the Jesuit (1564-1622), martyred at Nagasaki on 20 September 1622.

44. Vittellesco. Mutio Vitelleschi, who died 9 February 1645.

47. potch'd, poached.

49. Egge. i. iv. 6: cf. 'SPINOLA's whale', *Volp.* ii. i. 51.

53. in Galileos study. This jest is Jonson's sole reference to Galileo.

54. A burning Glasse. F. A. Pottle in *Modern Language Notes*, xl, p. 244, refers to the patent William Drummond of Hawthornden took out on 29 September 1626—too late for mention in this play—for making a set of burning glasses, to be called 'glasses of Archimedes'—'quibus in quantulacunque distantia combustibilia quaelibet, sive mari sive terra, incendi possent, ad quae nullis tormentis pertingi potest' (*Works*, 1711, pp. 235-6).

59. Cornelius-Son, Dutch 'Cornelissen', Cornelius Drebbel, who, working on the suggestions of William Bourne's *Inuentions or Deuices. Very necessary for all Generales*, 1578, constructed a vessel in which he experimented on the Thames; he went from Westminster to Greenwich, with the boat not entirely submerged, but in an awash condition, and with his head above the surface. Drebbel was also the inventor of the perpetual motion at Eltham (*S.W.* v. iii. 63 n.).

79. automa. An erroneous form of 'automaton': query, a colloquial shortening like 'pram' for 'perambulator'.

80. snug. The *O.E.D.* queries 'snub', but 'snug' may be connected with the noun 'snug', a rugged projection, a hard knob.

a nimble taile, i.e. a propellor.

82. coasts, ribs (Lat. *costa*).

83. From a right hand. *M.L.* iv. vi. 19.

84. Eele-boats . . . before Queen-Hythe. They lay at Brook's Wharf during Lent. *Westward for Smelts*, 1620, A3, 'At this time of the yeere the Pudding-house at Brookes-wharf is watched by the Hollanders Eeles-ships, lest the inhabitants, contrarie to the Law, should spill the bloud of innocents, which would be greatly to the hinderance of these Butter-boxes.' They still have a free mooring-place off the Custom House Quay in virtue of a charter granted them by Charles II in 1666 for the assistance they gave in the Great Fire of London.

89. Harwich. J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaenae*, i. v. 13 (dated 25 May 1628): 'The best News I can send you at this time is, that we are like to have peace both with *France* and *Spain*; so that *Harwich* Men, your Neighbours, shall not hereafter need to fear the name of *Spinola*, who struck such an Apprehension into them lately, that I understand they began to fortify.' Wither in *Britain's Remembrancer*, 1628, f. 73^v,

describes the country folk on the approach of Londoners in plague time:

How they their Watches doubled, as if some
Had brought them newes that *Spinola* was come.

98. *the Art . . . out of dead bodies*. *E.H.* iv. ii. 142.

99. *Brotherhood of the Rosie Crosse*. The followers in Germany of Christian Rosenkreuz alleged to have died in 1484. The name 'Rosicrucian' first appears there in 1598. See *The Fortunate Isles* in which the Rosicrucian 'Merefool' is a leading character of the antimasque, and *Und.* xliii. 72, 'the Chimæra of the *Rosie-Crosse*'.

106. *the Alewife in Saint Katherines* and the sign of the *three dancing Beares* appear in *The Masque of Augurs*, 115 foll. For serious attempts to achieve *the perpetuall Motion* there was Drebbel's device at Eltham (*S.W.* v. iii. 63) and Drummond's patent in 1626 for a machine *Αεικίνητον* or 'The Mover' (see the note on 54). For drinking in St. Katherine's see *D. is A.* i. i. 61-2.

115. *the house of Fame*. A reference to Chaucer's poem.

125. *Dop*. Dopper, a Dutch Baptist or Anabaptist: Dutch *dooper*, dipper.

127. *The Prophet Baal*. Gifford quotes Francis Osborne, *Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James*, 1658, p. 118: 'And to parallel this, one *Ball* a Taylor was inspired with a like Lunacy, . . . for not only he, but *Ramsy* his Majesties watch-maker, put out mony and Clocks, to be paid (but with small advantage, considering the Improbability) when *King James* should be crowned in the *Pope's Chaire*.' Fletcher alludes to him in *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, v. ii (1647, p. 48), 'And the very *Ball* of your false prophets, hee's quasht too'; and *Und.* xliii. 82, 'Th'admir'd discourses of the Prophet *Ball*'. He is probably 'the new prophet, the astrological tailor' of Middleton's *Anything for a Quiet Life* (ed. Bullen, v. i. 113-14).

128-9. *a time*, . . . An echo of Revelation xii. 14. Cf. *P.A.* 135-6.

129. *Naömetry*. Jonson alludes to the title of a work by the German mystic Simon Studion, *Naometria*, . . . *In quo non tantum cognoscenda tam S. Scripturae totius quam Naturae quoque universae Mysteria brevis sit Introductio*: it included an account of the second advent with the overthrow of that 'man of sin, the Pope' and 'his son of perdition Mahomet' (1604). There are two manuscripts at Stuttgart, and the work is unprinted. Jonson must have heard only a vague account of it (J. F. Enders in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1925, xl, pp. 419-21).

131 (margin). *Archie mourn'd*. The Court fool, Archibald Armstrong, in mourning for the death of James I. But see D. L., *The Scots Scouts Discoveries*, 1642, p. 9, telling how Archy had been whipped and had lost his coat for speaking against the bishops: 'That about a weeke after I met *Archie* at the Abby all in black: Alas poore fool (thought I) he mournes for his Countrey; I askt him about his Coat; O, quod he, my Lord of *Canterbury* hath taken it from me, because either he or some of the Scots Bishops may have use for it themselves: but he hath

given me a black coat for it, to colour my knavery with; and now I may speake what I please (so it be not against the Prelates) for this Coat hath a farre greater priviledge then the other had.'

142. *turn'd Christian*. With the rumour here satirized cf. an entry in Antony à Wood's diary on 9 August 1694, 'It is confirmed that the emperour of China with 7 of his provinces (princes?) are turned Xtians' (*Life and Times*, iii, p. 464).

147-8. *Buz, Your countrey-man*. i. ii. 70.

150. *Amboyna*. On 11 February 1623 ten Englishmen were executed after torture, and others were tortured, on a charge of plotting to seize the Dutch castle of Amboyna in the Moluccas, the centre of the clove trade. The news reached England in May 1624. In April 1625 the Dutch government agreed to bring the perpetrators to trial but did nothing. In 1628 the promise was renewed after some Dutch ships had been seized and restored.

165-80. The comic poet Athenion in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xiv. 80, attributes to cookery and kitchen philosophy what poets assign to lawgivers and founders:

A. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι πάντων ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη
πρὸς εὐσέβειαν πλείστα προσενήνεχθ' ὅλως;
B. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦτο; A. παῦν γε, βάρβαρε.
τοῦ θηριώδους καὶ παρασπόνδου βίου
ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἀπολύσασα καὶ τῆς δυσχεροῦς
ἀλληλοφαγίας ἡγαγ' εἰς τάξιν τινά, . . .
καὶ τουτονὶ περιῆψεν ὃν νυνὶ βίον
ζῶμεν. . . .
ἀλληλοφαγίας καὶ κακῶν ὄντων συχνῶν
γενομένος ἄνθρωπός τις οὐκ ἀβέλτερος
ἔθυσ' ἱερεῖον πρῶτος, ὥπτησεν κρέας.
ὥς δ' ἦν τὸ κρέας ἡδίων ἀνθρώπου κρεῶν,
αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐμασῶντο, τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα
θύοντες ὥπτων. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ τῆς ἡδονῆς
ἐμπειρίαν τιν' ἔλαβον, ἀρχῆς γενομένης
ἐπὶ πλείον ηὔξον τὴν μαγειρικὴν τέχνην.

172. *Iaphets physicke*, fire. The allusion is to Prometheus, the son of Iapetus—not, as carelessly phrased here, to Iapetus himself—bringing down fire from heaven. *Und.* xxiii. 27-9 says correctly:

With *Japhets* lyne, aspire
Sols Chariot for new fire.
To give the world againe.

179. *Anthropophági*. In *Othello*, i. iii. 144, with the modern accent, but Jonson, true to his system, was reproducing the Greek ἀνθρωποφάγος.

183. *To strew out the long meale*, to intersperse the meal (with news). *Ep.* cxv. 10, *Und.* xlvii. 28.

189. *A Precept*. *E.M.O.* i. iii. 90. For the joke about long hair see *Conv. Drum.* xvii. 486-9.

197. *Like Lapwings*. Cf. R. Greene, *Never too Late to Mend*, 1590, 'Are you no sooner hatched, with the lapwing, but you will run away with the shell on your head?' Jonson is girding at the practice of making coachmen drive bare-headed: see *D. is A.* II. iii. 36.

202. *shifting of their Scene*. Scene, not scenery: see *Cat.* I. 185.

205. *Archbishop of Spalato*. Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro—Spalato is the accepted English form at this date—was involved in a dispute with Pope Paul V and came to England in 1616 to advocate the idea of a Universal Church from which Popes would disappear. King James appointed him Master of the Savoy and Dean of Windsor. Disappointed in his hopes of uniting the English and Roman Churches, he returned to Rome in 1622, where he was received by Pope Gregory XV, but after this Pope's death he ended his days as a prisoner of the Inquisition.

205-6. *He is dead, That plai'd him*. William Rowley, who joined the King's men in 1623 and died early in February 1626. He played the part of the fat Bishop—de Dominis—in Middleton's *A Game at Chesse*, noticed below.

207. *Gondomar*. Diego Sarmiento d'Acuña, Count of Gondomar, in England from 1613 to 1618 and again from 1620 to 1622. He was a brilliant diplomatist and kept England at peace with Spain in spite of the violent anti-Spanish feeling in the country.

A second Fistula. A coarse reference to the complaint from which he suffered: see A. Wilson, *The Life and Reign of James I*, 1653, p. 146. In *A Game at Chesse*, ed. Bald, II. ii. 48-50, the fat Bishop describes him:

Yonder Black Knight, the Fistula of Europe,
Whose disease once I undertooke to cure
With a high-holborne Halter.

The effect of Gondomar's use of Middleton's play is taken from Rabelais. Friar John suffered similarly from using a leaf of the canonical law-book, the *Clementine Constitutions* (*Pantagruel*, IV. lii).

209. *the poore English-play*. Middleton's; a writer whom Jonson disliked (cf. *Conv. Drum.* 168). It made a great sensation when it was acted at the Globe for nine days in August 1624; the actors are said to have taken fifteen hundred pounds. It was suppressed owing to a protest of Gondomar, who was the Black Knight of the piece; the Kings of England and Spain were the White and Black Kings, and this disobeyed the order that no modern Christian king should be represented on the stage.

212. *Chaire*. Dr. de Winter's conjecture, discussed in the textual introduction to the play, vol. vi, p. 275.

230. *seru'd in with curious dances*. Cf. the stage-direction of the First Folio in *The Tempest*, III. iii. 17: 'Solemne and strange Musicke: and Prosper on the top (inuisible:) Enter seuerall strange shapes, bringing in a Banket; and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inuiting the King, &c. to eate, they depart.'

238-48. From Seneca quoted in *Disc.* 1375-80, 1448-9.

265. *brooch . . . gem.* *Poet.* i. ii. 161-2; *Hamlet*, iv. vii. 93-4: 'He is the brooch indeed And gem of all the nation.'

272. *the fine Poet.* Samuel Daniel, already glanced at in *E.M.O.* III. iii. 24-5: cf. Publilius Syrus, 'Formosa facies muta commendatio est', quoted in J. Scaliger's *Opuscula*, 1605, p. 122.

285. *Bethlem Gabor*, prince of Transylvania. Sir T. Roe made great efforts to attach him to the Protestant alliance, in order to help in the recovery of the Palatinate: the Porte, through Roe's diplomacy, consented to the reversion of the principality of Transylvania to Gabor's wife. In October 1626 Gabor allied with Mansfield and the Protestant union (*Negotiations*, p. 571); Roe kept him more or less active in that cause. He died in 1630.

292. *Till he be married.* Evidently a political reference: see the previous note.

294. *the Duke of Bavier*, Maximilian of Bavaria. Cf. the news-sheet *The Newes of this Present Weeke*, 12 May 1633, p. 9, speaking of the Palatinate: 'And there, (as they write vs word from Franckford Aprill 18.) wheresoever the Duke of *Bavaria* is Master, they goe strongly on with their manner of Reformation (as they call it) causing many to forsake their former Religion, and to turne Papists.'

298. *the Pageants.* The Lord Mayor's pageant of 1625 was prevented by James's death, but Middleton wrote one for the new magistrate in 1626.

301. *Now, at the Coronation.* The actual date was 2 February 1626.

301-2. *expected More then it vnderstood.* *B.F.* Induction 114-15.

306. *Memnons Statue*, the statue of Amenhotep at Karnak, the rift in the stone when the upper part had been thrown down by an earthquake causing the music as the image warmed in the sun (G. N. Curzon, *Tales of Travel*, 'The Voice of Memnon', pp. 87-122).

310. *Cuckolds . . . Rascals.* A point of discernment in woodcraft; it needed a practised eye to judge a fat deer from a 'rascal' or worthless one. *As You Like It*, III. iii. 49-50, 'Horns . . . the noblest deer hath them as huge as the rascal'.

312. *Cuckolds-pollard.* Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, v. iv. 77-8:

2 *Cit.* He had no horns, sir, had he?

Cap. No, sir, he's a pollard:

What wouldst thou do with horns?

III. iii. 9. *two Gentlewomen.* Gifford cites the *Leges Convivales* (q.v.) on the admission of women 'Probæ feminæ non repudiantor' and Mar-mion's reference in *The Fine Companion* to the 'tempting beauties' to be found there.

10. *three.* Aglaia ('splendour'), Euphrosyne ('mirth'), and Thalia ('bloom').

14. *a Dutch Ambassador.* *D. is A.* i. i. 62. Chamberlain writes to Carleton on 9 March 1622: 'The States Ambassadors were there'—i.e.

at Theobalds—'this week, but could not be admitted. On Shrove-Tuesday they were feasted by Sir Edward Cecil' at Wimbledon, 'but with that temperance that they came all sober away, as having had but six healths that went round.' (Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, iv, p. 753.)

23-5. Similarly in the discarded masque of *Neptune's Triumph*, 85-6.

23-4. *all Arts . . . but*. Jonson seems to mean the opposite of what he says—'all arts, but especially the art of poetry'.

27. *Magisterium*, the philosophers' stone. *Alch.* i. iv. 14.

35-40. So *N.T.* 185-91.

51. *Duke Humphries*. The accepted explanation is Stow's, that dinnerless gallants spent the dinner hour in 'Duke Humphrey's walk', i.e. the aisles of St. Paul's, in one of which was the monument of Sir John Beauchamp, wrongly assigned to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who was buried at St. Albans. Hence the phrase, 'to dine with Duke Humphrey'.

53. *obsonare famem ambulando*, to provide an appetite by walking. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 97.

55. *I ha' the wine for you*. In *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, E, a robber accosts a dupe as if he were an old friend: 'What T. S. How fare all our friendes about you? You are well met, I haue the Wine for you: you are well-come to Towne.'

III. iv. 1 (st. dir.). *started*, startled. Specially used of 'starting' game.

3. *your charge*, i.e. Pecunia.

34. *two i'the hundred*. II. i. 4.

40. *veluet hanches*. *B.F.* iv. v. 66-7.

45-68. From Seneca quoted, *Disc.* 1387-1412.

48. *Stewes*, ponds in which fish were kept for the table.

53. *gold chamber-pots*. Martial, i. xxxvii; Marston, *The Scourge of Villainy*, i. ii. 126, mentions silver, for which Bullen refers to old inventories.

54. *napkins*, handkerchiefs.

69. *monopóly*. So accented *Hym.* 781; Habington, *The Queene of Arragon*, iv. i (1640, F2^v), 'The Monopoly of transporting gnats'.

87. *Dry-fat*, a tub used to hold dry things.

Intermean III. 3. *Siluer-streete*, the Region of money. Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 299: 'Downe lower in Woodstreete is Siluer streete, (I think of siluer smithes dwelling there) in which bee diuers fayre houses.' S. Rowlands, *The Melancholie Knight*, 1615, B2:

the Iouiall sort I leave
That haue their hundreds yeerely to receiue;
For they and I, I know shall neuer meete
In Golding lane, nor yet in Siluer streete.

8. *in chimia*. *E.H.* iv. i. 224.

9. *Aldermanity*. A humorous coinage of Jonson's: here, the quality

of an alderman. He has it in the sense of the body of aldermen, *M.L.* v. vii. 82, *Und.* xlv. 46.

16. *butter.* i. iv. 13.

19, 20. *the bake-house . . . the conduicts.* *Poet.* iv. iii. 113-14.

21. *Tutle-street*, Tothill Street.

both the Alm'ries. A rookery of houses, divided into two parts, the Great and the Little Almonry, off Tothill Street; the alms of the Abbey were distributed there originally. Caxton's printing-press was set up in the Almonry.

the two Sanctuaries. (1) The Abbey, which 'hath had great priuiledge of Sanctuary within the precinct thereof, to wit, the church, churchyard and close' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, ii, p. 111). (2) The Little Sanctuary, attached to St. Stephen's Chapel.

22. *long, and round Wool-staple.* 'The Long Staple extended from the south end of Canon Row to King Street, whilst the Round Staple, at right angles to it, was about in the position of Parliament Street' (C. L. Kingsford, in Stow's *Survay*, ii, p. 375).

Kings-street, the only way to Westminster from the north; the government buildings in Parliament Street now cover part of it.

23. *Chanon-row*, or St. Stephen's Alley, 'so called for that the same belonged to the Deane and Chanons of *S. Stephens* chappell, who were there lodged, as now diuers Noblemen and Gentlemen be' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, ii, p. 102).

24. *slips*, young people, with a quibble on 'twig' or 'cutting'.

25. *Gardiners-lane* between King Street and Duke Street. F. Cunningham notes that Wenceslaus Hollar died there.

26. *bowling-Alley*, now Bowling Street leading from Dean's Yard to Tufton Street.

27. *the Mill.* A water-mill belonging to the Abbot of Westminster at the end of College Street; the stream which turned it ran down what is now College Street. The name survives in Millbank.

28. *Tuttle-fields*, Tothill Fields, south of St. James's Park. 'These fields were to Westminster much as Smithfield and Moorfields were to the City of London' (Besant, *Westminster*, p. 288).

30. *Doctor Lambe.* Intermean i. 51, where the conjuring of Westminster School is also mentioned. F. T. Bowers in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, i, pp. 189-98, 'Problems in Thomas Randolph's *Drinking Academy*', thinks the reference is to the play of *The ffary Knight*, which he attributes to Randolph writing in 1625-6, shortly after leaving Westminster. There is a scene in which the Devil is raised, the epilogue speaks of the play being performed by children, and the play draws on *The Masque of Queens* and *The Staple of News*. But is not this taking Gossip Tattle rather seriously? Her husband was a connoisseur in devils (Intermean i. 34-40), and his fancy or hers might easily run riot on that subject.

46. *make all their schollers Play-boyes.* The primary reference is to the annual Latin play at Westminster School. But in the Star Chamber

Proceedings under Elizabeth, bundle C 46, no. 39, is a complaint of Henry Clifton of Totnes, Esquire, that Nathaniel Gyles, master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, conspired with others to erect and maintain a playhouse in the Blackfriars, and took children from school and apprentices from work, nominally as choristers, but really as boy actors; among the children named are a Westminster boy, John Motteram, Nathan Field, and Solomon Pavey. The company also 'impounded' young Thomas Clifton and turned him into 'a mercenary enterlude player, to his utter losse of tyme, ruyne and disparagement'. For a happier reference see Judge Whitelocke's tribute to Mulcaster: 'His care was my skill in musique, in whiche I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments; and yeerly he presented sum playes to the Court, in whiche his scholers were only actors, and I among them; and by that means taught them good behaviour and audacitye.'

49. *Terence*. *M.L.* Ind. 47.

50. *no more Parliaments*. Charles had dissolved his first Parliament on 12 August 1625; he was to dissolve his second Parliament on 15 June 1626.

56. *with a wanion*. *D. is A.* v. viii. 33.

iv. i. 4. *Let's ieere*. 'This jeering has scarcely more to interest the reader than the *vapouring* in *Bartholomew Fair*. Jonson's object was to expose to scorn and ridicule the pestilent *humour* of a set of bullies then in vogue. As the chief characteristics of this *game* were dullness and impudence, and as it did not enter into the poet's plan to change its nature by admixture of any quality less odious, he has contented himself with merely playing it as it was unquestionably played in society, by the Shunfields and Madrigals of the day' (Gifford).

24. *speake at volley*, at random. French, *à la volée*. *N.I.* i. vi. 62; Massinger, *The Picture*, III. vi (1630, H4):

What we spake on the voley begins to worke,
We have layd a good foundation.

27. *Coat-card*, a playing card with a 'coated' figure, king, queen, or knave. Corrupted after 1688 to 'court-card'.

31-2. *haue the leading O' the right-hand file*, take precedence. Massinger, *The Picture*, III. v (1630, H3):

there are
Many in limbes, and feature, who may take
That way the right hand file of you.

45. *Patrico*. *B.F.* II. vi. 148.

47. *shot-clog*. *E.M.O.* v. ix. 47.

52. *gingling Gipsies*. *G.M.* 736, 738.

iv. ii. 5-42. Repeated from the masque of *Neptune's Triumph*, 70-112. Jonson has collected various quotations in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*: Sosipater's play of *The Liar* (ix. xxii):

ἐπεὶ μάγειρον ἂν λάβῃς ἀληθινόν,
 ἐκ παιδὸς ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰσηγμένον
 καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις κατέχοντα, καὶ τὰ μαθήματα
 ἅπαντ' ἐφεξῆς εἰδόθ', ἕτερόν σοι τυχὸν
 φανήσεται τὸ πρᾶγμα . . .
 τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἡμεῖς σώζομεν
 τὸ Σίκωνος· οὗτος τῆς τέχνης ἀρχηγὸς ἦν,
 περὶ φύσεως κατεῖχε πάντας τοὺς λόγους.
 ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς πρῶτον ἀστρολογεῖν, . . .
 ἔπειτα μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν.
 περὶ φύσεως κατεῖχε πάντας τοὺς λόγους·
 ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἔλεγε τὰ στρατηγικά.
 πρὸ τῆς τέχνης ἔσπευδε ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν. . . .
 δεῖ τὸν μάγειρον εἰδέναι πρῶτιστα μὲν
 περὶ τῶν μετεώρων τὰς τε τῶν ἀστρῶν δύσεις
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιτολὰς καὶ τὸν ἥλιον πότε
 ἐπὶ τὴν μακρὰν τε καὶ βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν
 ἐπάνεισι κὰν ποίοισιν ἐστι ζωδίοις.
 τὰ γὰρ ὄψα πάντα καὶ τὰ βρώματα σκέδον
 ἐν τῇ περιφορᾷ τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως
 ἑτέραν ἐν ἑτέροις λαμβάνει τὴν ἡδονήν.
 ὁ μὲν οὖν κατέχων τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὴν ὥραν ἰδὼν,
 τούτων ἐκάστοις ὡς προσῆκει χρήσεται. . . .
 πάλιν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἴσως
 ἐθαύμασας τί τῇ τεχνῇ συμβάλλεται . . .
 τοῦπτάνιον ὀρθῶς καταβαλέσθαι καὶ τὸ φῶς
 λαβεῖν ὅσον δεῖ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμ' ἰδεῖν πόθεν
 ἐστίν, μεγάλην χρεῖαν τιν' εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχει.
 ὁ καπνὸς φερόμενος δεῦρο κἀκεῖ διαφορὰν
 εἴωθε τοῖς ὄφιοισιν ἐμποεῖν τινα.
 τί οὖν; ἔτι σοι δίδειμι τὰ στρατηγικά . . .
 . . . ἡ τάξις σοφὸν
 ἅπανταχοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ κὰν πάσῃ τέχνῃ,
 ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' ὥσπερ ἡγεῖται σκέδον.
 τὸ γὰρ παραθεῖναι κἀφελεῖν τεταγμένως
 ἕκαστα, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰδεῖν,
 πότε δεῖ πυκνότερον ἐπαγαγεῖν, καὶ πότε βάδην,
 καὶ πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ πότε
 εὐκαιρον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ὄψων τὰ μὲν
 θερμὰ παραθεῖναι, τὰ δ' ἐπανέντα, τὰ δὲ μέσως,
 τὰ δ' ὅλως ἀποψύξαντα, ταῦτα πάντα δὴ
 ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖσιν ἐξετάζεται
 μαθήμασιν.

Ibid. ix. xx, Posidippus in *The Dancing Girls*:

ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ διαφέρειν οὐδὲν δοκεῖ.
 οἱ πολέμοι πάρεσιν· ὁ βαθὺς τῇ φύσει

στρατηγὸς ἔσθῃ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐδέξατο.
πολέμὸς ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ συμπίνων ὄχλος.

Ibid. vii. xxxvii, Nichomachus in the *Ilithyia*:

πολλὰς τέχνας λάβοις ἂν ἐνδόξους πάνυ
ὦν τὸν μαθεῖν βουλόμενον ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἐνι
ταύταις προσελθεῖν εὐθύς, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε δεῖ
ζωγραφίας ἡφθαι. ταῦτα καὶ μαγειρικῆς
πρότερον μαθεῖν δεῖ τῆς τέχνης ἑτέρας τέχνας, . . .
ἀστρολογικὴν, γεωμετρικὴν, ἱατρικὴν.

8. *Oracle of the Bottle*. N.T. 77, where Jonson has a marginal note 'Vid. Rabl. lib. 5'. See Rabelais's *Pantagruel*, v, ch. xxxiv, the Temple of the Holy Bottle, approached through a large vineyard with a portal inscribed ἐν οἴνῳ ἀλήθεια, 'In wine is truth'. A fountain with the holy bottle is depicted in ch. xlv.

9. *hogshead Trismegistus*. Rabelais's 'La Bouteille trimegiste' in the Oracle of the Bottle, v. xlvi. *Trismegistus*, 'thrice greatest' (Greek τρισμέγιστος.)

thy Pegasus. See *Leges Convivales*, vol. viii, p. 657.

10. *Muses spring, from that . . . hoof*. Hippocrene on Mount Helicon, which welled forth from a stroke of Pegasus' hoof.

21-9. In Cartwright's *The Ordinary*, II. i (1651, pp. 20, 21), Slicer elaborates to Hearsay a dinner on military lines:

All must be Souldier-like;
No dish but must present Artillery.

For instance,

The Captain first
Shall be presented in a warlike Cock,
Swimming in whitebroth, as he's wont in bloud;
The Sergeant Major he may bustle in
(In) the shape of some large Turkey.

Massinger, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, I. ii (1633, B4^v):

. . . I cracke my braines to find out tempting sawces,
And raise fortifications in the pastrie,
Such as might serue for modell's in the Low-Countries,
Which if they had been practis'd at *Breda*,
Spinola might have thrown his cap at it, and ne're tooke it . . .
I had kep't the Towne, till doomesday, perhaps longer.

23. *dri-ditches*. The reading of N.T., correcting the *dry-dishes* of the Folio; in 34 N.T. has 'bare-breechd' for 'airy'.

34. *the Rosie-cross*. III. ii. 99.

52. *wrests*. In use from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.

64. *Iuno's armes*. *Iliad*, i. 595, λευκώλενος Ἥρη.

An aire. See vol. vi, p. 275, for this reading, and *Und*. ii. 5. 14, xlii. 14.

68. *Hermione*, the daughter of Helen. *Odyssey*, iv. 13-14, παῖδ' ἐρατεινήν, 'Ερμιόνην, ἣ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης.

72. *resolves*, dissolves.

73. *too slippery to be look't upon*. From Horace, *Odes*, i. xix. 8, 'vultus nimium lubricus aspici'. 'The Latin does not mean "too dangerous to be looked upon", but "very dangerous when it is looked upon": *aspici* in prose would be *aspectu*' (J. Gow). Jonson has the phrase again, *S.S.* II. i. 26, *G.M.* 506.

81. *a slugge*, sluggard, as his name 'Shunfield' suggests.

Poet-sucker. *B.F.* i. i. 40.

84. 'ill. Jonson supposed that this was a clipped form of 'evil'.

90. *his Rose*. Cf. the anecdote in *Conv. Drum.* xvii. 490-2.

108. *Saraband*. *D. is A.* iv. iv. 164.

150. *a Scholler . . . no Gentleman*. *C.R.* v. iv. 25-6.

166. *distance of Hum*. For *hum* see *D. is A.* i. i. 114; *distance* meant the quantity measured out by a mark or peg in the drinking vessel.

176. *Iuy . . . Bayes*. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 235.

iv. iii. 27. *An Act of Parliament . . . honest*. *D. is A.* iv. i. 58.

41. Gifford cites Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 234-8, where Plutus, the god of riches, is the speaker:

ἀλλ' ἄχθομαι μὲν εἰσιὼν νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς
εἰς οἰκίαν ἐκάστοτ' ἄλλοτρίαν πάνν.
ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ἀπέλαυσ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πώποτε.
ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥς φειδωλὸν εἰσελθὼν τύχῳ,
εὐθὺς κατάρυξέν με κατὰ τῆς γῆς κάτω.

Randolph imitated this in *Hey for Honesty*, i. iii (1651, p. 89): Plutus says:

No, it is against the complexion of my humour
To visit any mans house . . .
For if I chance to light into the clutches
Of some vile Usurer, he buries me
Quick under ground or keeps me prisoner closely.
In his old Chests, where without sheets I lie,
But his Indentures keep me company.

46. *one sixe moneths*. *O.E.D.* quotes Daniel iii. 19, 'That they should heat the furnace one seven times more then it was wont to be heat'.

53. *disguis'd*. Dekker and Massinger, *The Virgin Martyr*, III. iii (1622, H1): 'Harp. I am a Prince disguisde. Hir. Disguisde! how! drunk.' So *M. of A.* 46-7.

80. *like Block*. Margin 'One of his Dogges' (v. iii. 43); but this is the first mention of the name, and on the stage it would be quite unintelligible. Perhaps a personal allusion such as that in *S.W.* v. iv. 13-15. De Winter gives a reference to this form of dog-baiting in Francis Osborne's *Memoyres on the Raigne of King James*, 1658, p. 122: Archy Armstrong, having told King James that Prince Henry's larger retinue

was a sign of his greater popularity, was by the Prince's retainers 'every night they could meet him tossed like a Dog in a blanket'.

iv. iv. 7. *Can*, knows.

18. *Besants*, the circle in *or* named from its likeness to the Byzantine coin.

23. *The Welsh-myne*, north of Dolgelley.

26. *the first*, i.e. *argent*, the first metal named.

40. *Vena caua*, one of the main veins opening into the right auricle of the heart.

vena porta, the great vein formed by the union of the veins from the stomach, intestine, and spleen, conveying blood to the liver.

41. *The Meseraicks and the Mesenterium* are identical. The mesentery is 'a fold of peritoneum which attaches some part of the intestinal canal . . . to the posterior wall of the abdomen' (*O.E.D.*).

44. *troule*, sing like a catch.

Trine. 'When Planets are one hundred and twenty degrees distant, we say they are in a *Trine Aspect*' (W. Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, 1647, p. 26).

Quartile. 'When two Planets are ninety degrees distant one from another, wee call that Aspect a *Quartill Aspect*' (Lilly, *ibid.*).

Sextile. 'When two Planets are equally distant one from each other, sixty degrees, we say they are in a *Sextill Aspect*' (Lilly, *ibid.*).

45. *Platicke of aspect, and Partile*. Two opposite aspects of rays cast from one planet to another (Lilly, pp. 106-7). 'Partile', exact to the same degree and minute; 'platic', not within a degree, but within the orbit of its own light.

Hyleg, the ruling planet of a nativity. Lilly, ch. civ, p. 527, '*Of the Prorogator of Life, called Hylech, or Hyleg, or Apheta*', says 'The word is *Chaldean*, and it signifies no more, then either that Planet or place of Heaven, which, being directed by his or its Digression, we judge of Life or the state thereof'.

46. *Alchochoden*. 'The *Arabians* did further observe, what Planet had most essentiall dignity in the place of the *Hyleg*, and with some aspect did behold that place, this Planet they called *Alcochodon*, or giver of years' (Lilly, p. 530). Skeat and Mayhew, *Tudor Glossary*, s.v. 'Alchoroden', derive it from the Persian *Kat-khudā*, lord of the ascendant.

Cuspes. 'The Cusp or very entrance of any (astrological) house, or first beginning' (Lilly, iv, p. 53).

50. *Bringers vp*, the last men. Cf. Sir T. Browne's metaphor, *Religio Medici*, 1643, i, § 58, 'My desires onely are . . . to be but the last man, and bring up the Rere in Heaven'.

51. *Faces about*. *E.M.I.* III. i. 13.

53. *Cats*, cavaliers, works raised within a fortified building to a height of ten or twelve feet above it.

Cortines, curtains, the flat wall-spaces between two bastions, towers, or gates.

54. *Eg-chind*, smooth-chinned, as smooth as an egg. Similarly with Charis's description of her man, *Und.* ii. 9. 19, 20:

Even nose, and cheeke (withall)
Smooth as is the Billiard Ball.

56-7. *Catalectics*, wanting a syllable in the last foot; *Brachy-Catalectics*, wanting two syllables; *Hyper-Catalectics*, with one or two syllables after the last foot.

58. *Pyrrhics*, two short syllables.

Epitrites, feet of three long syllables, and one short, the latter varied in position: first syllable short, *rēclinatos*; second, *insēcuti*; third, *diiudīcas*; fourth, *insanirē*.

Choriambicks, feet of four syllables, the first and fourth long, the second and third short, as in 'hullabaloo'.

64. *lookes-out*. 'Look-outs' is the commoner form.

shut-faces. So in Jonson's own Latin '*Nimis præclusus vultus*' (*N.I.* i. iii. 30). Cf. the 'Dark-lanterne face' of *Und.* xl. 23.

67. *dash*, destroy, ruin (but usually transitive). 'In the 16th and 17th centuries the usual word for the rejection of a bill in Parliament' (*O.E.D.*).

68. *giue off*, leave off. (This should have been italicized in the text as one of the Court phrases.)

89. *Apicius de re culinaria*. A collection of recipes in ten books, dating from the third century A.D.; the name of the famous gourmand mentioned in *Alch.* ii. ii. 77 was prefixed to them.

90. *Doxie*. *Alch.* iii. iii. 23.

104. *Fee-Farme*, land held in fee-simple subject to a perpetual fixed rent without any other services.

Fee-Tayle, an estate entailed to some particular class of heirs of the person to whom it is granted.

105. *Tenant in dower*, a widow who holds for life a portion of her dead husband's estate.

At will, an estate held during the owner's pleasure.

106. *By Copy of Court Roll*. '*Roll of Court, Rotulus Curiae*, The Court-Roll in a Manor, wherein the Names, Rents, and Services of the Tenants were copied and enrolled. *Per Rotulum Curiae tenere*, by Copyhold' (Cowell, *A Law Dictionary*, 1727).

107. '*Fealty, Fidelitas* . . . signifieth in our Common Law an Oath, taken at the Admittance of every Tennant, to be true to the Lord, of whom he holdeth his Land: And he that holdeth Land by this only Oath, holdeth in the freest Manner that any Man in *England* under the King may hold' (Cowell).

Escuage, shield service, 'whereby the Tenant is bound to follow his Lord into the *Scotch* or *Welsh* Wars at his own Charge' (Cowell).

Soccage (French *soc*, ploughshare) 'is a Tenure of Lands by, or for certain inferior Services of Husbandry to be performed to the Lord of the Fee' (Cowell).

Frank almoigne (French *aumône*) 'signifies a Tenure or Title of Lands or Tenements bestowed upon God, that is given to such people as devote themselves to the service of God, for pure and perpetual Alms' (Cowell).

108. *Grand Sergeanty*. '*Serjeanty, Serjeantia*, signifies in Law a Service that cannot be due to any Lord from his Tenant, but to the King only; and this is either Grand or Petit: the first is, where one holds Land of the King by Service, which he ought to do in his own Person; as to bear the Kings Banner, Spear, &c.' (Cowell).

Burgage 'is a Tenure proper to *Boroughs*, whereby the Inhabitants, by ancient Custom, hold their Lands or Tenements of the King, or other Lord of the *Borough*, at a certain yearly Rent' (Cowell).

109. *Kar' ἐξοχήν, par excellence*. *Disc.* 2347; Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, pp. 152, 245; Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, pp. 512, 520, 528; Massinger, *The Guardian*, III. i. 7.

110. *Littletons tenures*. The great law-book of the period: from 1481 to 1639 there were thirty-nine editions of the Norman-French *Tenures*; from 1525? to 1627 twenty-four editions of *Lyttelton tenures in Englysshe*. Edward Coke's commentary on them went through four editions.

114-15. *mort-maine . . . licence*. 'Licence of mortmain' was an instrument conveying the king's permission to alienate property in mortmain, i.e. property held inalienably by a corporation. Picklock is talking idly.

123. *Beggars Bush*. '*This is the way to Beggars-bush*. It is spoken of such, who use dissolute and improvident courses, which tend to poverty, *Beggars-bush* being a tree notoriously known, on the left hand of the London road from *Huntington* to *Caxton*' (Ray, *Proverbs*, 1670, p. 232).

142. *a moth, . . . a Court-rat*. See Jonson's note on *Sej.* I. 427, 'Palace-rattes'.

145. *Countrys strength*. Jonson's epigram 'To True Soldiers' (cviii) begins 'Strength of my country'.

159. *dog-leach*. *Alch.* I. i. 103.

163. *Ephemerides*. *Alch.* IV. vi. 48.

Intermean IV. 12., *set a begger on horse-backe*. This form of the proverb is found in Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1632, p. 324: '*Nothing so intollerable as a fortunate foole, as Tully found long since out of his experience, Asperius nihil est humili cum Surgit in altum, set a beggar on horsebacke, and he will ride a gallop, a gallop, &c.*' So Ray, *Proverbs*, 1670, p. 60.

linne, cease.

22. *Chuffe*. *E.M.O.* Characters, 66.

45. *high Commission of wit*. *B.F.* Ind. 100.

48. *conicatcher*. *E.M.I.* III. i. 181, 'connie-catching raskall!'

52. *to begge him*. *Poet.* v. iii. 52-3.

55. *like an Irish rat*. *Poet.* Apol. Dial. 163.

60. *a probation dish*, a test of cookery.

63. *disinherited*, deprived of the estate he had inherited. But the word is better suited to the son than to the father.

71. *a skin of parchement*, a piece of parchment.

79. *mournivall . . . gleeke*. 'A mournival is either all the aces, the four kings, queens, or knaves; and a gleeke is three of any of the afore-said' (Cotton, *The Compleat Gamester*, 1674, p. 94).

v. i. 4. *Comitia*, assembly. A rare use: the assembly in ancient Rome for electing magistrates was called 'comitia', and Plautus uses the word metaphorically; 'meo illic nunc sunt capiti comitia' (*Truculentus*, iv. 819). This may have influenced Jonson.

47. *is return'd*. Dyce (*Remarks*) asked if the word was used here in the sense in which we speak of a candidate being returned member to Parliament. The reference is to Cymbal, 'Master of the Staple, and prime Ieerer' in the list of Persons of the Play. The words mean simply 'has become once more': cf. *The First Part of Ieronimo*, II. i (1605, B4):

And. Then thus all Spaine which but three minites agoe
Was thy full friend, is now returned thy foe.

61. *case*. The same quibble as in *Poet*. I. iii. 11-13.

71. *thrown ouer the Barre*, disbarred. v. ii. 95.

75. *in a Lane*. *Und*. lxxviii. 12.

89. *vorloff*, leave of absence, furlough (Dutch *forlov*).

Welsh-briefe. The litigiousness of the Welsh was a byword. Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Furnivall, i, p. 206: 'But in this toie our Welshmen doo exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore Daud of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) bicause he hath no change.' Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1603, f. 13, 'Cambria', quotes Humphrey Lloyd as saying 'supra omnes gentes, litibus & controuersiis inter se, vsque ad omnium bonorum consumptionem, contendunt'.

104. *night-cap*, the lawyers' 'biggin', *Volp*. v. ix. 5.

112. *gratitude*, gratuity (v. ii. 77).

117. *to wage Law*, to go to law. An erroneous use: wager of law was an oath taken in an action of debt by a defendant, supported by eleven compurgators, that he did not owe the money claimed from him. Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, ed. Lucas, III. ii. 200, 'My purse is too scant to wage Law with them'.

v. ii. 10. *emergent*, casually arising, not specially provided for.

36. *mixt*, impure.

60. *Sicke of selfe-loue*. *Tw. Night*, I. v. 85, 'O, you are sick of self-love, Malvolio'.

62. *a thousand witnesses*. Quintilian, v. xi. 41, 'Conscientia mille testes'; R. Wilson, *The three Ladies of London*, 1584, Fii^v, 'I Conscience am a thousand witnesses'.

70. *behind the hangings*, i.e. the curtains of the rear-stage. *B.F.* Ind. 8.
 83. *Your eares are in my pocket*. Picklock, as a dishonest lawyer, would be pilloried and have his ears cropped.
 85. *purse-net*. *S.W.* III. iii. 96.
 87. *maintenance*, the action of wrongfully aiding and abetting litigation.
 88. *hole*, i.e. in the boards of the pillory. Cf. 'let him hole' of putting a man in the stocks in *B.F.* IV. vi. 50.
 89. *lugs*, ears.
 94. *Crop*. II. iii. 51.
 94-5. *coyted Ouer the Barre*. V. i. 71.
 95. *as Bargemen* . . . E. Gayton, *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot*, 1654, p. 20, 'Mr. Nicholas . . . toles downe the books with as little remorse, as a Carman does billets'.

v. iii. 11. *a seal'd Porter*. In Middleton's *The Familie of Love*, IV. iii (1608, F3), the disguised Gerardine says, 'I am, if it please you, of the spick & spean new-set-vp Company of Porters. *Heer's my Breast plate, and besides our own Armes* we haue the armes of the Citty to help vs in our burthen, *Ecce signum*.' *A newe Ballad, composed in commendation of the Societie, or Companie of the Porters*, 1605:

These markes of Admittance
 made out of tinne, they bare
 about their neckes in ribbons:
 the chief, of siluer weare.

20. *A man of decent carriage*. So in *The London Prodigall*, V. i (1605, F3): 'I got it at an Ale-house among Porters, such as will beare out a man, if he haue no money indeed, I meane out of their companyes, for they are men Of good carriage.' *A Discovery of diuers sorts of Asses*, 1642, A3, 'if they will do any thing they may turne Porters, because they (know) how to carry the matter very well'.

32. *bed-staues*. *E.M.I.* I. v. 126.

37. *worme of the peace*. Contemptuous, as if he were 'a worm, and no man'.

41. *Lollard's tower*. Suggested by the Tower so named at the west end of old St. Paul's next the Bishop of London's palace.

v. iv. The trial of the dogs is suggested by the scene in *The Wasps* of Aristophanes (891-1008) in which Philocleon tries his dog Labes ('Nipper') for stealing a cheese, but the setting is quite different.

11. *A Frock*, a poor man, the wearer of a smock-frock.

20. *use vpon use*, at compound interest, apparently of 100 per cent.; Penyboy is delirious.

34. *tokens*, farthings. *E.M.I.* I. iv. 55.

57. *Tyke*, cur.

60. *Dummerer*, 'the cant name for a beggar who pretended to be dumb' (*O.E.D.*).

62. *bescumber*. *Poet.* v. iii. 304.

69. *convinc'd*. *Volp.* iv. vi. 21.

73. *a quirke*, a sudden turn of thought.

v. v. 5. *without baile, or mainprise*, 'with no permission to obtain release by finding sureties'—*O.E.D.*, quoting John Northbrooke, *A treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, etc, are reprov'd*, 1577 (ed. 1843, p. 137), 'They should bee committed to the gaole without bayle or mainprise, for the space of three moneths'.

14. *Assinigo*, *asinego*, a dolt (Spanish *asinico*, a little ass). *U.V.* xxxiv. 20; *Troilus and Cressida*, II. i. 43, 'An Asinico may tutor thee; thou scurvy valiant ass'.

15. *washing*, *swashing*. *Rom. and Jul.* I. i. 60 (Q 1599), 'Gregorie, remember thy washing blowe'.

28. *keepe your Capitol*. The classical allusion is given to Madrigal, the poet of the band.

33. *poore Iacks*, inferior dried hake.

35. *Iack-a-Lent*. *T. of T.* iv. ii. 49, 50.

36. *On dew*. *New World*, 202; Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 77, 'pascentur . . . dum rore cicadae' (see Conington's note).

45. *colon*, the greater portion of the large intestine, 'a word frequently in the mouth of hungry personages in our old drama' (Dyce, *Webster*, ii, p. 280).

49. *se defendendo*, in self-defence. *G.M.* 1244.

v. vi. 14. *short madnesse . . . anger*. Horace's 'Ira furor brevis est' (*Ep.* I. ii. 62).

44. *Præmunire*. The statute of *Praemunire* passed in 1353 forbad an Englishman to prosecute a suit in a foreign court; then it made the recognition of any foreign jurisdiction in England, the Pope's for instance, penal. Finally it was extended to other offences, and so Jonson laxly uses it: see *Disc.* 1393, and the humorous use in *Engl. Gram.* I. vi. 32.

46. *learned Counsell . . . my Cooke*. F. Cunningham thinks a punning reference to Sir Edward Coke.

49. *Stentor*. *S.W.* iv. ii. 124. Stentor in the *Iliad* was χαλκεόφωνος and Picklock had 'a mouth of brasse' (v. ii. 34). Cf. 'A Lawier three partes noise', *G.M.* 1340.

53. *Iubilee*. The reference is to 1625 when Jonson composed the play; twenty-five years at this date constituted a jubilee.

Epilogue

1. *Makers*. *Disc.* 1348.

2. *To profit, and delight*. *Volp.* Prol. 8.

3. *the clout* (French *clou*), the wooden pin, usually painted white, by which the target was fastened to the butt. Cf. *A Pleasant Commodity Called Looke about you*, 1600, D3, 'Ley. I ther's the But; whose hart-

white if we hit, the game is ours'. Day, *The Isle of Gulls*, 1606, I. iv, 'why so: this iest was drawn home close to the head, it cannot chuse but cleane the very white of our hopes, the Dukes wit'. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, v. v. 35:

With daily shew of courteous kind behauiour,
Euen at the marke white of his heart she roused.

APPENDIX XXII

JONSON AND 'THE BLOODY BROTHER'

BOTH the date and the authorship of *The Bloody Brother* are uncertain. It was printed in quarto in 1639 and again in 1640; the first quarto as 'By B. J. F.', the second as 'By John Fletcher'. Malone thought that 'B. J. F.' was a misprint for 'B & F' (Beaumont and Fletcher); F. G. Fleay suggested that the printer had run together the initials 'B. J., J. F.' (Ben Jonson, John Fletcher). Entered on the Stationers' Register on 4 October 1639 as by 'J: B:':

The play was produced at Court in January 1637; possibly after a performance on the public stage early in that year or late in 1636. We have no evidence that this was a revival, and internal evidence suggests that Fletcher wrote his portion of the extant text after reading *Neptune's Triumph* published in 1624.¹ He died in August 1625, and may have left his work in manuscript. Massinger's hand is discernible in the first act and in the first scene of the fifth act. There should be no mistake about Fletcher's verse, but the critics disagree about the scenes to be attributed to him. And there was a fourth author, perhaps a reviser, who finished off the play.²

The extreme view, taken by Charles Crawford,³ was that Jonson was the principal author. Crawford proved it to his own satisfaction by parallels from Jonson's authentic work, with special reference to *The Staple of News*. He was a shrewd detective of superficial resemblances, but he had little feeling for style. Where two writers drew on a common original, especially if it was in the classics, he often failed to perceive it. As our colleague C. H. Herford remarked, when we discussed the question with him in 1906, the Jonsonian quality of the passages cited 'seems to resolve itself mainly into affinities of situation and thought, not of verse-handling, a much more decisive thing'.

¹ See Act II, scene ii below.

² The fourth author suggested is Field (G. C. Macaulay, R. Boyle), Daborne (R. Boyle), Middleton (E. H. Oliphant), Cartwright (F. G. Fleay), each of whom is detected by the infallible test of style! For Fleay see his *Biographical Chronicle*, i, pp. 203-4; for Boyle and Oliphant see *Englische Studien*, viii, pp. 50-7, xv, pp. 353-5. Oliphant makes the naïve admission that 'Jonson's part is not written in his best style, perhaps because it was merely hack-work'—an adroit proviso which enables doubtful passages to be shelved.

³ *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, xli (1905), pp. 163-76.

We confine our discussion to the scenes attributed to Jonson by G. C. Macaulay in his chapter on Beaumont and Fletcher in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*.¹ He assigns to Massinger Act I and Act V, scene i; to Fletcher Act II, scene iii, Act III, scene i (in part) and scene ii, and Act V, scene ii; to Jonson Act II, scenes i and ii, Act IV, scenes i and ii; to Field Act III, scene i (except the part about Rollo and Edith), and Act IV, scene iii.

Act II, scene i. This scene has the well-defined movement of Fletcher's lines with feminine endings and final pauses, and it has the ring of Fletcher's rhetoric. Take two passages:

Like an ominous Comet,
He darkens all your light; can this toucht Lyon
(Though now he licks and locks up his fell pawes,
Craftily humming, like a catt to cozen you)
But when ambition whetts him, and time fitts him,
Leap to his prey, and seiz'd once, suck your heart out?
Do you make it conscience?

Rol. Conscience, *Latorch*, what's that?

Lat. A fear they tye up fools in, natures coward,
Palling the blood, and chilling the full spirit
With apprehension of meer clouds and shadows.

Rol. I know no conscience, nor I fear no shadows.

A Crown, a Crown, Oh sacred Rule, now fire me,
Nor shall the pity of thy youth, false Brother,
Although a thousand Virgins kneel before me,
And every dropping eye a court of mercy,
The same blood with me, nor the reverence
Due to my mothers blest² womb that bred us,
Redeem thee from my doubts: thou art a wolf here,
Fed with my fears, and I must cut thee from me:
A Crown, a Crown; Oh sacred Rule, now fire me:
No safety else.

All the characteristics which Macaulay himself noted in Fletcher's verse³ appear in these lines, and no one else could have written them.

Act II, scene ii. The scene is laid in the servants' hall of Rollo's palace. 'Enter the Master Cook, Butler, Pantler, and Yeoman of the Cellar, with a jack of beer and a dish.' We quote the chief passage which has determined the attribution of the scene to Jonson. 'Let 'em all eat', says the Master Cook.

Butl. But what new rare munition? *Cook.* Pish, a thousand.
Ile make you piggs speake *French*⁴ at table, and a fat swan
Come sailing out of *England* with a challenge;
Ile make you a dish of calves-feet dance the Canaries,

¹ Vol. vi, pp. 129, 138.

³ Op. cit., pp. 116-18.

² Read 'blessed'.

⁴ i.e. cry 'wee', French 'oui'.

And a consort of cramm'd capons fiddle to 'em;
 A calves head speak an Oracle, and a dozen of Larks
 Rise from the dish, and sing all supper time;
 'Tis nothing boyes: I have framed a fortification
 Out of Rye paste, which is impregnable,
 And against that, for two long hours together,
 Two dozen of marrow-bones shall play continually;
 For fish, I'le make you a standing lake of white broth
 And pikes come ploughing up the plums before them;
Arion, like a Dolphin, playing Lachrymæ,
 And brave King Herring with his oyle and onyon
 Crown'd with a Limon pill, his way prepar'd
 With his strong Guard of Pilchers.

This again is Fletcher's rhythm, and it is Fletcher in a rollicking mood: how Jonson, with his terser phrase and quieter movement of the line and more varied pauses, treats the theme may be seen from *Neptune's Triumph*, 89-98, a passage which was re-used in *The Staple of News*, Act IV, scene ii, lines 19-29. A few lines may be quoted from the masque, 185-91 (repeated in *The Staple of News*, III. iii. 35-40), to show the difference: the Cook is speaking.

I would haue had your Ile brought floting in, now,
 In a braue broth, and of a sprightly greene,
 Iust to the colour of the Sea; and then,
 Some twentie *Syrens*, singing in the kettel,
 With an *Arion*, mounted on the backe
 Of a growne Conger, but in such a posture,
 As, all the world should take him for a Dolphin.

It is easy to see the reasons for the attribution to Jonson, but it was reserved for Charles Crawford to discover that the speeches in the two plays and the masque were 'perfectly alike in every respect, in style, in phrasing', as well as 'in giving utterance to the same humorous conceits'.

In the next speech of the Cook there is the jest,

I'le make you a stubble goose
 Turn o'th' toe thrice, do a cross point presently,
 And <then> sit down again and cry, Come eat me.

Crawford points to *A Tale of a Tub*, III. i. 51—'And then, a Goose will bid you all, Come cut me'—first published in 1641. He overlooked the fact that this was proverbial of the Land of Cockayne or Lubberland, and is quoted to that effect in *Bartholomew Fair*, III. ii. 76-7.

At the end of the scene the plan to poison Duke Otto has been arranged, and the Pantler objects, 'But 'tis a damn'd sin'; the Cook replies,

O, never fear that,
 The fire's my playfellow.

Drummond reports in the *Conversations* (xvii. 440-2) that a cook 'of evil life', warned by a minister that he would go to hell, asked what torment would there be there; when told 'fire', he said, 'Fire, that is my playfellow'. Are we to suppose that the record of this anecdote is confined to the *Drummond Conversations*?

Act IV, scenes i and ii. This is the only part of *The Bloody Brother* which shows any real affinity to Jonson's work. G. C. Macaulay thought it probable that the 'remarkable political reflections' of the first scene were his, and there are two verbal parallels with the *Discoveries*, which were not published till 1641. The style is simple in the main, but there are passages which do not read like Jonson's manner:

Edith, she that got me
In blood and tears, in such an opposite minute,
As had I not at once felt all the flames
And shafts of Love shot in me (his whole armory)
I should have thought him as far off as Death.

The verse is too fluid for Jonson; it has not his firmness of texture. On these grounds we reject the attribution of this scene to him.

It opens with Aubrey, a kinsman of the two Dukes and an honest plain-spoken councillor, making an appeal to Latorch, 'Rollo's Earwig'.

'Tis your fortune
To have our Masters ear above the rest
Of us that follow him, but that no man envies;
For I have well considered, *Truth sometimes*
May be convey'd in by the same Conduits
That Falshood is; These courses that he takes
Cannot but end in ruine; Empire got
By blood and violence, must so be held;
And how unsafe that is, he first will prove,
That toiling still to remove Enemies
Makes himself more; It is not now a Brother,
A faithful Councillour of estate or two,
That are his danger, they are far dispatch'd;¹
It is a multitude that begin to fear,
And think what began there must end in them; . . .
Princes may pick their suffering Nobles out;
And one by one employ 'em to the block;
But when they once grow formidable to
Their Clowns, and Coblers, ware then, guard themselves.

Latorch disagrees: in statecraft, he argues,

all that's necessary still is just.
The actions of the Prince, while they succeed,

¹ Rollo had murdered his brother, and had had two honest councillors, Gisbert and Baldwin, executed.

Should be made good, and glorified; not question'd.
Men do but shew their ill affections, that . . .
Do murmur against their Masters.

Aubrey replies with a scathing attack on the parasite, the 'bawd of the state', who dares not utter a thought of his own till he knows the mind of his master; creeping forth and wading into him

As if thou wert to pass a Ford, there proving
Yet if thy tongue may step on safely or no,

he says in a striking simile which is certainly not Jonsonian.

That sleep'st within thy Masters Ear, and whisper'st
'Tis better for him to be fear'd than lov'd;
Bid'st him trust no mans friendship, spare no blood
That may secure him: 'tis no cruelty
That hath a specious end; for Sovereignty,
Break all the Laws of kind; if it succeed,
An honest, noble, and praise-worthy deed.

'My Lord', says Latorch,

this makes not

For loving of my Master. *Aub.* Loving? no;
They hate ill Princes most that make them so.

Crawford collects parallels from the *Discoveries* and *Mortimer*. The passages in the *Discoveries*, largely based on Seneca's treatise *De Clementia*, set forth the doctrine that a prince should be merciful. 'No vertue is a *Princes* owne; or becomes him more, then his *Clemency*. . . . Many punishments sometimes, and in some cases, as much discredit a Prince, as many Funerals a *Physician*. The state of things is secur'd by Clemency; Severity represseth a few, but it irritates more. . . . And the taking away of some kind of enemies, increaseth the number' (*Disc.* 1162-70).

Aubrey says further:

Mercy becomes a Prince, and guards him best,
Awe and affrights are never tyes of Love;
And when men begin to fear the Prince, they hate him.

Aubrey's point about the danger of making the mass of the people afraid is stated rather differently by Jonson in a passage borrowed from Machiavelli. 'There is a great variation betweene him, that is rais'd to the *Sovereignty*, by the favour of his Peeres; and him that comes to it by the suffrage of the people.' The first holds with difficulty; the latter is hailed as a deliverer. 'Beside, while he hath the people to friend, who are a multitude, he hath the lesse feare of the *Nobility*, who are but few' (*Disc.* 1139-49). Latorch's reply that the actions of a prince are to be made good, not criticized, is again put rather differently by Jonson: 'Let no man therefore murmur at the Actions of the Prince, who is plac'd so farre above him. If hee offend, he hath his Discoverer. *God* hath a height beyond him.' (*Ibid.* 1208-11.)

So far it is easy to see that Jonson's views on tyranny and kingship agreed with Aubrey's. With Aubrey's onslaught on the advice of the parasite we may compare a scene which Crawford missed—the dialogue of Sejanus and Tiberius in *Sejanus*, II. 165–87. Tiberius says that 'nature, bloud, and lawes of kind' forbid him to strike at relatives: 'Doe policie, and state forbid it?' asks Sejanus, and further

Whom hatred frights,
Let him not dreame on sou'raignty. TIB. Are rites
Of faith, loue, piety, to be trod downe?
Forgotten? and made vaine? SEI. All for a cròwne.
The prince, who shames a tyrannes name to beare,
Shall neuer dare doe any thing, but feare.

With Sejanus in mind Jonson wrote later in the *Discoveries* a close parallel to Aubrey's closing words to Latarch: 'For no men hate an evill *Prince* more, then they, that help'd to make him such' (1228–9).

There is one marked verbal parallel to Aubrey's opening words, in a different context of the *Discoveries*. Speaking of knowledge, Jonson says, 'In her Indagations oft-times new Sents put her by; and she takes in errors into her, by the same conduits, she doth Truths' (817–20). Significant as these parallels are, they are a slender link of evidence to prove the authorship of an entire scene. The aphorism on king-makers is one which Jonson may have uttered in private life.

Rollo, secured by his murders, says to Latorch later in the scene,

We now are Duke alone, *Latorch*, secur'd;
Nothing left standing to obscure our prospect,
We look right forth, beside, and round about us,
And see it ours with pleasure.

Crawford compares the opening lines of *Mortimer his Fall*:

This Rise is made, yet! and we now stand, ranck'd,
To view about us, all that were above us!
Nought hinders now our prospect, all are even,
We walke upon a Levell.

The essence of the simile is in *Sejanus*, II. 500:

No tree, that stops his prospect, but must fall.

In discussing the political ideas of this scene *Sejanus* has been ignored. Here is a minor parallel: Latorch tells Rollo

Now, now your highness
Begins to live, from this hour count your joyes.

So Sejanus, at the height of his power as he imagined,

I did not liue, till now; this my first hower:
Wherein I see my thoughts reach'd by my power. (v. 3, 4.)

Act iv, scene ii. This is an astrological scene and was claimed for Jonson by Richard Garnett in *Modern Philology*, II (1904–5), pp. 489–95.

on the ground that it 'revealed an erudition greater than any contemporary dramatist can be supposed to have possessed'. The erudition shows itself in two ways: first, in a borrowing from the late fourth-century Latin comedy *Querolus* ('The Whimperer'), a play crudely based on the *Aulularia* of Plautus, to whom it was once attributed; secondly, in a minute and accurate knowledge of astrology. *Querolus* has in his house a treasure which his father Euclio hid there without telling him. Euclio, dying abroad, confides the secret to his friend Mandrogerus, giving him half the treasure as a reward for telling *Querolus*. Mandrogerus plots with an astrologer and a fortune-teller to keep it. The meeting of the three knaves deploring their moneyless state and the hardness of the times and the trick of divination by which the astrologer describes a house which he professes never to have seen are the chief points of resemblance to *The Bloody Brother*, but these were near enough in London without making a curious search for them in a forgotten play. As for the astrology, 'the latitude and longitude of Caen,¹ where the duke's birth took place, are given with entire correctness, the latter being reckoned from the meridian of Hierro, one of the Canary Islands, as it usually was in Ben Jonson's time'. The professional talk is 'equally correct in its employment of terms of art and its references to Arabian astrological authorities, "Messahalal, Zael [*Lael* in text], or Alchindus"'. To suppose that Jonson was the only dramatist of his time who could use this technical jargon correctly is surely an extravagant claim. What is Jonsonian is the fact that it is worked as elaborately as the technical terms in *The Alchemist*, and that the underlings play up to the chief magician exactly as Face does to Subtle.

These knaves are named Rusee, De-Bube, La-Fiske, and Norbret, with a boy Pipeau. Norbret is an anagram for Bretnor, and he and Fiske are mentioned in *The Devil is an Ass*, 1. ii. 1-3, acted in 1616. Fleay therefore suggested 1616-17 as the original date of *The Bloody Brother*, but these impostors were still at work in 1633 when Lilly made their acquaintance.

Finally, the verse of this scene does not read like Jonson's. Here is Pipeau complaining of his rags: Fiske has said that at first the boy would sail with any wind into every creek and corner.

I was light then,
New built and rigg'd when I came to you, Gentlemen,
But now with often and far venturing for you
Here be leaks sprung, and whole Planks wanting, see you;
If you'll new sheaeth me again, yet I am for you
To any bog or sleights, where e're you'll send me,
For as I am, where can this ragged Bark
Put in for any service; 'less it be
O' th' Isle of Rogues, and there turn Pirate for you.

¹ The geniture Nocturnal, Longitude
At forty nine and ten minutes.

The play belongs to the type of tragic romance associated with the name of Fletcher rather than of Jonson. Only one scene (iv. i) shows any affinity with Jonson's work. There are borrowings from him, as Dyce noted, but these do not prove that he had a hand in the play.

THE NEW INN

TIME AND PLACE IN THE PLAY

BOTH are simple: the place is the 'Light Heart' at Barnet, the time of the action is one day. There are a few hints of time. In i. iii. 36 the boy is told to go down and get his breakfast. Lovel's first discourse was made after dinner (ii. vi. 257). 'The dinner is gone vp' in Act III, scene i, line 104. The second discourse was made after supper (ii. vi. 258). Lovel goes to bed iv. iv. 334, but is roused, and they 'all goe sleepe' in the last scene (v. v. 123).

A room in the inn suffices for all the scenes except Act IV, scene ii, which is the Court of the Inn (iv. iii. 10): it opens with Tipto's invitation, 'Come, let vs take in fresco, here, one quart'. In Act III, scene ii, and Act IV, scene iv, a few properties, such as a chair of state for the sovereign, would turn the room into a tribunal; they could be withdrawn when no longer wanted.

Dedication

3. *if thou canst but spell*. So in the First Folio of Shakespeare the preface '*To the great Variety of Readers*' begins 'From the most able, to him that can but spell'.

6. *neuer made piece of their prospect*, never made it into a unit, a complete whole.

8. *To see, and to be seene*. The stock Ovidian phrase: see S.W. iv. i. 60.

12. *rising between the Actes*. D. is A. i. vi. 33.

in oblique lines. M.L. Ind. 33, 'the oblique caves and wedges of your house'.

14. *Stage-furniture, or Arras-clothes*. C.R. Ind. 148-52.

The Argument

6. *extrauagant*, not only in the sense of 'excessive' and 'fantastic', but with a side-glance at his wanderings: cf. Shakespeare's 'The extra-vagant and erring spirit' (*Hamlet*, i. i. 154).

14. *ritely*, with due rites.

15. *reducing*, bringing back (Lat. *reduco*).

18. *resent*, regret. i. v. 73.

19. *cock-brain'd*. Palsgrave, 1530, f. 308a, 'Cokbraynde, light, fole hardye, saffre?' i. v. 66.

22. *state*, estate.

30. *Barnet*. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, i. iii (1606, B2v): 'Ia. Captaine

Fowleweather, my Ladie the Countes *Eugenia* commends hir most kindly to you, and is determined to morrowe morning earely if it be a frost to take her Coach to Barnet to be nipt: where if it please you, to meete her, and accompany her homewarde, ioyning your wit with the frost, and helpe to nippe her, she does not doubt but tho you had a sad supper, you will haue a ioyfull breakfast.'

33. *on the by*. *Cat.* III. 377.

47. *standard of . . . apparrell*, a definite amount adequate to show off Prudence. II. ii. 44.

50. *the Hosts sonne of the house*. *Engl. Gr.* II. ii. 37-41.

64. *Epitasis, or businesse of the Play*. *E.M.O.* III. viii. 102, 'the *Epitasis*, or busie part of our subiect'. *M.L.* Chorus I, 1-13 n.

73. *viuely*, to the life. *M.L.* Chorus II, 37; *M. of Q.* 83, B. J.'s note.

96. *preoccupied*, a quibble on the lecherous sense of 'occupy', and the sense 'worn beforehand'. *Und.* xlii. 39-42 shows that Jonson had known a case of this in real life.

98. *Doxey*. *Alch.* III. iii. 23.

a foote. In IV. iii. 98-9 she is to be sent home in a cart with a basin beaten before her as was done with prostitutes and bawds.

104. *Catastrophe*. *M.L.* Chorus I, 9.

110. *retriue*. Cf. 'bring to the retriue', *S. of N.* III. i. 48.

114. *bride-bowle*. *T. of T.* III. viii. 18.

118. *bed-lem*, lunatic.

The Persons of the Play

1. *Lord Frampul*. From the adjective 'frampul (frompold)', peevish. *T. of T.* II. iv. 18, 'grow not fram-pull now'.

10. *the French warres*. English volunteers flocked to France to fight in the civil wars; thus in 1569 Walter Raleigh served with the Huguenots.

15. *Stote*. I. ii. 3, *B.F.* II. ii. 70.

20. *stale*, decoy.

37. *Prudence*. Originally Cecily: see 2 *Epil.* 8, and the discussion in the textual introduction, vol. vi, p. 391. 'Cis' is left in the text by an oversight in I. v. 11. She may be the 'Secretarie Sis' of *Und.* II. 8. 25; cf. 'secretary Pru.', I. vi. 25, V. iv. 14.

44. *enamour'd of . . . on*. Jonson has both constructions.

47. *Glorious*, the Latin *gloriosus*, 'vain-glorious'.

48. *without a riual*. Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, III. viii. 4, 'O di, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali!' Horace, *A.P.* 443-4:

Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem
quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.

55. *Fly*. Brome, *The Sparagus Garden*, I. iii (1640, B4^v), Sir Hugh Money-lacks is taunted, 'I heard . . . that you play the fly of the new Inne there; and sip with all companies': see the Host's account of him, II. iv. 10-15.

59. *Anone*. So named from the waiter's answer 'anon', i.e. 'coming

immediately', when guests called him. Cf. Francis of the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, 1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 22-64.

infantry, small boys. *T.V.* 177. Lamb and Thackeray revived the use in a jocular sense.

60. *Iordan*. Named from the 'jordan', or chamber-pot.

61. *Tertia*. III. i. 6-10.

64. *Bat: Burst. A broken Citizen*. Described in III. i. 170-5: cf. *S. of N.* I. ii. 72-3.

an in-and-in man. III. i. 180-1. 'In-and-in' was a gambling game, played by three persons with four dice, each person having a box. It was the usual diversion at ordinaries and places of inferior resort. It is described in the *Compleat Gamester* (ed. 1680, p. 117): '... *in* was, when there was a doublet, or two dice alike out of the four; *in and in* when there were either two doublets or all four dice alike, which swept all the stake' (Nares). Nabbes in *The Springs Glorie*, 1638, B4, makes Shrove-tide say to Christmas, 'Thy sonne *In and in*, undid many a Citizen'.

67. *Pinnacia*. From the equivocal use of 'pinnacle', *B.F.* II. ii. 73.

70. *Only talk'd on* in IV. i. 8, 29, 30.

The Prologue

2. *the old house*. The Blackfriars Theatre.

15, 16. *Disc.* 409-11, '... the only decay, or hurt of the best mens *reputation* with the people, is, their wits have out-liv'd the peoples palats. They have been too much, or too long a feast.'

21. *at any hand*. *Poet.* v. iii. 541.

1. i. 16. *makes, mates*.

18, 19. *Islip*. See Camden, *Remaines . . . Concerning Britaine*, 1605, pp. 147-8: 'It may seeme doubtfull whether Bolton Prior of Saint Bartholomew in Smithfield, was wiser when hee invented for his name a bird-bolt through a Tunne, or when hee built him an house vppon Harrow Hill, for feare of a great inundation after a great coniunction in the watry Triplicitee.

'*Islip* Abbot of Westminster, a man most favored by king Henry the seaventh, had a quadruple devise for his single name; for somewhere hee sette vppe in his windowes an eie with a slip of a tree, in other places one slipping boughs in a tree, in other places *I* with the saide slip; and in some places one slipping from a tree with the worde *Islip*.'

26. *cages*. 'A Tormentor for a Flea' is sold in *B.F.* II. iv. 7.

31. *sports of nature*, Lat. *lusus naturae*.

32. *Spanish needle*. *D. is A.* I. i. 58.

1. ii. 6. *Footmans Inne*, jail. S. Rowlands, *The Knave of Harts*, 1612, C3^v, 'A theeuing Knaue':

His fearefull enemie is *Hue and Cry*,
Which at the heeles so hants his frighted ghost,
That he at last in foot-mans Inne must host.

11. *set up our rest*. The same quibble as in *E.M.O.* v. xi. 52.

19. *rack o'mutton*, neck of mutton.

22. *clarified whey*. Mentioned in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, II. ii, along with phlebotomy, fresh pork, and conger, as a 'duller of the vital spirits' (G. B. Tennant).

24. *My Magna Charta*. *M.L.* Chorus III, 24, 'my *Magna Charta* of reprehension'.

Cor laetificat. Psalm civ. 15 in the Vulgate, 'Et vinum laetificet cor hominis'.

25. *balder-dash*. John Taylor, *Drinke and Welcome*, 1637, B3: 'Indeede Beere, by a Mixture of Wine, it enjoyes approbation amongst some few (that hardly understand wherefore) but then it is no longer Beere, but hath lost both Name and Nature, and is called *Balderdash*, (an Utopian denomination) and so like a petty Brooke running into a great stream loses it selfe in his owne current.'

bonny-clabbee, sour butter-milk. So 'bonny clabbe', *Irish M.* 87. A more correct spelling is 'bonny-clabber'. Derived from Irish *bainne*, 'milk', *claba*, 'thick'.

42. *Rere-mice*, bats. III. i. 174.

1. iii. 5. *a play-boy*. *S. of N.* Intermean III, 46.

8. *beard-brush*. In Dekker's *Match mee in London*, II (1631, D2), the King of Spain buying in a shop says, 'I like this beard-brush, but that the haire's too stiffe'; *The Wandering-Jew*, 1640, E4^v, 'how he stands, and looks upon himselfe; his Combe is out, and Beard-brush'.

9. *rubber*, towel.

10. *a warming pan*. Dr. Tennant quotes Ray, *English Proverbs*, 1678, p. 83, 'A Scotch *warming pan*, i.e. A wench. The story is well known of the Gentleman travelling in Scotland, who desiring to have his bed warmed, the servant-maid doffs her clothes, and lays her self down in it a while.'

18. *with a funnell*. From Quintilian, quoted on *Disc.* 1794.

25. Adapted from Terence, *Andria*, 447, 'Subtristis visust esse aliquantillum mihi'.

26. *etiam ac* should be *atque etiam*: *ac* could not be the second word. Jonson seems to have written at first *laute excipere ac tractare*, then to have inserted an emphatic *etiam*, and forgotten to cancel *ac*. It is possible that the error occurred in proof-reading.

30. *Nimis præclusus vultus*, the 'shut-face' of *S. of N.* iv. iv. 64.

54. *vented at the drum*, sold, offered for sale, at a public auction: North's *Plutarch*, ed. 1676, p. 465, 'That . . . their Slaues should be openly sold by the Drum'; Massinger, *A New Way*, iv. ii (1633, I3):

He has summon'd all his Creditours by the drum,
And they swarme about him like so many souldiers
On the pay day.

55. *out-cry*, auction.

61. *the Centaures skill, the art of Thrace*. So Jonson on the horsemanship of the Earl of Newcastle, *Und.* liii. 4-6:

Methought I read the ancient Art of *Thrace*,
And saw a Centaure, past those tales of *Greece*,
So seem'd your horse, and you, both of a peece!

The Centaurs lived in the forests and mountains of Thessaly, but from early times Thrace was famous for its breed of horses: *Θρήκη ἵπποτρόφος*, Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 507.

62. *Pollux mystery*, boxing, which Jonson extends to fencing.

63. *Pyrrhick gestures*. 'The war-dance of the ancient Greeks, in which the motions of actual warfare were gone through, to a musical accompaniment' (O.E.D.).

67. *Nestor*. The Homeric hero, famous for his wisdom, eloquence, and long life. Cf. i. vi. 130.

the wise Vlysses. *Disc.* 361, 'Vlysses in Homer, is made a long-thinking man, before hee speaks'.

69. *Chaucer*. The reference is to the Friar in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, 264-5:

Somwhat he lipped for his wantownesse,
To make his English swete upon his tonge.

Jonson quotes it also in *Challenge at Tilt*, 49, *U.V.* xxxiii. 14.

70. *Sir Pandarus*. The notion of 'pander' comes from Boccaccio and Chaucer.

74. *vaulting house*, or 'vaulting school', brothel. Dekker, *The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London*, iv (1606, E2), 'Letchery is patron of al your Suburb Colledges, and sets vp Vaulting-houses, and Daunsing-Schooles'.

75. *bale*, 'the set of dice for any special game, usually three' (O.E.D.).

80. *Twinge*, pinch, wring. Cf. 'Twinger', *G.M.* 979.

85. *Tiburne*. 'The Tyburn gallows stood in the angle formed by the Edgware road and Oxford Street, now Connaught Square, of which number 49 is said to be the exact place' (Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*).

degree is a quibble on the sense of 'step'. *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, E2, 'such as practise to proceed in all villanie, till from Batchelors in *Newgate*, by degrees, they proceed to be Maisters, and by desert be preferred at *Tyborne*'; *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-catchers*, 1602, A2 (S. R.'s introductory letter), 'If any with the spider heere seeke to sucke poison, let such a one take heede, that in practising his villany he chaunce commence Batchelor in Whittington Colledge, and so in good time take his degrees and proceede Doctor, and thence with a solemne procession take possession of doctor *Stories* cappe; to which some of the worshipfull companie of Conicatchers haue worthily heretofore attained.'

87. *S. Thomas a Waterings*, the old place of execution on the Surrey side of the Thames. It was situated at the second milestone of the Kent road, where is a brook; it was a halting-place for the pilgrims to the

shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury to water their horses (Chaucer, *Prologue*, 826). *Hyckescorner*, 1512? Ciiiv:

For at saynt thomas of watrynge and they stryke a sayle,
Than muste they ryde in the hauen of he(m)pe without fayle.

U. Fulwell, *Like wil to Lyke*, 1587, B4:

A peece of ground it is that a beggers maner doth holde:
and who deserues it shal haue it ye may be bolde.
Called Saint Thomas a watrings, or els Tiburn hil:
Giuen and so bequeathed to the falsest knaue by wil.

100. *sonnes o'the white Hen*. Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 141, 'gallinae filius albae', and the French 'le fils de la poule blanche'.

102. *in fortunes smocke*. Cf. *Alch.* III. v. 12.

103. *trompe*, deceive. French *tromper*.

104. *Cotes*. *S. of N.* IV. i. 27.

106. *cards o'ten, to face it Out*. An unsolved reference to bluffing. Cunningham suggests that, as in *vingt-et-un*, the court cards counted the same as the ten. Skelton, *Bouge of Court* (*Works*, ed. Dyce, i, p. 42):

First pycke a quarell, and fall oute with hym, then,
And soe outface hym withe a card of ten.

The Taming of the Shrew, II. i. 397, 'Yet I have faced it with a card of ten'.

110. *cleare nostrill*. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 208 n., 'stuff'd nostrils'.

111. *made, another*. The comma marks Lovel's momentary hesitation as a matter of delicacy.

113. *Iouial Tinker*. A tune with that title is cited in *T. of T.* I. iv. 42.

114. *to crambe* (or *crambo*), 'a game in which one player gives a word or line of verse to which each of the others has to find a rime' (*O.E.D.*). *F.I.* 322.

115. *skink*. *B.F.* II. ii. 98.

116-17. *So S. of N.* I. ii. 138-9.

117. *Synonyma*. *Ep.* vii. 4; Massinger, *The Emperour of the East*, I. ii (1632, B3^v):

As I am the State scout, you may think me an informer.
Master of the habit. They are *Synonyma*.

120. *tinkleth*, jingles, in reference to the *crambo*. *F.I.* 291, 'fine tinckling rime'.

128. *a Play*. *Disc.* 1093-5, *De vita humana*.

132. *at ease . . . i'mine Inne*. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, I. v:

Restie welth wylth me this wydow to wyn,
To let the world wag, and take mine ease in mine in.

133. *chuck*, chuckle. *M.L.* II. iii. 33; Marston, *Sat.* i (1598, p. 31), 'Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport?'

139. *Iet rings*. *E.M.I.* II. iv. 35.

151-2. *ploughing With this mad Oxe*. A reference to the proverb of Judges xiv. 18. For 'mad Oxe' cf. *S.W.* v. i. 96.

I. iv. 14. *a beard*. *B.F.* IV. iv. 189.

I. v. 2. *ghests o'the game*, spirited, gamesome. But, as Dr. Tennant points out, the expression was equivocal: 'Punque Alice' is 'Mistresse o'the Game' in the list of characters of *Bartholomew Fair*; in iv. v. 94 'guests o' the Game' means courtesans.

7. *master Grosse*. Marcus Licinius Crassus, grandfather of the triumvir; Jonson translates the Latin adjective *crassus*, 'gross'. 'Ἀγέλαστος, 'not laughing': Cicero, *De Finibus*, v. 92, 'Atque in eo Marco Crasso quem semel ait in vita sua risisse Lucilius, non contigit ut ea re minus ἀγέλαστος, ut ait idem, vocaretur'. The episode of the ass is in Jerome, *Epistle vii* (*Opera*, ed. Migne, i. 341), 'semel in vita Crassum ait risisse Lucilius: Similem habent labra lactucas, asino carduos comedente'. For the pronunciation following the Greek accent of ἀγέλαστος see *C.R.* v. xi. 60, note on 'Philautia'.

10. *Coronel*, the old French form, common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for 'colonel'. *L.W.* 35.

17. *i'the altitudes*. Fletcher, *The Laws of Candy*, II. i. (1647, p. 55):

This Woman's in the altitudes, and he must be
A good Astrologer shall know her Zodiack.

30. *protested*. *S.W.* IV. v. 72.

31. *bodge*. A measure used in selling oats, 'apparently about half a peck' (*O.E.D.*).

bottle, bundle.

36. *lazers*, lepers.

switch-sellers. Jasper Mayne, *The Citye Match*, III. iv (1639, K2^v):

To so much ruine may be in pity brought to buy
Some place for me in an Hospitall, to keep me
From Bridges, Hill-tops, & from selling switches.

43. There is a pause after 'enioyne' and a stress on 'you'; a comma after the verb would have made this clear.

46. *ging*. *E.M.I.* II. ii. 31.

48. *Cocatrice*. *E.M.O.* I. ii. 220.

60. *Silly*. Apparently the 'Serly' of II. vi. 269.

62. *Yong Goose, the Motion-man*. A showman named Gosling, noticed in the *Diary* of Thomas Crosfield, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford (ed. F. S. Boas, p. 71). He notes on 15 July 1634, among the 'Spectacula Oxonij hoc anno', 'Hierusalem in its glory, destruction . . . invented by Mr. Gosling, sometimes scholler to Mr. Camden, Enginer'. Dr. Boas quotes an entry from the Mayor's Court Books of Norwich on 28 March 1635, 'W^m Gostlynge brought into this Court a licence vnder the seale

of the Master of the Revels dated the 9th day of August in the Tenth yeare of King Charles to shew the portraiture of the City of Jerusalem in all places for a year'.

73. *resenting*. Argument of the Play, 18.

1. vi. 5. *Chalk*. So scores were posted in an ale-house: see *The Returne from Parnassus* (I), ed. Macray, 1. i. 451-2, 'Marrye, all my debts stande chaukt upon the poste for liquor! Mine hostis may cross it if shee will.'

rondels. Though not accepted by the *O.E.D.* we think the explanation given by Nares is right: 'A round mark in the score of a public-house'; it was used to mark shillings. Cf. M. Lluellyn, *Men-Miracles*, 1656, p. 40:

No Ale-wifes Doores
Doe *Penance* in *chalke* for me: . . .
Nor indeed was I ever willing
To discover by what happe
The Fat *Harlot* of the *Tappe*
Writes at night and at noone,
For a Tester halfe a Moone,
And a great round O for a Shilling.

Dekker, *The Belman of London*, 1608, C3, 'hauing paid so farre as their purses would stretch for what they had deuoured, making *Oes* in *chalke* for the rest when they met there next'.

7, 8. *To throw The house out of the window*. W. Bullein, *Bulwarke of defence against all Sicknesse*, 1579, f. 27, 'haue at al, Kockes Woundes, Bloode and nayles, cast the house out of the windowe, and let the Deuil paye the Malt man'.

18. *Ferne-seed*. *E.M.O.* iv. iii. 33-4 n.

18, 19. *Opal Wrapt in a Bay-leafe, i' my left fist*. The virtues of the opal in clearing the eyesight of the wearer and making him invisible to others are set forth by Marbodius (Marbœuf, bishop of Rennes) in *De lapidibus pretiosis Enchiridion*, Paris, 1531, p. 89:

Avertens oculis morbos Ophthalmius omnes
Asseritur furum tutissimus esse patronus.
Nam se gestanti, uisus conseruat acutos,
Et circumstantes obducta nube recondit,
Vt spoliare domos possint impune latrones.

Marbodius is quoted by *Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, Trevisa's translation, 1535, xvi. lxxiii, 'Of Optallio'—'Optallius hight Oppalus also | and is a stone distinguished with colours of diuers precious stones | . . . it is said . . . that this stone optallius kepeth and saueth his eien that hym beareth | clere and sharpe and without greif. And dimmeth other mens eyen that be about with a maner clowde | and smyteth hem with a maner blindnes that is called Amentia | so that they mow not se nother take heede what is doone to fore theyr eyen. Therefore it is

sayd, that it is moste sure patrone of theeues | as it is sayde in Lapidario.' Albertus Magnus, *Liber Mineralium*, 1560, II. xiii, and Andra Bacci, *De Gemmis et Lapidibus Pretiosis*. 1603, similarly copy Marbodius, but none of these authorities explains the ritual of the bay-leaf and the need of holding the opal in the left hand.

21. *Giges ring*. Gyges was a shepherd, and afterwards the king, of ancient Lydia: the legend of his ring is told by Plato, *Republic*, ii. 359-60. Descending into a cleft made by an earthquake, he saw a hollow brazen horse containing a corpse of superhuman size; he took the ring off its hand. Seated in a company of shepherds, 'he happened to turn the hoop of the ring round towards himself, till it came to the inside of his hand. Whereupon he became invisible to his neighbours, who fell to talking about him as if he were gone away'. He became visible again when 'he began playing with the ring, and turned the hoop to the outside'.

25. *Secretary, confidante*. Cf. the Chambermaid of *The Overburian Characters*, ed. Paylor, p. 43, 'She is her Mistresses shee Secretarie, and keeps the box of her teeth, her haire, and her painting, very private'.

62. *o'th' vollee*. *S. of N.* IV. i. 24.

69. *Or hisse, or drinke afore me*, i.e. you have taken the words out of my mouth.

80. *are you within?* See *Conv. Dr.* xvii. 557-8; *D. is A.* I. v. 2.

93. *a ghost . . .* Middleton, *The Old Law*, IV. i (1656, H1^v), 'i'le plague thee as long as I live with thee, and i'le bury some money before I die that my ghost may hant thee afterward'.

118. *thereon hangs a history*. *E.H.* II. ii. 313, 'Thereby lyes a tale sir'.

124. *no Arthurs*. For the depreciatory suggestion cf. *E.M.O.* II. iii. 67-8, and *Und.* xliii. 29-31, with its contemptuous reference to

Amadis de Gaule,
Th' *Esplandians*, *Arthur's*, *Palmerins*, and all
The learned Librarie of *Don Quixote*.

124-5. *no Rosicleers, No Knightes o'the Sunne*. A reference to *The Mirror of Knighthood*, which told the adventures of the Knight of the Sun and of his brother Rosicleer: see *C.R.* III. v. 31.

125. *Amadis de Gaule's*. *S.W.* IV. i. 56.

126. *Primalions*. The *Second Book of the Emperour Palmerin*, published in 1512, in which are recounted the noble and valorous deeds of Primaleon and Polendus his sons and other excellent foreign knights who came to his court. See H. Thomas in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xiii, pp. 102-4.

Pantagruel's. The reference is not to Rabelais himself, but to the literature noticed in *E.M.I.* II. ii. 25 n.

135. *Pious*, Lat. *pius*, 'dutiful', Virgil's stock epithet for his hero, Aeneas.

140-1. *the Howres . . . upon the clouds*. So in the *Entertainment of the Two Kings at Theobalds*, 1-3, 'ouer the porch, sate the three Howers, upon

clouds, as at the ports of Heauen'. The King of Denmark is told that the master of the house

Nos tempestivas, ad limina, collocat *Horas*,
Quod bona sub nobis omnia proueniant.

Cf. *Und.* lxxiv. 16–18.

'Like many other similar passages in Jonson this is *εἶδος χαλεπὸν* — a sight which it is difficult to make one's self see—a picture my fancy cannot copy detached from the words' (Coleridge).

154. *the courting-stock*. *C.R.* v. iv. 608.

156. *a religion*, a conscientious scruple.

171. 'I hardly know where to find a more admirable first act of a comedy than this. *Si sic*'.—Dyce (MS.).

II. i. 2. *a great deale with the biggest*. *E.M.I.* I. v. 165, 'Tis somewhat with the least'.

6. *errand*. A seventeenth-century spelling. 'Thief errant' or 'arrant thief' extends the use of the epithet to such words as 'coward', 'usurer'; but Jonson takes it a step farther.

18. *disappoint*, a quibble on the sense of 'imperfectly equipped'. In *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 584, 'royally appointed' = royally equipped.

19–29. More effective than the similar long-drawn onslaught of *S.W.* III. v. 68–118.

21. *searing candle*. A quibble on the tailor's 'cering-candle', with which he dressed materials. Palsgrave, 1530, f. 479b, 'I ceare a garment of silke or velvet, as a taylour doth with a ceryng candell, *Jencire*'.

22. *trundle*, roll.

26. *the strappado*, in which his hands would be tied behind his back and secured to a pulley; he was then hoisted from the ground and let down with a jerk.

31. *cruell*. The same quibble as in *Alch.* I. i. 173.

60. *sought my selfe, without my selfe*. Persius, *Sat.* i. 7, 'nec te quae-siveris extra': *without*, outside. So Ben's scholar Field in *A Woman is a Weathercock*, I. i (1612, B2):

I loue that Poet
That gaue vs reading, not to seeke our selues
Beyond our selues.

II. ii. 10. *Anone*, i.e. Pierce Anone, the drawer.

18. *emphased*, stressed. No other example in the *O.E.D.*

36. *impertinent*, meddlesome. *M.L.* I. v. 45.

40. *shape*, costume, especially a stage-dress.

42. *A tuft-taffeta cloake*. *C.R.* IV. iii. 355.

an old French-hood. *T. of T.* IV. v. 95.

II. iii. 4. *Coach-leaues*, folding blinds of a coach-window.

16. *trundling*, revolving, with a suggestion of 'getting off the track'.

II. iv. 16. *I had him when I came . . .* 'It pleases mine host to say so in this place, but in the last scene'—v. v. 127, and in the Argument 122—'he gives another account of Fly.'—Dyce (MS.).

23-4. *Of Stratford . . .* A reference to Chaucer's Prioress, *Prologue*, 124-6:

And Frenssh she spak ful faire and fetisly
After the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe,
For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.

Chaucer's reference is complimentary and means Anglo-Norman French as taught at the Benedictine nunnery of Stratford-le-Bow. Jonson's adaptation is an early instance of misunderstanding the allusion.

24. *Lillies Latine*. *T. of T.* III. vii. 72.

29. *Maestro del Campo*, quarter-master, as he is generally called. III. i. 13.

31. *a fine Militia*. Described in III. i. 1-32.

II. v. 'Though it was hard upon old Ben, yet Feltham, it must be confessed, was in the right in considering the Fly, Tipto, Bat. Burst, etc. of this play, mere dotages. Such a scene as this was enough to damn a new play; and Nick Stuff is worse still—most abominable *stuff* indeed' (Coleridge).

7. *a Doctour*. Cf. Fletcher, *The Elder Brother*, I. ii (1679, p. 108):

Come, Dr *Andrew*, without Disputation thou shalt Commence i'th'
Cellar.

9. *Salamanca*, the oldest university of Spain, founded about 1230, and specially famous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

12. *macte*, bless you: Martial, iv. xiii. 2, 'Macte esto taedis, O Hy-menae, tuis', a blessing on your torches.

15. *magis aucte*. Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, v. 66, 'macte, id est magis aucte'; Festus, *De Verborum significatu*, 125, 'mactus, magis auctus'. An exploded etymology: *mactus*, blessed, is from the root *μακ* as in *μάκαρ*.

32. *Bird*. Cf. II. vi. 59, 69.

36. *Cases*. A quibble on 'case', a pair.

spic'd With conscience. *B.F.* I. iii. 122.

39. *with froth*. *B.F.* II. ii. 96.

42. *merry Greke*. *T. of T.* iv, Interloping scene, 23.

43. *the parish top*. 'A large top was formerly kept in every village, to be whipped in frosty weather, that the peasants might be kept warm by exercise, and out of mischief, while they could not work' (Brand). Cf. Fletcher, *Night-Walker*, I. iii, 'And dances like a town-top and reels and hobbles'. *Tw. Night*, I. iii. 38, 'till his brains turn o'the toe like a parish-top'.

set him up and spin him.

44. *Dominus . . . Fac-totum*. *U.V.* xxxiv. 64-5, of Inigo Jones, 'Dominus Do-All'.

45. *reall*, royal.

Cap of Maintenance. A symbol of official dignity borne together with the sword of state before a king at his coronation or before the Lord Mayor of London. Massinger, *The City Madam*, iv. i (1658, p. 51):

I see Lord Major written on his forehead;
The Cap of Maintenance, and Citie Sword
Born up in state before him.

46. *Cap a pie* (Old French), from head to foot.

48-69. For the adaptation in Fletcher's *Love's Pilgrimage*, see vol. ii, pp. 198-200, and the text in vol. vi, pp. 495-8.

48. *in Cuerdo*, in undress. 'En cuerpo, L. sine pallio. A. *without his cloake*' (Minsheu, 1617). In Fletcher's *Love's Cure*, ii. i (1647, p. 129), Pachieco, a 'cobbler of worship', calls to his servant: 'Boy: my Cloake, and Rapier; it fits not a Gentleman of my rancke, to walke the streets in *Querpo*.'

54. *to the goldweights*, i.e. with scrupulous exactness, such as is aimed at in weighing gold. Fletcher, *The Wild Goose Chase*, i. iii (1679, p. 451):

To one that weighs her words and her behaviours
In the gold weights of discretion.

Brome, *A Mad Couple Well Match'd*, ii. i (1653, C2^v):

La(dy). Give mee my Purse . . . your Gold-weights Mistress *Sale-ware*. . . . *Al(icia)*. Here Madam all in readinesse. *La*. You take no Gold but what is weight, I presume. *Al*. 'Tis but light paines to weigh it Madam.

61-7. For the cosmopolitan character of the dress see *E.M.O.* iii. i. 32 n.

62. *Savoy chaine*. Copied in Fletcher's imitation (see 48-69 n.).

63. *cuffes of Flanders*, edged with the famous Mechlin lace. Drayton in *The Moone-Calfe*, 1627 (*Works*, ed. Hebel, iii, p. 174), satirizes the use of Flanders linen:

For his Attire, then Forraigne parts are sought,
He holds all vile in *England* that is wrought,
And into *Flanders* sendeth for the nonce,
Twelve dozen of Shirts providing him at once,
Layd in the seames with costly Lace that be,
Of the Smock fashion, whole belowe the knee.

64. *the Rome hatband*. In Dekker's *Match mee in London*, ii. i (1631, C4), Bilbo, sitting in his shop, calls to a customer, 'Don, sweet Don, see here rich *Tuscan* hatbands, *Venetian* ventoyes, or *Barbarian* shoo-strings'.

the Florentine Agate. Florence had a famous industry of working in semi-precious stones; the inlaid work (*pietre commesse*) was particularly renowned. Evelyn, *Diary*, i, p. 106, was taken to 'The renowned Ceme-liarcha, or Repository', with 'a large square roome in the middle of

which stood a cabinet of an octangular forme, so adorn'd and furnish'd with cristals, achat, and sculptures as exceeds any description'.

65. *the Milan sword*. *Und.* xliii. 200. Coryat noted the fame of Milan for 'embrodering and making of hilts for swords and daggers. . . . Their cutlers that make hilts are more exquisite in that art then any that I euer saw' (*Crudities*, 1611, p. 102).

66. *Brabant buttons*. 'Flemish buttons' in Fletcher's adaptation.

67. *Madrid*. *Alch.* iv. iv. 13.

71. *Colonel*. In the seventeenth century trisyllabic, and often accented in verse on the last syllable (*O.E.D.*). Cf. iv. ii. 13.

73. *Paramento's*. '*Paramento*, a preparation, a setting forth, a trimming, a garnishing, a dighting' (Florio, 1598).

74. *father of swords*. *S.W.* iv. v. 109-11.

75. *Sir Rud Hudibras*. The son of the British king Leil, who built Carlisle 'in the daies of Solomon'. '*Rudhudibras*, or *Hudibras* appeasing the commotions which his Father could not, fownded *Caerkeynt* or *Canterbury*, *Caerguent* or *Winchester*, and *Mount Palador*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftesbury*: but this by others is contradicted' (Milton, *The History of Britain*, 1670, pp. 16, 17).

77. *a tall man*. *E.M.I.* iv. xi. 48.

78. *Don Lewis*. Don Luis Pacheco de Narvaez, a pupil of Carranza, the details of whose sword-play he reproduced. These two were acknowledged as the great authorities on Spanish fencing. He published at Madrid in 1600 *Libro de las granderas de la Espada, en que se declaran muchos secretos del que compuso el Comendador Geronimo de Carrança. En el cual cada uno se podra leçonar y deprender a solas, sin tener necesidad de maestro que lo enseñe*. An appendix was issued in 1612, and in 1625 a handbook of fencing, probably referred to in lines 88-9, *Modo facil y nuevo para Examinarse los Maestros en la destreza de las Armas y entender sus cien conclusiones, o formas de saber*. In this he described himself as 'Maestro del Rey, Nuestro Señor, en la filosofia y destreza de las armas, y mayor en los Reynos de España'.

79. *Euclide*. The Spanish system of swordsmanship 'may be called the Geometrical or Euclidian School of Fencing. . . . The adversaries come on guard at the extremities of the diameter of an imaginary circle, the length of the diameter being determined by the two arms extended horizontally sword in hand' (A. F. Sieveking in *Shakespeare's England*, ii, p. 397). Cf. 92-3 below.

82. *Hieronimo*. Noticed in a concluding chapter of George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence*, 1599, 'A briefe note of three Italian Teachers of Offence', pp. 64, 72: 'The first was Signior Rocko', i.e. Rocho Bonetti: 'the second was Ieronimo, that was Signior Rocko his boy, that taught Gentlemen in the *Blacke-Fryers*, as Vsher for his maister instead of a man.' 'This gallant was valiant, and would fight indeed', but was finally killed by 'one Cheese, a verie tall man'.

Go by, *Hieronimo* is an allusion, interesting at so late a date, to Kyd's play: see *E.M.I.* i. v. 47 n.

83. *Abbot Antony*. Untraced: probably a fencer named Antony Abbot, the name being inverted to suggest 'Abbot of the Blackfriars'.

84. *Blinkin-sops*. In Sloane MS. 2530 (at folio 3), compiled in Elizabeth's reign, a record of the Association of 'Maisters of the Noble Science of Defense', is this record: 'John Blinkinsop playd his maisters prize the firste day of June at the Artillery garden at four kynde of weapons That is to saye the two hand sword, the backe sword, the sword and buckler and the staff. Ther playd with him six maisters vidz Richard Peters Anthonye ffenruther Gregorie Grene Richard Smyth Richard Donne & Henrye Naylor. An(d) so the said Blinkinsop was admitted maister vnder Willyam Thompson maister | 1579.' On 20 January 1580 the mayor and aldermen of Cambridge petitioned the Lord Treasurer (Lansdowne MS. 29, f. 108) about a challenge 'John Blynckinsops m^r of defence seruant to y^e ryght honorable the L Wharton' issued against 'John Goodwyn likewise m^r of defence & seruant to the right honorable the L North or highe Steward of this towne of Cambridge', and 'one of the comen counsell of or town, . . . A man of good welthe, quyet, & honest conuersacon'. The challenge was to be played at six weapons on 25 January in a private place at Cambridge, with a risk of disorder. They ask for a trial in the presence of the Queen and some of her council, as a safeguard against this.

85. *what are become*. Usually 'is': See *O.E.D.*, s.v. become, 4.

87. *Caranza*. See *E.M.I.* I. v. 113 n.

96. *A Buzzard*. Cf. *E.M.I.* Quarto, I. i. 51, where the Folio substitutes 'Kite', the higher type of bird.

98. *Archimedes* (287–212 B.C.), one of the greatest mathematicians and natural philosophers of antiquity; he invented the pulley and the endless screw and defended Syracuse against the Romans by his engines.

99. *assure*, guarantee.

110. *Steuinus*. Simon Stevinus of Bruges (1548–1620), a distinguished mathematician and physicist, employed by Prince Maurice of Orange, who elaborately studied mathematics as part of his early training. One of Stevinus's inventions was a system of sluices for the defence of the Netherlands.

116. *Scaliger*. Joseph Juste Scaliger (1540–1609), one of the greatest scholars of the Renaissance. His *Cyclometrica Elementa*, with an *Appendix, in qua asseritur quadratio circuli* (Leyden, 1594), was a severely criticized work. He was not a mathematician; perhaps this is why Tipto is made to say he was.

120. *Basta* (Ital.), enough. *The Taming of the Shrew*, I. i. 193, 'Basta, content thee'.

124. *Cyclometria*. Jonson, as usual, scans by accent: cf. I. v. 7 n.

125. *quære*. The imperative 'query' is first in Pepys, 1667 (*O.E.D.*); in the indicative mood II. vi. 90; a noun in *M.L.* v. x. 16.

127. *smatterers*. Cf. *Disc.* 231–5, '*Differentia inter Doctos et Sciolos*'.

128. *lightly*, usually.

130. *Fly . . . to the marke.* B.F. II. iv. 43.
retriue. S. of N. III. i. 48.

II. vi. 4. *It is not now . . .* Kyd's line again parodied: cf. S. of N. I. iv. 17.

6. *loose.* The spellings 'loose' and 'lose' are interchangeable at this date.

9. *Well acted Pru.* The first hint of Lord Latimer's being 'taken with her'.

16. *a perspicill.* S. of N. I. i. 6.

26. *Hybride*, half-breed (Lat. *hybrida*).

28. *Vincent against Yorke.* A well-known quarrel. In 1622 was published *A Discouerie of Errours In the first Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility Published By Raphe Brooke, Yorke Herald, 1619 . . . By Augustine Vincent Rouge-croix Pursuiuant of Armes.* Jonson would sympathize with it as it was a defence of Camden against the attacks of Brooke; the reference to Vincent as a conqueror (Lat. *vinco*) also points to this.

31. *blaze*, blazon.

32. *a single eye.* She had one eye bandaged up (v. v. 76-8).

37. *licke-foote.* No other example is recorded; 'Licorish' gives a new turn to the idea.

proboscis. A quibble: (1) literally *προβοσκίς*, 'a means of providing food'; (2) the sucking mouth of a fly, an underlip which in some flies grows to great length.

38. *veluet-head.* Alch. I. ii. 61.

42. *Lay vp*, lie up: the idea is 'retire, and do nothing'.

44. *Sparta' or Prouince.* Cf. *The Cuntreys Censure on Ben Johnsons New Inn* (Ashmole MS. 38, f. 79), 7, 8:

since thy Crazye Muse doth now
 To quitte her Spartane prouince fayntly knowe.

45. *broome.* A pun on *Sparta*: *σπάρτος* 'broom' (Spanish *esparto*), and *σπάρτον* 'rope', which was made of Spanish broom. So de Winter, who quotes Aristophanes' pun, *Birds*, 813-16, on the suggestion of naming the cloud-city 'Sparte':

Εν. βούλεσθε τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τοῦκ Λακεδαίμονος
 Σπάρτην ὄνομα καλῶμεν αὐτήν; Πι. 'Ηράκλεις'
 Σπάρτην γὰρ ἂν θείμην ἐγὼ τῇμῃ πόλει;
 οὐδ' ἂν χαμεύνη πάνυ γε κειρίαν γ' ἔχων.

46. *as Cuerdo.* Elliptical for 'as it is to one in cuerpo': see II. v. 48. An exception to the O.E.D. statement, 'Only in phrase *In cuerpo*'.

58. *petition . . . of right.* M.L. III. iv. 128-9.

64-5. *problematize*, propound problems; *elenchize*, cross-examine. The only examples recorded in the O.E.D.

66. *inginous.* C.R. III. iii. 40.

67. *a castle i'the ayre.* E.H. II. ii. 226-7, IV. ii. 18; F.I. 99.

68. *an Elephant*. Compare the inn-sign 'Elephant and Castle'; and Massinger and Field, *The Fatall Dowry*, ii (1632, E2):

I know,
This Elephant carries on his backe not onely
Towres, Castles, but the ponderous republique,
And neuer stoops for't.

70. *Buz*. *S.W.* iv. ii. 50. Here there is a play on 'Fly': *M.L.* v. vii. 1, 2.

87. *Dor*. *E.M.I.* iv. viii. 139.

Hum, . . . and *Buz*. *Alch.* i. ii. 169-70.

88. *statuminate*, support, prop (Lat. *statumino*).

90. *The thorough-fare*. Jug, the tapster, described in the character-list as '*a Through-fare of Newes*'.

91. *relicts*, those we have forsaken.

106. *detrect*, draw back, decline (Lat. *detrecto*).

116. *Aloës*. Jonson's spelling follows the late Latin *aloë* and the late Greek ἀλόη: cf. the sixteenth-century spelling 'allowes'.

132. *A she-Trajan*. The justice and moderation of Trajan's rule were commemorated in the formula, quoted by De Winter, with which later emperors were saluted, 'Augusto felicior, melior Traiano'.

134. Beaufort is wooing Frank: cf. 189.

138. *Prince* . . . *her*. A sovereign ruler of either sex was 'prince': Bacon so terms Elizabeth (*Advancement of Learning*, i. vii. 9).

146. *planing*, explaining.

170. *gentile*. *C.R.* Ind. 116.

184. *in foro*, in open court. *M.L.* Ind. 83, '*In Foro*, as a true Comœdy should be'.

191. *Court of Requests*. 'A former court of record, technically forming part of the King's council, held by the Lord Privy Seal, and the Masters of Requests for the relief of persons petitioning the king' (*O.E.D.*).

203. *too too*. *Sej.* ii. 397.

227. *Serenissimous*. Cockeram, *Dictionarie*, 1623, '*Serenissimous*, most famous, a terme applyed to Kings'.

229. *loose*, upshot. *Draw home* quibbles on the archery use, 'discharge' (*E.M.O.* iii. ix. 39).

231. *Put it on*, go ahead.

234. *meant*, which you intended by it.

237. *enjoy*. For the accent on the first syllable, De Winter quotes *C. is A.* iii. iii. 32, 'To enjoy nothing vnderneath the sonne'. But we incline to conjecture 'enuy' as a likelier reading.

253. *regiment*, government. Cf. the title of Knox's attack on Queen Mary, *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of women*, 1558.

261. *on the by*. *Cat.* iii. 377.

263. *Shelee-nien*. iii. ii. 8, iv. iv. 341. Irish *Síle*, i.e. Celia, used also as the equivalent of Julia; -*nien*, -*neen* is the Irish *nighean*, a common

form of *inghean*, 'daughter'. *Sheleen-nien Thomas* in iv. iv. 234, v. v. 28, and in our text of v. iii. 3, is 'Sile, Thomas's daughter' (J. Fraser).

269. *Serly*. 'The chief of the M'Connells is only too well known to the readers of Mr. Froude. "Surley boy, otherwise spelt Sarley boy, or Sarle boigh; meaning Sarley or Charley the yellow-haired." His family was ruthlessly massacred by the English at Rathlin in 1575 by order of Essex. See Froude's *History*, vol. x, pp. 527-9 (small edition).—F. Cunningham.

271. *O Neale*. The O'Neills of Tyrone, of whom Shane O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone (1530?-1567) was famous.

Mac Con. M'Connell: see note on 269.

Mac Dermot in Wexford.

Mac Murrrough. The 'Cavenagh sept' in Wexford and Wicklow.

III. i. 6. *Tertias*. Span. *tercio*, which Jonson has latinized: 'a regiment of souldiers, or so manie companies as were levied out of one countrie' (Minsheu, 1617).

13. *Maestro del Campo*. II. iv. 29.

21. *Alferez* (Span.), ensign.

28. *monosyllabe*. Jonson spelt 'syllabe' after the Greek *συλλαβή*.

33. *Lipsius Fly*. Gifford explains by a reference to an automaton of Johannes Regiomontanus (Muller) at Nuremberg—'an iron fly, wch let loose from his owne trencher fled round about a long table & light vppon his trencher againe' to the amusement of the guests (Sir H. Kynaston, Chaucer's *Troilus*, ii, note on stanza 178). See Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, First Week, Day 6, ed. 1641, p. 56. But there is no evidence that Lipsius invented a mechanic toy of this kind, and the reference seems to be to a note in his *Antiquae Lectiones*, III. i. p. 83, explaining the use of *musca* in Plautus (1) a parasite and uninvited guest: *Poenulus*, 690-2; (2) a busybody: *Mercator*, 361, 'Muscast meus pater, nil potest clam illum haberi'. Obscure though this allusion is, it is borne out by the Host's description of Fly, II. iv. 9-14:

Bea. How came you by this propertie? *Hos*. Who? my Fly?

Bea. Your Fly if you call him so. *Hos*. Nay, he is that,
And will be still. *Beau*. In euery dish and pot?

Hos. I euery cup and company, my Lords,
A creature of all liquors, all complexions,
Be the drinke what it will, hee'l haue his sip.

34. *Jouse*. Lipsius's name was Joest, Juste, or Josse Lips; there may be a quibble on *jowse*, juice, i.e. of the grape.

36. *bolt*, spring, ferret out. *Alch*. II. iii. 88.

49. *Cedar-like*. *Sej*. v. 242.

52. *Dictamen*, dictation. Jonson affects this late-Latin form: iv. iv. 79; *M.L.* Ind. 135; *Und*. ii. 9 (title), 'Her man described by her owne Dictamen'.

55. *Iuno's milke*. Hermes carried the infant Hercules to Olympus

and put him to Juno's breast as she lay asleep. When she woke she pushed the child from her, and the milk thus spilled produced the Milky Way in heaven and lily-flowers on earth. See Jonson's note in *Hym.* 219 s.

57-168. For the adaptation in Fletcher's *Love's Pilgrimage* see vol. ii, pp. 198-200; the text is in vol. vi, pp. 495-8.

64. *court-dish*. Evidently means 'a short allowance', and Gifford suggested 'curt-dish', shallow or broken: but no parallel is given, and the word is not satisfactorily explained.

71. *dimensum*, due allowance. *O.E.D.* quotes J. Lightfoot, *Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus*, 1643, p. 26, of the Israelites: 'The dimensum of their diet in the Wildernesse.'

73. *Keeping our Ladies Eue*. The eves of saints' days were fasts.

78. *butter'd*. *King Lear*, II. iv. 123-4, 'Twas her brother that, in pure kindness to his horse, buttered the hay'.

103. *mother o' the Rose*. *Pervigilium Veneris*, 20, of the rose: 'facta Cypridis de cruore'; Spenser, *Daphnida*, 108-9:

White as the natiue Rose before the chaunge,
Which *Venus* blood did in her leaues impresse.

The legend was that Venus, hurrying unsandalled to help the dying Adonis, trod on the thorns of the white rose and her bleeding feet changed its colour.

104. *the whistle*, to summon the servants.

109. *Parcel Peck*, imperfect, because he gave short measure. Cf. *E.M.I.* III. vii. 93, 'your parcell of a souldier'.

110. *halting afore criples*. *T. of T.* II. vi. 5.

138. *fits, and fancies*. Cf. the title of A. Copley's *Wits Fittes and Fancies*, 1595, and Silvester, *Du Bartas*, 'Mottoes', 1641, p. 610:

So, the vain World, in Pangs and Passions flinging,
Charm'd, as it were, and bound with sev'nty chains,
Its Fits and Phant'sies, for a while, refrains.

142-3. *a Parsons horse . . . Who's master's double-benefic'd*. The buying of benefices was prohibited by law: one form of evasion in buying a second living was to make a sham purchase of some minor object, e.g. of a horse. Cf. Sir J. Harington's *Epigrams*, IV. xxxix (1628, L4), quoted by De Winter:

Pure *Lalus* got a benefice of late,
Without offence of people, Church, or State. . . .
He nothing gave direct, or indirectly.
Fie, *Lalus*, now you tell vs a direct lye:
Did not your Patron for an hundred pound,
Sell you a horse was neither yong nor sound;
No Turke, no Courser, Barbary, nor Iennit?
Simony? No, but I see money in it. . . .
The Benefice was cheap, the Horse was deare.

144. *greasing i'the teeth*. This trick is frequently referred to: cf. Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1609, ch. xii: 'suddenly out of his bed started an *Hostler*, who hauing no apparell on but his shirt, a paire of slip-shooes on his feete, and a Candle burning in his hand like olde *Ieronimo* step'd into the stable amongst a number of poore hungry Iades, . . . seeing them so late at supper, and knowing that to ouer-eate them-selues would fill them full of diseases, . . . hee first . . . tooke away, not onely all the Prouander that was set before them, but also all the hay, . . . The poore Horses looked very rufully vpon him for this, but hee rubbing their teeth only with the end of a Candle . . . tolde them, that for their Iadish trickes it was now time to weane them.' At day-break 'vp hee started, & into the stable he stumbled, scarce halfe awake, giuing to euery Iade a bottle of hay for his breake-fast; but al of them being troubled w^t the greazy tooth-ach could eate none'.

151. *puckfists*. Properly 'empty braggart', as in *E.M.O.* i. ii. 159; here incorrectly used for 'close-fisted', 'niggardly'.

167. *Prolate it right*. The order to 'prolate' or expand the shortened form is puzzling: Jonson has 'foundred' in *C.R.* i. i. 18, *Poet.* i. ii. 177, and *For.* x. 9, 'And foundred thy hot teame, to tune my lay'. Cf. J. Howell, *Dodona's Grove*, 1640, p. 12: 'The other delights in long breathed accents, which he prolates with such pauses, that before he is at a period of the sentence, one may reach a second thought.'

170. *Mas. Volp.* ii. i. 55, 'MASS' STONE'.

174. *Rere-mouse*. i. ii. 42.

181. *At in, and in*. Cf. The Persons of the Play, 64, *supra*.

186. *protection*. iv. ii. 59. An affectation like that of 'Countenance' and 'Resolution' in *E.M.O.* iv. v. 68.

191. *tuft-taffeta*. *C.R.* iv. iii. 355.

197. *disiune*. Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 197), 'a disiune, or morning breakfast'.

muscadell, and egges. A provocative: see *Conv. Dr.* xvii. 527-31.

198. *trundling cheats*, carts (gipsy slang).

209. *whip-stocke*. Literally 'whipping-stock', a person who is well whipped; here jocularly of the coachman.

211. *flicker-mouse*, bat. *Alch.* v. iv. 88, 'flitter-mouse'.

III. ii. Tribunals called Courts of Love, in which questions of gallantry were decided and the claims and arguments of the parties were put into verse by the poets, were instituted as early as 1180 both in Provence and Picardy. They are said to have originated in the songs sung at May festivals by the peasant girls of Poitou and Limousin (Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, p. 2, and Gaston Paris, *Origines de la Poésie Lyrique*). To check the undue severity of ladies who tyrannized over their lovers the Courts are said to have framed a definite code of 'Laws of Love' such as those embodied in the *Roman de la Rose*. This influence entered English poetry with Chaucer and was continued by Lydgate, Gawain Douglas, and Spenser.

Heading 3. *assist of the Bench*. The *of*, for which there seems to be no parallel, is partitive: assist as of, as being members of, the Bench.

6. *noise*. *Sej.* v. 452.

8. *Tel-clocke*. Strictly this word is used of an idler who merely marks time, counting the hours by the clock.

10. *Schrich-Owle*. *Cat.* iv. 508.

11. *the Dragon*. *E.M.I.* i. ii. 104.

13. *hum*. A quibble: (1) his echo of Ferret here; (2) the strong drink mentioned in *D. is A.* i. i. 114.

25. *louting*, doing obeisance. *Ent. Welbeck*, 216; Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, i. i. 30, 'He faire the knight saluted, louting low'.

39-49. William Seegar, *Honor Military, and Ciuill*, 1602, pp. 133-4, gives the old legal formulae: '(1) Oiez, G. D. Defendant in this Combat, appeare now, for in this day thou hast taken vpon thee to acquit thy pledges in presence of the Lords, Constable, and Marshall, and also defend thy person against A. B. who challenged thee to maintaine the cause of this Combat. (2) The second Oath was also indifferently propounded to either of them, viz. That they had not brought into the Lists other Armour or weapon then was allowed, neither any engin, instrument, herbe, charme, or enchantment, and that neither of them, should put affiance or trust in any thing other then God, and their owne valors, as God and the holy Euangelists should helpe them. This done they were both sent to their places of entrie.'

40. *the Liturgie of Love*. Coleridge, *The Garden of Boccaccio*, 99, 100:

But from his mantle's fold, and near the heart,
Peers Ovid's Holy Book of Love's sweet smart.

45. *Herb of Grace*, rue.

Character. *D. is A.* i. ii. 9.

65-72. There is a similar compliment to the masquers in *Pleas. Reconciled*, 279-87, to Lady Wroth in *Ep.* cv. 1-6, to Henrietta Maria in *Und.* lxxix. 32-4.

65-200. Lovel's discourse is inspired by the *Symposium* of Plato, to one passage of which an acknowledgement is made in lines 86-7. The *Symposium* takes place at the house of the poet Agathon the day after he had won the tragic prize at Athens. The speakers, who include Socrates, Aristophanes, and Alcibiades, discourse on love. A distinction is drawn between heavenly love (presided over by Aphrodite Urania) which delights in virtuous service and is faithful to the end, and common love (Aphrodite Pandemos), which is merely sensual—'the earthly, lower forme of louers', as Lovel terms them (131). Love and beauty are intimately connected: so Lovel speaks of the 'confluence of faire, and good' which 'meets to make up all beauty' (71-2), and Socrates says that 'love is only birth in beauty, whether of body or soul' (*Symposium*, § 206), that it passes from fair forms to fair actions and leads up to a knowledge of absolute beauty (§ 211), or as Lovel defines it 'Th' *Idea* of what they loue' (100).

The notion of love being an 'appetite to be reioyn'd' (82) is derived

from the speech of Aristophanes in the *Symposium* (§§ 189d–92), but Lovel empties it of the element of burlesque. There were originally three sexes, male, female, and androgynous: primeval man was 'round, his back and sides forming a circle; he had four hands and legs, one head with two faces looking opposite ways, four ears, two privy members, and all else to correspond'; he could walk or roll. Terrible in his might, he tried to attack the gods. Zeus defeated him by cutting him in two and making him walk upright; if this proved ineffective Zeus was prepared to cut him into four. The two halves, feeling their incompleteness, clasped and clung to each other and would have died of hunger if Zeus had not rounded off the change and enabled them to generate with one another. 'Each one of us is therefore a tally (σύμβολον) of a man', looking for the corresponding part; he has one side only, like a flat-fish.

Jonson returns to Platonism in *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (54 foll.). Compare Lovel's lines 72–5 with the following:

Loue is the right affection of the minde,
The noble appetite of what is best:
Desire of vnion with the thing design'd,
But in fruition of it cannot rest.

The context goes on to the myth of Porus and Penia (Plenty and Want), also taken from the *Symposium*.

In his study of the *Symposium* Jonson read and took a few points from the interpretation of Marsiglio Ficino, *Commentaria in Platonem* (*Opera*, Basel, 1576, ii, pp. 1320–63). At the villa of Careggi outside Florence Lorenzo de Medici arranged a Platonic banquet which seven eminent members of the Platonist Academy of Florence attended; they read the *Symposium*, and each guest expounded a section of it.

83. *Cramo-cree*, the Irish 'Grádh mo chroidhe', love of my heart. Cf. Shirley, *Poems*, 1646, 'Vpon the Princes Birth': 'The valiant Irish, *Cram-a-Cree* | It pledged hath | In *Vsquebagh*, | And being in this iovial vein, | They made a bogg even of their brain.'

92–4. *The efficient . . . formall . . . finall cause*. iv. iv. 88–100. 'The four causes of Aristotle were the *efficient cause*, the force, instrument, or agency by which a thing is produced; the *formal*', which is 'the form or essence of the thing caused: as when they say, Four equal Angles and four equal Sides are the Cause of a Square Figure' (Hobbes, *De-cameron*, ii. 15); 'the *material*, the elements or matter, from which it is produced; the *final*, the end for which it is produced' (O.E.D.). In the comic use of these formulae in *Alch.* iv. ii. 27 to express duelling, the material cause is included.

97. *Dead, in the proper corps . . .* Ficino, op. cit., oratio ii. vii, 'Ille, inquit (Plato), amator animus est proprio in corpore mortuus: in alieno corpore uiuus. . . . Moritur autem quisquis amat. Eius enim cogitatio, sui oblita semper in amato se uersat.'

98. *Trans-ferres the Louer . . .* So Sidney, *Arcadia*, i. xii (1590, p. 52):

'the true loue hath that excellent nature in it, that it doth transform the very essence of the louer into the thing loued, vniting, and as it were incorporating it with a secret and inward working'. And Robert Tofte in his translation of Varchio's *The Blazon of Iealousie*, 1615, p. 54: 'According to that saying:

*Loue doth desire the thing belou'd to see,
That like it selfe in lou'ly shape may be.*

And as another wittily writeth:

*LOVES greatest powerfull Force and Excellence,
Is to transforme the very Soule and Essence
Of the louer into the thing belou'd,
For so by deepe Philosophy t'is prou'd'.*

100. *Th' Idea*, Plato's *ἰδέα* or archetype. Spenser, *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 283-7:

And thy bright radiant eyes shall plainly see
Th' Idee of his pure glorie, present still
Before thy face, that all thy spirits shall fill
With sweete enragement of celestiall loue,
Kindled through sight of those faire things aboue.

101. *like to glasses*. Ficino, oratio vi. vi: 'Sed enim anima utique spiritui præsens imagines corporum in eo tanquam in speculo relucens facile inspicit, perque illas corpora iudicat: atque hæc cognitio sensus a Platonicis dicitur, dum eas inspicit, similes illis imagines multo etiam puriores sua ui concipit in se ipsa.'

107. *circular, eternall*. Ficino, oratio ii. ii, 'Amor circulus est bonus a bono in bonum perpetuo reuolutus'. For 'circular' in the sense of perfect see *Hymen*. 404, 'The perfect'st figure is the round'; *L.W.* 136-7:

The King, and Queenes Court, which is circular,
And perfect.

120. *along*, at length.

126. *a banquet o' sence* . . . *Ovid*. An allusion to George Chapman's *Ovid's Banquet of Sence*, 1595.

130. *Ambrosiack kisses*. *Cat.* i. 112.

147. *architrabes* . . . *coronice*. These latinized forms connected with *trabem* and *corona* are also found in 2 *Theobald*, 29, 30.

157. *quarter*, treatment, terms.

168. *degenerous*. *Sej.* iii. 387.

177. *proiection*. The alchemical term: *Alch.* ii. ii. 5.

192. *note*, brand (Lat. *nota*).

200. *Dixi*, 'That is my case'. Technical at the end of a legal speech: as in Cicero, *I Actio in Verrem*.

204. *tenents*, tenets.

205. *Plato* in the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*.

Heliodore. Heliodorus, a Syrian born at Emesa, lived in the third century; he wrote the earliest of the Greek romances, *Aethiopica*, the loves of Theagines and Charicleia, in ten books, first printed at Basel in 1534. Thomas Underdowne translated it in 1569.

Tatius. Achilles Tatius, an Alexandrian rhetorician and imitator of Heliodorus, wrote *The Loves of Leucippe and Cleitophon* in eight books first printed at Heidelberg in 1601; Latin translations of part of the work had appeared earlier. See S.S. I. v. 96-7.

206. *Sydney.* The reference is to his *Astrophel and Stella*, printed in 1591. Cf. *Und.* xxvii. 25-6:

Hath our great *Sydney, Stella* set,
Where never Star shone brighter yet?

D'Urfé. Honore D'Urfé, whose *Astrée*, a romance on Platonic love, appeared in three parts from 1616 to 1620.

all Loues Fathers. Compare a similar list in S.S. I. v. 96-7, 'what they call The Lovers Scriptures'.

207. *the Master of the Sentences.* Lady Frampul has annexed the literary title of Petrus Lombardus, archbishop of Paris, whose *Sententiae*, written between 1145 and 1150, was a famous text-book of theology.

218. *on procession.* An obsolete use for 'in procession'.

220. *Chaucers Troilus, and Cresside.* Appropriately added to Ovid's *De Arte Amandi*, 'Love's Missal' (37-41), and Usk's *Testament of Love* (iv. iv. 32).

228. *this reuerend Gentleman.* Gifford has an extraordinary idea that the 'reverend gentleman', 'old enough to be my father', is the Host; but Lovel was old enough to be left guardian to young Lord Beaufort, and Lady Frances is quite young.

270. *the Muses Horse, Pegasus.*

273. *Bona-roba.* E.M.O. v. ii. 70. *Bouncer*, swaggerer.

iv. i. 3. *a cast*, a couple, as in the term of falconry, 'a cast of hawks', two hawks loosed for the flight at the same time. There is also a quibble on the brewing term, the quantity of ale made at one time: Bale, *The thre Comedyes of Nature*, 1538:

When ale is in the fat,
If the bruer please me nat,
The cast shall fall down flat,
And neuer haue any strength.

9. *peny-club* at the ale-house.

10. *whoop Barnaby.* v. i. 30, G.M. 948.

17. *drine bare-headed.* D. is A. II. iii. 36-7.

24. *peerer.* A rare word, not in the O.E.D. Cf. 'underpeering', B.F. II. v. 164.

Rabbi combines the notions of high pontiff and learned expounder.

25. *At a smocks-hem*. Cf. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Brigaille*, a noteable smel-smocke, or muttonmungar, a cunning solicitor of a wench'.

iv. ii. 3. *Aduance*. *Hædd. M.* 168.

9. *the Hospitall*, Christ's Hospital: see *E.M.I.* II. i. 16-18.

10. *th'Inquest*. *E.H.* iv. ii. 39, 40.

16. *the wapen-take*, the hundred, as Tipto explains; it is still used as the name of a subdivision in a number of counties.

28. *Spill it at me?* An interesting parallel to the opening scene of *Romeo and Juliet* and Sampson's biting his thumb.

30. *Pilchers*. *Poet.* III. iv. 4.

37. *graviddd*, gravity, weight, and dignity. *Witt's Recreations*, 1641, N5, no. 579, of an Oxford chandler who became an alderman:

He weare(s) a hoope ring on his Thumbe; he has
Of Gravidud (*sic*) a dose full in his face.

44. *cuello*, ruff (Spanish *cuello*, neck). Cunningham compares James Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, ed. Jacobs, p. 201, a letter written from Madrid: 'His gravity is much lessen'd since the late Proclamation came out against ruffs, and the King himself shew'd the first example; they were come to that height of excess herein, that twenty shillings were us'd to be paid for starching of a ruff; And some, tho' perhaps he had never a shirt to his back, yet he would have a toting huge swelling ruffe about his neck.'

52 (and 65-6). *a Lady gay*. A ballad refrain: see *M.L.* iv. viii. 72, 'As true it is, Lady, Lady, i' th' song'.

55-7. *ciuill . . . Seuil*. For the pun cf. Tarlton's jest when an orange was thrown at him on the stage, 'This is no civil orange'.

59. *Protection*. III. i. 186.

67. *Vespertilio* (Latin), 'bat'. Tipto's way of saying 'Bat', i.e. Bartholomew.

68. *o' the first head*. *E.M.O.* III. iii. 48.

73. *glorious*, vain-glorious.

74. *sings Sampson*. Cf. the ballad of Samson parodied in *E.H.* II. ii. 39. *no ties shall hold*. A reference to Samson's trickery of Delilah in Judges xvi. 6-14.

84. *in that iacket*. Stufe is dressed in a footman's velvet jacket (iv. iii. 57, 71).

101. *the Centaures*. See iv. iii. 2.

iv. iii. 1. *Thracian Barbarisme*. Horace, *Odes*, I. xxvii. 1-3:

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
morem.

2. *the Centaures, with the Lapithes*. *S.W.* IV. v. 46.

8. *knock'd to get the marrow out of the bone*. *S. R., Noble Soldier*, I. ii (1634, B2^v), 'what I knocke out now in the very Maribone of mirth'.

10, 11. *Don Lewis . . . Euclide.* II. v. 88–90.

17. *As I haue read somewhere.* Perhaps Sophocles, *Ajax*, 167–71:

ἀλλ' ὅτε γὰρ δὴ τὸ σὸν ὄμμ' ἀπέδραν,
παταγούσιν ἅπερ πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι·
μέγαν αἰγυπιὸν δ' ὑποδείσαντες
τάχ' ἄν, ἐξαίφνης εἰ σὺ φανείης,
σιγῇ πτήξειαν ἄφωνοι.

Jonson underlined the Latin version of these lines in his copy of the *Poetae Graeci Veteres, Tragici, Lyrici, &c.*, now at Cambridge (see vol. i, p. 265): 'Sed quando illi . . . faciem tuam vident, | Trepidant, velut avium greges, | Magnam aquilam vel vulturem metuentes'. Dr. Tennant quotes *Iliad*, xv. 690–2, of Hector's onset:

ἀλλ' ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετενηνῶν αἰετὸς αἰθῶν
ἔθνος ἐφορμάται ποταμὸν παρὰ βοσκομενάων,
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων . . .

19. *rarifi'd, to ayre.* *Und.* lix. 10.

28. *a bill of inquiry.* More correctly, 'a writ of inquiry' (G. B. Tennant).

31. *As new, as Day . . . a fishwife.* *S. of N.* I. v. 81, and a London song in the *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clarke, p. 338, from MS. Rawlinson poet. 185:

New place, new, as new as the daye;
New whittings, new, here haue yow maye.

51. *say . . . on, try on.* *E.M.O.* IV. ii. 100.

55. *my owne lawfully begotten wife.* So Lancelot Gobbo in *The Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 30, 'my true-begotten father'.

66–74. Jonson knew an example of this, judging from *Und.* xlii. 39–42.

71. *Rumford.* *B.F.* IV. v. 38.

Croyden. John Taylor, *The World runnes on wheeles* (*Workes*, 1630, p. 238): 'euery Gill Turnetripe, Mistris Fumkins, Madame Polecat, and my Lady Trash, Froth the tapster, Bill the Taylor, Lavender the Broker, Whiffe the Tobacco seller, with their companion Trugs, must be coach'd to Saint Albanes, Burntwood, Hockley in the Hole, Croydon, Windsor, Vxbridge, and many other places, like wilde Haggards prancing vp and downe.'

72. *Hounslow.* *E.M.O.* III. vi. 148.

Barnet. Massinger, *The City Madam*, II. i (1658, p. 21):

Luke. And pleasure stol'n being sweetest, apprehend
The rapture of being hurried in a Coach
To Brainford, Stanes, or Barnet.

79. *preoccupation.* *Argument*, 96.

81. *Succuba.* *Alch.* II. ii. 48.

99. *the bason* beaten before a carted bawd: *S.W.* III. v. 87-8.
 103. *nickt it*, hit the mark. *M.L.* II. iv. 34.

IV. iv. 32. *the testament*—i.e. the witnessing—of *loue*, the title of a work by Thomas Usk, who was executed in 1388; in Jonson's day it was attributed to Chaucer, and printed as his by Thynne in 1532.

38 foll. Dr. Tennant considers that Jonson had the *Ethics* of Aristotle in mind when he wrote Lovel's discourse on valour, especially III. vi. 152, vii. 155, but, as Professor W. D. Briggs has pointed out (*Modern Philology*, x, pp. 577-8), the real source is Seneca, and by valour Jonson means fortitude. He tells us so himself in *The Magnetic Lady*, III. vi. 87-97:

Com. I should be glad to heare of any valours,
 Differing in kind; who have knowne hitherto,
 Only one vertue, they call *Fortitude*,
 Worthy the name of valour. *Iro.* Which, who hath not,
 Is justly thought a Coward. . . .

Dia. O, you ha'read the Play there, the *New Inne*,
 Of *Ionsons*, that decries all other valour
 But what is for the publike. *Iro.* I doe that too,
 But did not learne it there; I thinke no valour
 Lies for a private cause.

- 40-7. So in the epistle to Sir Edward Sackville, *Und.* xiii. 105-12:

I thought that Fortitude had beene a meane
 'Twixt feare and rashnesse: not a lust obscene,
 Or appetite of offending, but a skill,
 Or Science of discerning Good and Ill.
 And you Sir know it well to whom I write,
 That with these mixtures we put out her light.
 Her ends are honestie, and publike good!
 And where they want, she is not understood.

This is from Seneca, *Epistle* lxxxv. 28: 'Non dubitarent quid conveniret forti viro si scirent quid esset fortitudo. Non est enim inconsulta temeritas nec periculorum amor nec formidabilium appetitio: scientia est distinguendi, quid sit malum et quid non sit.'

- 55-7. So in the epigram to the Earl of Newcastle, *Und.* lix. 14-19:

No, it is the Law
 Of daring not to doe a wrong, is true
 Valour! to sleight it, being done to you!
 To know the heads of danger! where 'tis fit
 To bend, to breake, provoke, or suffer it!
 All this (my Lord) is Valour! This is yours!

58. *Three wayes*. Cf. III. ii. 92-4.

65. Seneca, *De Ira*, I. ix. 1, 'Nunquam enim virtus vitio adiuvanda est se contenta'.

66-7. Ibid. xi. 2, 'Deinde quid opus est ira cum idem proficiat ratio?'

68-9. Ibid. vii. 1, 'Numquid, quamvis non sit naturalis ira, adsumenda est, quia utilis saepe fuit? Extollit animos et incitat.'

70-6. Ibid. xiii. 3-5, 'Utilis, inquit, ira est quia pugnaciores facit. Isto modo et ebrietas. . . . Isto modo dic et phrenesin atque insaniam viribus necessariam quia saepe validiores furor reddit. . . . Sed ira ebrietas metus aliaque eiusmodi foeda et caduca irritamenta sunt, nec virtutem instruunt quae nihil vitiis eget. . . . Nemo irascendo fit fortior nisi qui fortis sine ira non fuisset. Ita non in adiutorium virtutis venit, sed in vicem.'

77-8. Ibid. xii. 6, 'Abominandum remedii genus est sanitatem debere morbo'.

79. *dictamen*. III. i. 52.

103-4. Bacon, *Considerations touching a War with Spaine* (Letters, ed. Spedding, vii, p. 499): 'Of valour I speak not, take it from the witnesses that have been produced before; yet the old observation is not untrue, that the Spaniard's valour lieth in the eye of the looker-on; but the English valour lieth about the soldier's heart.'

105-7. Seneca, *De Constantia*, x. 4, 'Alia sunt quae sapientem ferunt etiam si non pervertunt, ut dolor corporis et debilitas aut amicorum liberorumque amissio et patriae bello flagrantis calamitas.'

III. *object*, expose (Lat. *obicio*).

III. *Und*. xv. 24-5.

III. *respect*, consideration.

III. 114-19. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I. xix. 1: 'Praeclarum igitur illud Platonis: Non, inquit, solum scientia quae est remota ab iustitia calliditas potius quam sapientia est appellanda, verum etiam animus paratus ad periculum, si sua cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur, audaciae potius nomen habet quam fortitudinis.' The reference is to Plato, *Menexenus*, 246 E.

147-9. Seneca, *De Constantia*, v. 3, 'Iniuria propositum hoc habet aliquem malo afficere. Malo autem sapientia non relinquit locum.'

151-6. Ibid. vii. 2, 'Denique validius debet esse quod laedit eo quod laeditur. Non est autem fortior nequitia virtute.' viii. 3, 'Non habet (sapiens) ubi accipiat iniuriam. Ab homine me tantum dicere putas? ne a fortuna quidem, quae quotiens cum virtute congressa est nunquam par recessit.' Cf. *Sej*. III. 324-5.

158-9. Seneca, *ibid*. vii. 3, 'Hoc loco intellegere nos oportet posse evenire ut faciat aliquis iniuriam mihi et ego non accipiam'.

163-4. Cf. Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, v, Ταράσσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δόγματα. xx, Μέννησο ὅτι οὐχ ὁ λοιδορῶν ἢ ὁ τύπτων ὑβρίζει, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ περὶ τούτων ὡς ὑβρίζοντων. For opinion cf. *Disc*. 43-9.

164-5. Seneca, *De Constantia*, v. 2, 'Ad tantas ineptias perventum est ut non dolore tantum sed doloris opinione vexemur, more puerorum quibus metum incutit umbra et personarum deformitas et depravata facies'.

166. *the lie*. In his copy of Clement Edmonds's *Observations upon Caesars Commentaries*, 1604, pp. 198–9, Jonson marked the following protest against the folly of duelling: 'But that which is yet worst of all, is that custome hath now made it so familiar, that euery trifle seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a priuate combate; a crosse looke calleth an other mans honour in question; but the word lye is of as great consequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatsoeuer. . . . But I would faine learne when honor first came to be measured with words, for from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and dronkard, without any further matter; and the liberty of inuectiues, which great personages vsed one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest vntill further prooffe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.'

165–75. Seneca, *De Constantia*, x. 1–3: 'Est minor inuria, quam queri magis quam exsequi possimus, quam leges quoque nulla dignam vindicta putaverunt. Hunc affectum movet humilitas animi contrahentis se ob factum dictumque inhonorificum, "Ille me hodie non admisit cum alios admitteret. Sermonem meum aut superbe aversatus est aut palam risit. Et non in medio me lecto sed in imo collocavit." et alia huius notae, quae quid vocem nisi querelas nausiantis animi? . . . His <iniuriis> commoventur quarum pars maior constat vitio interpretantis.'

177. *a woman, or child*. Ibid. xii. 1, 'Quem animum nos adversus pueros habemus, hunc sapiens adversus omnes quibus etiam post iuventam canosque puerilitas est.' xiv. 1, 'Tanta quosdam dementia tenet ut sibi contumeliam fieri putent posse a muliere.'

183. *kept out a Masque . . . thrust out*. Cf. *Conv. Drum.* 155–9, and Sir John Roe's poem to Jonson printed in Grierson's *Donne*, i, pp. 414–15, with the lines

Forget we were thrust out; It is but thus
God threatens Kings, Kings Lords, as Lords doe us.

185. *forehead, impudence*.

196. *necessited*. So 'necessitied' in *All's Well*, v. iii. 85.

197. *Conde Oliuares*. Gasparo de Guzman, Conde Duque de Olivares (1587–1645), a favourite of Philip IV of Spain, whose chief minister he became in 1622.

Cf. Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman*, 1700, i, pp. 90, 91, of the Spanish:

So proud a People, so above their Fate,
That if reduced to beg, they'd beg in state.

199, 200. Seneca, *De Constantia*, xv. 2, 'In quantumcumque ista <molesta> vel numero vel magnitudine creverint, eiusdem naturae erunt: si non tangent illum parva, ne maiora quidem.'

201–4. Ibid. iii. 3, 'Nihil in rerum natura tam sacrum est quod sacrilegum non inveniatur, sed non ideo divina minus in sublimi sunt si existunt

qui magnitudinem multum ultra se positam non tacturi appetant. Involnerabile est non quod non feritur, sed quod non laeditur.' For the concluding line cf. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 38-9.

207-12. Ibid. iv. 2, 3, 'Ut caelestia humanas manus effugiunt et ab his qui templa diruunt et simulacra conflant nihil divinitati nocetur, ita quicquid fit in sapientem proterve petulanter superbe frustra temptatur. . . . Immo nescio an magis vires sapientia ostendat tranquillitatis inter lacescentia, sicut maximum argumentum est imperatoris armis virisque pollentis tuta securitas in hostium terra.'

213-15. Ibid. xiv. 4, 'Non it qua populus, sed ut sidera contrarium mundo iter intendunt, ita hic adversus opinionem omnium vadit.' Cf. *M. Beauty*, 256-65.

216-21. Ibid. xvi. 3, 'Utrum merito mihi ista accidunt an immerito? Si merito, non est contumelia, iudicium est. Si immerito, illi qui iniusta facit erubescendum est.'

232. *what drinke. D. is A. v. vi. 10.*

233. *my Trundle.* A hard drinker (III. i. 210), who could charm the nurse (III. ii. 13), and so might practise on Time.

mine owne Barnabe. The 'hired coachman' was also a toper (IV. i), but Lady Frampul means no more than 'my coachman'.

234. *Shelee-nien To-mas. II. vi. 263.*

235-6. When Jonson wrote *The Irish Masque* in 1613 he contented himself with a sort of Anglo-Irish jargon. He picked up a few genuine Irish phrases for this play. *Er grae Chreest* = *ar ghrádh Chríest*, 'for the love of Christ'. *Tower een Cuppan D'vsque bacgh doone* = *tabhair aon chupán d'uisge beathadh dúinn*, 'give us a cup of whiskey': *een* is the numeral 'one' here, i.e. the indefinite article; *doone* is *dúinn*, 'to us'; *een cuppan* would have been written *een chuppan* by a careful phonetician. (Note by Professor John Frazer.)

236. *vsque bagh*, whiskey (Gaelic *uisgebeatha*, water of life): 'vsque-bagh' *Irish M.* 88, 'Vskabah' *Merc. Vind.* 45.

252. *A Court remoouing, or an ended Play.* Jonson has borrowed these images from Donne's *The Calm*, 14—a poem which he quoted to Drummond (*Conv.* 119)—'Like courts removing, or like ended playes'.

269. *catch the wind . . . in a sieue. D. is A. v. ii. 7*, with the variant 'in a net'.

282. *leere drunkards. B.F. Ind. 119.*

299. *regardant*, watchful.

342. *loose the maine. S.W. III. iii. 34*, 'a sauer i' the main'.

343-4. *the oracle O' the bottle. S. of N. IV. ii. 8.*

v. i. 1. *legacie. II. iv. 16-19.*

4. *Padling*, wallowing.

6. *raise a nap*, put a good surface on this threadbare business.

16. *belly'd*, had a fat paunch: cf. *cramm'd* (18).

veluet sleeves, such as are worn by a doctor of divinity.

17. *branch'd*, with a figured pattern: *M.L. I. v. 22.*

side, long (Old English *síd*). Sir A. Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, 1534, § 151, ed. Skeat, 'Theyr cotes be so syde, that they be fayne to tucke them vp when they ryde, as women do theyr kyrtels whan they go to the market'.

23. *angels . . . birds*. *C. is A.* v. iv. 7.

30. *mine-men*, the pioneers of III. i. 35.

whoop Barnaby. IV. i. 10.

31. *Tropicks*, turning-points, with a quibble on the two circles of the celestial sphere suggested by 'whoop' and 'hoop'.

v. ii. 9. *snip*. In *E.M.O.* iv. vii. 27 the tailor is 'master SNIP'.

secular, 'Of or belonging to the "common" or "unlearned people"'—*O.E.D.*, quoting Nashe, *Greene's Arcadia, or Menaphon*, 1589, A3b, 'Oft haue I obserued . . . a secular wit that hath liued all dayes of his life by What doe you lacke? to be more iudiciall in matters of conceit than our quadrant crepundios', i.e. an uneducated tradesman to have more judgement than a noisy and pretentious university student.

16. *A barren Hindes grease*. We have not found this piece of folk-lore elsewhere: its reference to Pru is far-fetched and scarcely, one would have thought, complimentary.

24. *in a ditch*. Shoreditch, originally Soerditch or Soersditch, 'so called more than 400. yeares since, as I can prove by record', says Stow in 1603 (*Survay*, ed. Kingsford, ii, p. 74 margin). Kingsford quotes 'St Leonard de Soreditch' in a deed *circa* 1218; see his note, *ibid.*, p. 369. But the popular etymology connecting it with Jane Shore died hard. T. Heywood adopted it in the second part of *King Edward the Fourth*, v. iii (1599). Cf. the old ballad broadside, *The Woful Lamentations of Jane Shore*, 1670?

Thus weary of my life at length
I yeelded up my vitall strength
Within a ditch of loathsome scent,
Where carrion dogs do much frequent
The which now since my dying day,
Is *Shoreditch* cal'd as writers say.

29. *frampul*. *T. of T.* II. iv. 18.

37. *volary*, a large bird-cage, an aviary.

47. *liuer's*. The liver is spoken of in classical poetry as the seat of love: Horace, *Odes*, IV. i. 12 (to Venus), 'si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum', translated by Jonson (*Und.* lxxxvi. 12), 'If a fit livor thou dost seeke to toast'.

48. *fiuers*. In *Und.* xxxviii. 111 this spelling was corrected to 'fibres'.

52. *February*. *T. of T.* I. i. 2.

55. *whêr*. Jonson uses this form of whether: *Ep.* xcvi. 1, 'Who shall doubt, *DONNE*, where I a *Poet* bee?' Cf. Chaucer, *Troilus*, ii. 1466, 'I not wher ye the more thank me conne'; and the Folio text of *Julius Caesar*, I. i. 62, 'See where their basest mettle be not mou'd'; v. iv. 30, 'And see where *Brutus* be aliue or dead'.

58. *use your fortunes reuerendly*. *Sej.* II. 137.
 66. *after-games*. *B.F.* II. iii. 41.
 70. *All to be married*. *C.R.* IV. iii. 16 n., 'how he doe's all to bee qualifie her!'

v. iii. 1. *green rushes*. *T. of T.* I. iii. 21-2; Brathwaite, *A Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615, p. 74:

All haile to *Himen* and this marriage day;
 Strow rushes, and quickly come away. . . .
 Strow rushes maides, and euer as ye strew,
 Think one day maides like will be done for you.

W. Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, I. ii (1616, p. 38):

others in wicker-baskets
 Bring from the Marish Rushes, to o'er-spread
 The ground whereon to Church the Lovers tread.

4. *Brieze*. *Poet.* III. i. 248.
 8. *Ioy*. The usual wish was 'God give you joy' (*E.M.I.* v. iv. 12).
 v. iv. 5. *lawes of hospitality*. The party were Lady Frampul's guests (Argument 31, Persons 36).
 10. *Lat.* Dr. Tennant's suggestion to read '*Lad.*' is convincing in the light of Prue's speech which follows.
 25. *Vn-to-be-pardon'd*. Cf. *E.M.I.* I. v. 121, 'vn-in-one breath-vtter-able'.
 29. *a Bride-cup* usually drunk at church, with 'sops' or wafers put into the wine. Dekker, *Satiro-mastix*, I. i (1602, B2^v), 'when we are at Church, bring wine and cakes'.
 34. *the Geniall bed*, *Lat. lectus genialis*, the marriage bed. *Hym.* 168, with Jonson's note, deriving it, after Servius, '*à Generandis liberis*'.
 35. *points*, the tagged laces which fastened the breeches to the doublet. 'To show the impatience of the bridegroom, it was the custom . . . to tear them off, instead of untying them, and throw them, to be scrambled for, among the guests' (Gifford).
 36. *cod-piece*, 'a bagged appendage to the front of the close-fitting hose or breeches worn by men from the fifteenth to seventeenth century' (*O.E.D.*).

v. v. 5. *ortes*, fragments of food left over from a meal. *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 397, 'some poor fragment, some slender ort of his remainder'.

10. *Harlot*. A general term of abuse as in *C.R.* v. iv. 416.
 16. *Carlin*, old hag. *M.L.* I. v. 23.
 40. *Inmates*, lodgers: the term has a suggestion of contempt. Cf. *Cat.* II. 116 n.

41. *Supposititious*, fraudulently substituted for what is genuine, especially of a child set up to displace the heir.

43. *the Star-chamber*. *M.L.* III. iv. 33.

56. *Is poverty . . .* Cf. Chapman, *Al Fooles*, 1605, B2^v:

Gostanzo. What call you bad? is it bad to be poor?

Marc. The world accounts it so.

67. *the left rib*. The Beaufort family were descended from John of Gaunt and his mistress Catharine Swinford. Their issue was legitimized by Richard II in 1397. The name was derived from the castle of Beaufort in France, which came to the house of Lancaster through Blanch of Artois, wife of Edmund Crouchback, the first Earl.

83. *Leaue is but light*. Quoted as proverbial in *Ent. Welbeck*, 64-6. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, I. x (1562, Cij^v), 'Ye might haue knokt er ye came in, leaue is light'. Ibid. Tiiij, *Epigrammes vpon Prouerbs. Of leaue*. 134:

Leaue is light, lyght inough as thou wilt make it,
If thy maister geue no leaue thou wilt take it.

bolt. Specially used of a ferret springing a rabbit. Cf. *Alch.* II. iii. 80, 88.

86-7. *take away mine host . . . fetch my Lord*. Cf. Fuller, *The Holy State*, IV. vi, p. 269, of Lord Burleigh: 'At night when he put off his gown, he used to say, *Lie there, Lord Treasurer*, and bidding adieu to all State-affairs, disposed himself to his quiet rest.'

96. *Rushers*, strewers of rushes. *Mucedorus*, 1611, D4^v, 'Oh Maister Mouse, I pray you what Office might you beare in the Court? *Clown*. Mary sir, I am Rusher of the Stable.' When a dog defiles it, 'then with a Whippe I giue him the good time of the day & strow Rushes presently; therefore I am a Rusher: a high Office I promise yee'.

101. *a she Mandeuile*. An edition of Mandeville's *Voyages* had appeared in 1625. Cf. *M.L.* IV. iv. 25, 'She-man-Divell'.

108. *gaue*, literally 'attributed', 'assigned', virtually = 'told', like *dare* in Latin: 'iste deus qui sit da, Tityre, nobis' (Virgil, *Ecl.* i. 18).

124. *Each with his Turtle*. It was too late to fetch in the divine 'from the next Inne' (v. i. 18), who had married Beaufort and Laetitia, and the sign of the Light Heart admitted of a short cut to marriage.

137. *four bare legs in a bed*. The proverb is 'There goes more to matrimony than four bare legs in a bed'. It is quoted in *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, I. viii (1562, Biv^v):

In house to kepe housholde, when folks wyll needz wed,
Mo thyngs belong, than foure bare legs in a bed.

155. *like Mecænas*. A reference to Maecenas' frequent quarrels with his wife Terentia: 'hunc esse qui uxorem miliens duxit cum unam habuerit' (Seneca, *Ep.* cxiv. 6). For the spelling 'Mecænas' see vol. iv, p. 187.

Epilogue

6. *In all the numbers.* Cf. the Latin *numeri*, 'parts': 'omnes numeros virtutis continet', Cicero, *de Finibus*, II. viii. 24; 'duo tamen vitia habet, quae si non haberet, esset omnium numerum', Petronius, *Sat.* 68.

21. *the care of King, and Queene.* This shot told: see *Und.* lxii, 'An Epigram. To K. CHARLES for a 100. pounds he sent me in my sicknesse'.

23. *Maiors, and Shriffes.* *E.M.I.* v. v. 38-40.

24. *doe aske.* It is tempting to read 'does aske', but cf. *B.F.* I. ii. 69, 'my mother, or *Win*, are faine . . .'; *N.I.* Prol. 15, 'When sharpe, or sweet, haue beene too much . . .'; *K. Ent.* 579-80, 'Behold here *hee*, nor *shee*, Haue any altar'.

Another Epilogue

8. *Cis.* See *The Persons*, 37 n.

Ode to himselfe

This provoked several replies, one unfavourable and containing some very just criticism, by Owen Feltham; others laudatory by Randolph, Carew, and I. C. R. L. Stevenson in a letter to Sir E. Gosse about a selection of English Odes wrote: 'Do you like Jonson's "loathèd stage"? Verses 2, 3, and 4 are so bad, also the last line. But there is a fine movement and feeling in the rest' (*Works*, Swanston edition, xxiii, 1912, p. 294).

1-10. So in *B.F.* Ind. 100-5 of critics: 'the *Commission of Wit*' . . . 'they indite and arraigne *Playes* daily'. The 'new Office of Wit' is very definitely satirized in Jonson's complimentary poem to Joseph Rutter, with the titles of the officials (*U.V.* xlii. 19-30).

20. 'Enuy them not, their palate's with the swine' is more in keeping with the ringing rhythm of the Ode, but all the texts read 'Envy them not their palate's . . .' The apostrophe in 'palate's' suggests the punctuation we have adopted.

22. *Pericles*, printed in 1609, and so a *mouldy tale*. Its popularity when first acted was attested in *Pymlico, Or, Runne Red-Cap*, 1609, C:

(As at a *New-play*) all the Roomes
Did swarme with *Gentiles* mix'd with *Groomes*,
So that I truly thought, all *These*
Came to see *Shore*, or *Pericles*.

25. *the common tub.* The refuse of the table at City feasts and at Court was collected by the servants, who used wooden knives for the purpose, and put into a large basket for the poor and especially for poor prisoners (*E.H.* v. iii. 54). Servants were apt to sell the best pieces as perquisites, letting the poor have only the refuse.

27. *There, sweepings.* The earlier reading was 'Broomes sweepings'—a gibe at Jonson's old servant Richard Brome. It was echoed by Randolph in his *Answer to Jonson's Ode*, on playgoers 'contented . . .

With what Broome swept for thee', and by Ralph Brideoake in his elegiac poem in *Jonsonus Virbius*, 1638, p. 53:

Though the fine *Plush* and *Velvets* of the age
Did oft for sixpence damne thee from the Stage,
And with their *Mast* and *Ackorne*-stomacks, ran
To th'nastie sweepings of thy Servingman,
Before thy Cates.

The special reference was to Brome's *The Love-sick Maid, or the Honour of Young Ladies*, not extant, but licensed for the stage on 9 February 1629 and acted by the King's men at Court. It was so popular that the managers took the unusual step on 10 March of presenting the Master of the Revels with two pounds 'on the good success of *The Honour of Ladies*' (Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare*, i, p. 421). So in *Choyce Drollery*, 1656, collected by R. P., 'On the Time-Poets', p. 7:

Sent by *Ben Johnson*, as some Authors say,
Broom went before and kindly swept the way.

Jonson's anger was unworthy, and he evidently repented of it, for he not only cancelled the offensive reading here, but he prefixed complimentary verses to Brome's play *The Northern Lass* in 1630 (*U.V.* xxxviii). To this change of feeling Alexander Brome in verses prefixed to *A Joviall Crew* (1652, a) openly alludes:

I love thee for thy neat and harmlesse wit,
The *Mirth* that does so cleane and closely hit
The luck to please so well: who could go faster?
At first to be th'*Envy* of thy Master.

30. *the almes-basket of wit*. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 33-6: (Quarto) 'Boy. They haue beene at a great feast of Languages, and stolne the scraps. Clow. O they haue liu'd long on the almes-basket of words.'

32. *plush, and veluet-men*. Compare the comments in *M.L.*, chorus 1.

33. *orts*. v. v. 5.

36. *larding*. *Sej.* III. 610.

37. *comic socks*, the light shoes (*socci*) worn by comic actors in ancient Greece and Rome.

38. *blocks*, moulds.

40. *guilt*. A quibble on 'guilt' and 'gilt'.

42. *Alcaick Lute*. Alcaeus of Lesbos, the earliest of the Aeolian lyric poets, imitated by Horace, who borrowed from him the alcaic metre.

43. *thine owne Horace*. Swinburne was satirical about Jonson's choice of Horace 'for a sponsor or a patron saint' (*Study*, p. 24). This in reference to *Poetaster*, but there it was Horace the satirist whom he laboured to revive. Here he does claim lyric inspiration.

Anacreons Lyre. Anacreon of Teos, born about 550 B.C., has left a collection of graceful lyrics, mostly about love and wine. 'Light Anacreon', *F.I.* 522.

44. *Pindares fire*. Pindar, the greatest of the Greek lyric poets; Jonson attempted the first Pindaric Ode in English in *Und.* lxx, the elegy on Sir Henry Morison.

45. *nerves*, sinews (Lat. *nervi*).

58. *hit the starres* echoes Horace, *Odes*, I. i. 35-6:

Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

60. *Waine*. The Old English *Carles wægn*, the wain of Charles the Great, was originally the wain of Arcturus or Bootes, the seven bright stars in Ursa Major.

LATIN VERSE TRANSLATIONS OF JONSON'S ODE

These are by John Earles, Jonson's loyal follower Randolph, and William Strode, the author of *The Floating Island*, 1655.

I. By John Earles

ODE AD B: J.

Quin te Theatri sordibus, et magis Sordente vulgo, dum licet, eximas; Nec ampliori digna Circo ad Ridiculum statuas Tribunal, Quâ vultuosa inscitia sæculi	5
Vrnamq; voluens Barbaries sedet Damnataq; et absoluit Camœnas Judicio nimis heu pudendo.	
Quid hîc Poema grandius, et tuum, His non creatum speret ab auribus Quorum sub applausu timendum Ne vitio patiare laudem?	10
Quin Ostracismo te deceat frui Ineruditis, Jonsone, Calculis, Virtute damneris, cadasq; Ingeniû reus absoluti;	15
Tumultuantis sic populi impetum Sejanus, vsq; sed melior luat: Honosq; vel maior Britannis, Quam pudor est Catilina Romæ.	20
Tu, ceu polito das epulum choro, Priscosq; vates splendidior vocas, Auresq; convivas Horati Accipis, aut Latium Menandrum, Omnem eruditi lautitiem fori,	25
Puram obsonaris prodigus Atticam Frustra. quid ô surdis inanes Delicias adhibes palatis?	

Quin hordeum isti, quin siliquas gulæ,
 Et retrimenta his congrua proiice, 30
 Glandes propina, quæ suillis
 Fit stomachi popularis offa.
 Sat est, si anili tradita de colo
 Fabella lusit murcida Periclem
 Jocosq̃ semesos, et ipso 35
 Dicta magis repetita mimo:
 Quicquid relictī, clepta quis ingenī
 De mille quadris surpuerit salis,
 Quicquid poetarum saliuæ
 Lingitur a docili catello; 40
 Vt nunc heriles quisquiliæ tuas
 Consarcinauit verna peculium;
 Atq̃ hinc viaticatus amplas
 Dat stupido phaleras popello.
 At vos sagaces nil procures pudet, 45
 Vos à theatri Lumina purpuræ,
 Et magna pars hic pompæ, et ipso
 Expositi magis histrione!
 Vos pridianæ frustula cœnulæ,
 Tam delicati vos miseras dapes, 50
 Vos trita tam prompti voratis
 Fercula, et ingenium secundum?
 Sinas fruantur; sic similes ament
 Muliq̃ stultiq̃ inq̃ vicem scabant.
 Tu jam prophanatam Minervam 55
 Sperne potens meliore pennâ;
 Magniq̃ Flacci dum legis æmulus,
 Doctus vetustam restituas chelyn;
 Teio(q̃) inundatus liquore,
 Pindarico fovearis igni: 60
 Quanquam senectam jam viridem senex
 Morbis præisti frigore sanguinem
 Figente non vno, foditq̃
 Ruga tuos properata vultus.
 Sciant vigentem non cerebri tamen 65
 Torpere flammam; sed satis insuper
 Restare, quæ totam malorum
 Fulminet invidiamq̃, et ipsos.
 Dum quicquid horum est futilis ingenī,
 Tu vel supremo sparseris halitu; 70
 Istumq̃ postremum triumphum,
 Vmbra, tuo referes sepulchro.

Jo: Earles.

II. *By William Strode*

Ben: Johns. Ode translat. per Gu. Stroad, Proc. Oxon.

Scenam desine Musa nauseatum,
Ætatemq; magis renauseandam,
Dum pudor amissus, dum iuncta superbia sellam
Ingenij vsurpant,
Dum quiddam assiduè (quod ab illis fabula dictum)
Insimulant, sistunt.

Illis ergo age fastuosa vena,
Scitum quam scioli scio cerebri,
Exurgat, fremat, et sudet censuraq; damnet:
Non illi tibi sunt nati, sed tu minus illis.

Tersam tu Cererem quibus refundis?
 Illis, qui cupiunt vorare glandes?
 Te simplex furor est constanti expendere nixu
 Insipido denti:
 Et frustra satiem selecti farris orexi
 Ponere defunctæ.

15

Illis da siliquas et hausta grana:
 Illis eluuiem hordei propina.
 Vappam si malint, animosq; vina repellant,
 His non inuideas porcorum affine palatum.

Certè mucida fabula, vt Pericles,
Talis, quæ superet situ vetusto
Crustula Prætoris, pisces fœtore, patellæ
 omnigenæ fragmen
Eiectum ingestumq; Cado, Ludum bene seruet 25
 quem vocitant fustem.
Verro quisquilijs suis reffectus
Illic, vel Domini dapes coæquat.
Vis tali mensas habiles aptare palato?
Nil quære ingenij nisi quicquid sportula donat. 30

Quin prosit rogo, prosit ergo vobis,
Pubes byssina, byssinum theatrum;
Quos offæ satiant, quos scenica texta tuentur
mittere iuratos
Comproceres vestros et Mimam Mimificamq̃;
seu patulas neuter
Socci panniculis fatiget aures
Cusis verbere stipitum viginti.
Qui modo sat laceri, foedi, sartiq̃ reportant
A vobis aurum, dat vobis Histrio nugas.

Hæc conamina prostituta mitte, Alcæumq; manu resume plectrum, Anacreonta, tuum Flaccum, simul igne calescas Pindaricæ musæ Contractusq; licet nervis, et sanguine lentus Ante dies canos Indignante lyrâ cie calorem: sic tenta modulos vbiq; victor, Vt stolidè percontatrix ac inuida turba Hoc cerebrum iuret nullum quassare tremorem.	45 50
At quando audierint lyræ accinentem Te magnalia Cæsaris Britanni, Quâ pietate Deum, quâ maiestate popellum et colit et terret; Sanguine stent quassi, carnis tremor occupet artus: Quod lyra sic nulla, Seu pacem resonat, vel arma clangat, verè sydera personare posset Quando gesta legent Caroli, currumq; videbunt Alterius Caroli plaustrum superare triumpho.	55 60

(From Bodleian MS. Montagu d. 1, ff. 30, 31, in the handwriting of Sir Kenelm Digby. Endorsed: 'Ben Johnsons Ode translated into Latin by the Proctor of Oxford.' Gifford knew this manuscript and quoted the last two stanzas.)

III. *By Thomas Randolph*

Eho jam satis & super Theatro Ætatique simul datum est: eamus, Hic vanus tumor & sine fronte superbia captant Ingenii cathedram, Censuraque tuam vexant graviore Thaliæ Et senuisse putant. At fastidia, si velint, Cerebri Atque ipsum simul evomant Cerebrum, Et multâ cum bile fremant: Hos non tibi natos, Te genuisse tuos crede ad majora Parentes.	5 10
Quis puram Cererem ministret illi Crudas qui solet esurire glandes? Vanus defuncto labor inservire palato, Et stolidus furor est. Quære alium Nectar cui tam cœleste propines, Quod sapit Ambrosiam. Istis jacula da nigrumque panem, Putres reliquias olentis ollæ.	15

Vaticana bibant, qui nolunt Massica; Nec tu
Tantopere invidas porcinæ stercora linguae. 20

Istis fabula rectius placebit
Absurdi Periclis cacata charta,
Sportula Prætoris quæ putida mille culinas,
Mille sapit patinas:
Insulsi pisces collectæque undique sordes 25
In cumulum veniant.

Ex his prandia, si quid ipse norim,
Convivis dabo lautiora nostris;
Qui placuisse velit stupidis, det crustula tantum
Ingenii, & coctum decies in fercula cramben. 30

Et prosit rogo delicata cæna,
Cohors serica, prosit ista vobis,
Quos Analecta iuvant, & tutos scenica vestis
Reddat ab insidiis,
Horreat ad Vestrum dum Comica Musa tribunal 35
Pertimeatque nigrum.

At siquis fuerit sonorus, Author
Largas impleat ut peritus aures,
Plaudite, commeruit palmam, dabit Histrio vobis
Ampullas, & vos illi conceditis Aurum. 40

Isthæc desere proh nimis pudenda,
Alcæo melius sonare plectro,
Anacreon vocat & Flaccus, tantumque precatur
Pindarus hospitium.
Quamvis deficient nervi, nondumque senile 45
Opprimat ossa gelu,
Sic dextrâ quatias lyram peritâ,
Sic tentes cytharam, favente Musâ,
Ut salvum tibi adhuc cerebrum fateantur inepti,
Mirenturque omnes pariter, pariterque rubescant. 50

Et cum te pia Gesta Gloriamque
Magni Cæsaris audiant canentem
Quâ pietate solet tractare hominesque Deosque
Progenies superum,
Insolito terrore tremant, cum nostra camenas 55
Musa super reliquas
Seu pacem canat horridumue Martem.
Alto vertice præteribit Astra,
Cum tua Regna legant dignas te, Carole, laudes
Atque tuos tua plaustra super conscendere currus. 60

(First printed in *A Crew of kind London Gossips. All met to be Merry. . . .*
To which is Added Ingenious Poems or Wit and Drollery. Written and

newly enlarged by S. R. 1633. It is headed 'Ben Johnsons Discontented Soliloqui upon the sinister censure of his Play, called the New Inn, Translated into Latin, and Answered Verse for Verse, by THOMAS RANDAL'. First, a stanza of Jonson's, then Randolph's Latin, then Randolph's reply. There are manuscript copies in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson poetry 62, ff. 71-2, and MS. 209, f. 22, the latter very bad, but correcting the grammar of 'senilis gelu' to 'senile' in lines 45-6; if 'senilis' is to stand, Randolph should have written the form 'gelus'. Our text has been repunctuated.)

APPENDIX XXIII

'THE WIDOW' AND 'THE NEW INN'

IN 1652 Humphrey Moseley published *The Widdow a Comedie. As it was Acted at the private House in Black-Fryers, with great Applause, by His late Majesties Servants.*

Written by $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ben: Johnson.} \\ \text{John Fletcher.} \\ \text{Tho: Middleton.} \end{array} \right\}$ Gent.

Printed by the Originall Copy. In a prefatory address 'To the Reader' Alexander Gough, an actor of the King's men from 1626 to 1642, speaks of '*this lively piece, drawn by the art of Johnson, Fletcher, and Middleton*'.

Gifford noticed the parallel situation in the concluding scenes of *The Widow* (v. i) and *The New Inn*. In *The Widow* Martia, disguised as Ansaldo, a man, and dressed again in her own shape by Philippa who did not know her sex, is married to a young gallant Francisco. Violetta, Philippa's waiting-maid, who is in the secret, tells her mistress and her mistress's two suitors, and Brandino, a foolish justice—

Viol. O Master, Gentlemen: and you sweet Widow . . .
If ever you be sure to laugh agen,
Now is the time.

Val. Why what's the matter wench?

Viol. Ha, ha, ha.

Bra. Speak, speak,

Viol. Ha, a marriage, a marriage, I cannot tel't for laughing: ha, ha.

Bra. A marriage, doe you make that a laughing matter?

Viol. Ha: I, and you'l make it so when you know all.

Enter Francisco and Ansaldo.

Here they come, here they come, one man married to an other.

Val. How? man to man?

Viol. I, man to man y'faith. Ther'l be good sport at night to bring 'em both to bed; Doe you see 'em now, ha, ha, ha?

At this point the First Suiter to Valeria recognizes the bride:

My daughter *Martia*.

Ans. Oh my Father: your love and pardon sir.

Val. 'Tis she indeed Gentlemen.

In our opinion the play shows no sign of Jonson's hand. If he had collaborated, we could hardly have failed to trace him in one scene, which travels over ground familiar to him. In iv. ii *Latrocinio* and *Occulto*, two thieves, set up as empirics at an inn and pick the pockets of their patients. The style is unmistakably Middleton's, in spite of the resemblance to *The Alchemist*, the mountebank scene in *Volpone*, and the picking of Cokes's pocket in *Bartholomew Fair*.¹ There are some parallels to the last of these. Brandino, the justice, is robbed while sitting in a chair and having a tooth taken out; his clerk Martino comments in the spirit of Waspé when Cokes is robbed.

Bra. My purse is gone *Martino*.

La. How, your purse sir?

Bra. Tis gon y'faith: I 'ave been among some Rascalls.

Mar. And that's a thing

I ever gave you warning of, Master, you care not
What company you run into.

Bran. Lend me some money; chide me anon, I pre'thee.

But Martino, while his eyes are being treated, is also robbed, just as Waspé, who took the licence from Cokes, lost it.

Mar. My purse is gon too.

Bran. How? Ile never take warning more of thee while I live then, thou art an Hypocrite, and art not fit to give good counsel to thy Master, that canst not keep from ill company thy self.

Latrocinio, rather in the manner of Edgworth and Nightingale in the *Fair*,² tells the pair

I ha' known purses gon,
And the Theef stand, and look one full i'th' face,
As I may doe your Worship, and your man now.

'The end of the scene', says Baskerville, 'and of the cutpurse's part is an adaptation from *Bartholomew Fair*. There Justice Overdo, in one of his foolish impulses, gives Quarlous his hand and seal to an unfilled warrant,³ which Quarlous uses to release Mistress Grace from the power

¹ Pointed out by G. R. Baskerville in *Modern Philology*, vi. 109-27 (1908), who also notes points of contact between *The Widow* and *Sir Thomas More* in the scene of the robbery.

² *B.F.* III. v. 183-9.

³ *Ibid.* v. ii. 125.

of her guardian, Overdo himself, at the same time forcing her to pay him for his good deed. So Justice Brandino, when he cannot pay the quack, gives him his hand and seal, which are used to release from prison a fellow rogue and Martia, who has been committed by the justice; while the quack gets in recompense for his charity all the money that Martia has.'

It is evident that Middleton knew *Bartholomew Fair*. But he adapted it freely and fitted his borrowed touches well into the framework of his own play.

Except for the fact that *The Widow* belonged to the King's men, its stage-history is a blank, but Mr. W. J. Lawrence has reconstructed it¹ with something like the skill and agility of a conjurer producing a rabbit from an empty hat. Noting that the songs in the play are sung by the characters, not by a chorister introduced for the purpose, he conjectures that *The Widow* was produced about 1607 by boy players at a private theatre. Mr. Oliphant caps this by locating the performance at Peter's Hall, where the building of a new Blackfriars theatre was licensed for the Children of the Revels on 3 June 1615. 'My theory is', says Mr. Lawrence, 'that the play came after *Eastward Hoe* at the Blackfriars, when, owing to the recent trouble of Jonson, Chapman, and Marston being no longer able to collaborate (they never worked together again), Jonson joined with Middleton and Fletcher in a play of London life, in which the characters were given foreign names, and the scene laid in Istria.' The catch-phrase of the Second Suiter, 'I will have my humour', is somehow connected with the catch-phrases of Touchstone, 'Work upon that now', and of Security, 'I do hunger and thirst to do you service', in *Eastward Hoe*. The play was acquired by the King's men and put into its extant shape by Middleton in 1616.

It is obvious that this theory is purely conjectural; nothing in it admits of verification. The fact that *The Widow* is not included by Sir E. K. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage* shows that in his opinion the play was later than Shakespeare's death in 1616.

But Mr. Lawrence put forward a suggestion to account for Jonson being in the play even if we fail to find him there. Jonson plotted the play, and Middleton or Fletcher, one or both of them, took their cues from him. This is an hypothesis to save the face of Gough and Moseley. Gough, Mr. Lawrence argues, as a member of the King's company, was in a position to know about the authorship. Unfortunately Gough also makes Fletcher part-author of the play. Mr. Lawrence ignores this point, which adds to the improbability of the ascription, for Fletcher is as difficult to find as Jonson in the extant text. Moseley, of course, was thoroughly untrustworthy in ascriptions of authorship; the names of Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton were a first-rate advertisement for an unprinted play, and that was all he cared for.

¹ *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies*, 1927, p. 363; *Speeding up Shakespeare*, 1937, pp. 108-13. See also E. H. C. Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1927, pp. 492-8.

THE MAGNETIC LADY

TIME AND PLACE IN THE PLAY

THE action takes place in one day. The chief indications of the passage of time relate to dinner. In i. ii. 9 Compass is anxious for the family council on Placentia's marriage to have 'a quick dispatch' that 'wee may goe to dinner betimes'; the dinner is on the board in the second act (vi. 159) and is still going on at the beginning of the third act (i. 3). In iv. viii. 38 the company come to sup with Lady Loadstone. 'Since sixe a Clock' is a last reference in v. x. 13.

The scene of the action is inside or outside Lady Loadstone's house. The first act takes place in front of the house. Even the conference on the marriage is held there (i. ii. 46-8). At this point Compass and Ironside slip into the house and re-enter in the fifth scene. The rest of the play is in a room of the house.

The Persons

9. *Palate*. Cf. iii. i. 16-17.

12. *Silkworm*. *Ep.* xv, ON COVRT-WORME:

All men are wormes: But this no man. In silke
Twas brought to court . . .

14. *Money-baud*. *S. of N.* ii. iv. 1.

15. *Vi-politique*. 'Vi-' is a reduced form of 'vice', found in 'vicurate', 'vi-president', and 'Vi-countesse' (ii. iii. 60). Cf. i. vii. 1-4 for a definition.

Induction

1. *What doe you lack*. The shopkeeper's cry: *E.H.* i. i. 66.

10. *Poet'accios* (Italian *poetaccio*), apparently here only, but Shadwell took over *Poetito*: see *Bury Fair*, prol., 'wretched poetitos'.

14. *hee is not here*. 'Jonson always attended the first presentation of his pieces, when it was in his power. He was now bed-ridden: his last appearance at the theatre seems to have been in 1625[-26], when *The Staple of News* was brought forward' (Gifford).

19. *tye us . . . to you*. Cf. *Cymbeline*, i. vi. 22-3, 'He is one of the noblest note, to whose kindnesses I am most infinitely tied'.

25. *the state of the busines*. Cf. the satire on courtiers, *S. of N.* iv. iv. 63-73.

29. *The Venison-side*, the left side. A pun on 'hart' and 'heart'.

32. *Fæces*. Suggested by the alchemical use: *Alch.* ii. iii. 63.

33. *caves . . . wedges*. The *caveae* (spectators' seats or benches) and *cunei* (the wedge-shaped division of the seats) in the ancient Roman theatre.

34. *sixe-penny*. For prices of seats at the theatre see *B.F. Ind.* 88–90 n.

36. *Plush and Velvet-outsides*. Cf. Chorus I, 48–50, and the *Ode on The New Inn*, 32.

44. *Populo* . . . Terence, *Andria*, prol., quoted *S.W. prol.* I. 1, 2.

47. *Westminster*. *S. of N.* Intermean III, 34, 46–9.

70. *Every Poët writes Squire now*. *The Whole Workes Of Samuel Daniel Esquire in Poetrie* appeared after Daniel's death in 1623; he did not so describe himself, as Drayton did, but Drayton had a right to the title. Richard Brathwayte put 'Esq.' on the title-page of his poem *Panedone, or Health from Helicon*, 1621, and his prose-works *The English Gentleman*, 1630, and *The English Gentlewoman*, 1631. Too late for the reference in the text, though Jonson would have sympathized with the attack, is *A Letter Sent to George Wither, Poetica licentia Esquire, by a plain dealing friend of his to prevent his future Pseudography*, 1646, by 'Alethe-graphus'.

72. *good men*. *D. is A.* III. i. 10.

78–81. Damplay is Inigo Jones, whose false Latin Jonson also satirizes in *A Tale of a Tub*, v. vii. 11–13; in the *Expostulation*, 7, 8, (*U.V.* xxxiv), Inigo is described as

overbearing us
With mistook Names out of Vitruvius.

Compare the caricature of him as 'Vitruvius Hoop', which Sir H. Herbert cut out of the *Tale of a Tub*, and the 'Coronel Vitruvius' of *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*.

83. *In Foro*. *N.I.* II. vi. 184.

84. *made present by report*. Dryden, *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (ed. Ker, i, p. 65), comments on this use of narrative: repulsive, impossible, or incredible actions must be avoided 'or only delivered by narration'. So too for the purpose of 'avoiding tumult' or 'reducing the plot into a more reasonable compass of time'. There are examples of this, 'not only among all the Ancients, but in the best received of our English poets. We find Ben Johnson using them in his *Magnetick Lady*, where one comes out from dinner, and relates the quarrels and disorders of it, to save the undecent appearance of them on the stage, and to abbreviate the story; and this in express imitation of Terence, who had done the same before him in his *Eunuch*, where Pythias makes the like relation of what had happened within at the Soldier's entertainment.'

90. *Decorum*. Jonson twice prides himself on observing it, in the denouement of *The Alchemist*, v. v. 159, and in the setting of *Bartholomew Fair*, Induction, 158–60.

99–III. Compare the other *locus classicus* on Humour, *E.M.O.* Ind.

99. *of this kind*. Jonson ignores 'the half of his comedies' not in print in 1618 (*Conv. Drum.* 393).

108. *his Center attractive*. Dr. Peck compares the character of a 'handsome Hostess' in John Earle's *Micro-cosmographie*, 1628, G2: she 'is

the fairer commendation of an Inne, about the faire Signe or faire Lodgings. She is the Loadstone that attracts men of Iron, Gallants and Roarers, where they cleave sometimes long, and are not easily got off.'

121. *not woo the gentile ignorance*. Gifford illustrates from the parabasis of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, 560-2:

ὅστις οὖν τούτοις γελᾷ, τοῖς ἐμοῖς μὴ χαιρέτω·
ἦν δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖσιν ἐμοῖς εὐφραίνεσθ' εὐρήμασιν,
ἐς τὰς ὥρας τὰς ἐτέρας εὖ φρονεῖν δοκήσετε.

gentile. C.R. Ind. 116.

124. *super-please*. The only example quoted. Shakespeare has 'super-praise' (M.N.D. III. ii. 153).

judicious Spectators. Cf. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 226-8.

132. *Fly . . . to the marke*. B.F. II. iv. 43.

135. *Dictamen*. N.I. III. i. 52.

136. *a skeene of silke*. Ibid. IV. iv. 9.

1. i. 7. *diametrall*, completely opposed.

33. *distaste*. D. is A. III. iii. 77.

41. *lesse wit-worke*, less mental effort to reconcile the guests.

44. *Caract*. E.M.I. III. iii. 22.

47. *Foxe*. B.F. II. vi. 60.

48. *Vnkennelld*. A technical term in hunting for dislodging the fox from its hole: *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iii. 143, 'I'll warrant we'll unkennel the fox'.

61. *over-intreat*. The prefix has the sense of bringing or gaining over to an opinion: cf. 'over-persuade'.

64. *sliding*, passing, incidental.

67. *o'the by*. Cat. III. 377.

69-72. Jonson summarizes the doctrine of Aristotle on universals. 'The main point is this: The world which is given to us in experience is a world of concrete individual things acting and reacting on each other. In contemplating these we become aware of characters common to many individuals. These are for Aristotle as real, as objective, as the individuals. They are not in any sense the work of the mind. . . . But he warns us to assign to them only that mode of existence which is proper to universals, viz. existence as characteristic of individuals. We must not posit a separate world of universals' (W. D. Ross, *Aristotle*, pp. 157-8).

80. *doe but signifie*, have a superficial meaning. Whalley's 'not' for 'but' gives a smoother but less subtle meaning. Textually the two words are apt to be interchanged: in *As You like It*, II. i. 5-7, the Folio reads:

Heere feele we not the penaltie of *Adam*,
The seasons difference, as the *Icie phange*
And churlish chiding of the winters wind.—

where Theobald's 'Here feel we but the penalty of Adam'—the only disadvantage of living in the open air of Arden—is generally accepted.

86-7. *without his Cope . . . our Parish Pope*. Chaucer's Friar, *Prologue*, 261-2:

But he was lyk a maister or a pope,
Of double worstede was his semy-cope.

Gifford noted that several traits in the description of Palate, 1. ii. 15 foll., are derived from Chaucer.

1. ii. 5. *Ripe for a husband*. Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 53, 'Iam matura viro'.

12. *surreverently*. Apparently only here: ironical, 'very reverently' with a glance at the euphemistic 'sir-reverence': see *T. of T.* 1. vi. 25.

20. *strokes the Gills*. A metaphor from tickling trout.

22. *blacks*. The plural survives in Lowland Scots.

28. *Ward-mote Quest*. The wardmote was a meeting of the liverymen of a city ward presided over by an alderman. 'Wardmote quest' or 'inquest' was a judicial inquiry made by a wardmote.

can. *S. of N.* iv. iv. 7.

34. *As any' is of his bulke*. Cf. *S. of N.* Ind. 62-3, *New World*, 172, 'one of our greatest Poets (I know not how good a one) . . . '.

37. *blancks*, blank verse.

39. *letting God alone . . . nature*. 'Something of the same kind is observed of physicians by Lord Bacon'—Whalley, who quotes Chaucer of the Doctor of Physic (*Prol.* 438): 'His studie was but litel on the Bible.'

41. *Voluptary*. *C.R.* v. iv. 331.

42. *The slave of money*. Chaucer's Doctor 'lovede gold in special', 'For gold in phisik is a cordial' (*Prol.* 443-4).

Buffon. *E.M.I.* II. v. 8.

1. iii. 5. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*. Terence, *Andria*, 126; Horace, *Epist.* 1. xix. 41.

13. *project reall*. Cf. 'action real', relating to 'real' property. 'In early use frequently placed after the substantive' (*O.E.D.*).

17. *a Fether*. Cf. III. iv. 61-2, and Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, p. 205), 'a Cavalier of the first feather'.

29. *Not of that eare*. 'To hear of both ears' means to hear both sides of a question, to be impartial. The negative 'not of that ear' expresses wilful obtuseness, 'to be deaf on that side of the head'.

41. *soothing*, flattering.

1. iv. 5. *Doctor Ridley*. Mark Ridley (1560-1624) published in 1597 *The Nauigators Supply*. Containing many things of principall importance to Nauigation, describing the compass in the opening chapters. In 1613 *A Short Treatise of Magneticall Bodies and Motions*, he called himself on the title-page 'Latly Physition to the Emperour of Russia'. In 1616 appeared *Magneticall Aduertisements: or diuers pertinent obseruations, and approued experiments concerning the nature and properties of the*

Load-stone by William Barlow, who died in 1625 archdeacon of Salisbury and improved the hanging of ships' compasses. This provoked a reply from Ridley, *Magneticall Animaduersions*, 1617, accusing Barlow of plagiarizing Gilbert. Barlow in his turn replied with *A Briefe Discouery of the Idle Animaduersions of Marke Ridley Doctor in Physicke vpon a Treatise entituled, Magneticall Aduertisements*, 1618.

7. Lady Loadstone's blundering here and in line 44 (misunderstanding 'write') is a trait which is not developed in the play.

14-17. Depraved appetite is one of the symptoms of 'green sickness' (*chlorosis*).

43. *write a quarter old*. S.W. III. iv. 46, 'when I writ simply maide'.

59. *good uses*. A quibble on 'use' (1) in its literal sense, (2) interest on money.

1. v. 11. *Spittle Preachers*. The Spital sermons, originally preached in the church of the Priory of St. Mary, Spitalfields, are now preached at Christ Church, Newgate Street, on Easter Monday and Tuesday; the Lord Mayor attends.

18. *Persians*, confused by Polish with *Precisians*.

19. *piercing*. Pronounced 'persing': cf. the earlier forms 'perce' and 'perse', and Falstaff's pun at the Battle of Shrewsbury, 'Well, if Percy be alive, I'll pierce him' (1 *Henry IV*, v. iii. 54).

22-3. *brancht cassocks*. N.I. v. i. 17.

brancht doctrine, literally 'embroidered', and so the opposite of plain and simple teaching. *Beside their Texts*, straying from their texts.

23. *Karlin*. N.I. v. v. 16.

24. *Persons*. Spelt 'parson' from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The spelling here is coloured by the biblical phrase 'respector of persons'.

34. *the Tinder of the truth (As one said)*. Untraced.

37. *could*. S. of N. iv. iv. 7.

38. *pricks*, the vowel-points in Hebrew.

Masoreth. The Massoretes edited the Old Testament in accordance with the 'Massora' or Tradition preserved in the Talmud; the complete Massora was first published in the second Rabbinical Bible (Venice, 4 vols. folio, 1524-5). Besides fully treating textual questions, the Massoretes tabulated such minutiae as the middle word and middle letter of each book, so that the range of Mistress Steele's information was portentous.

39. *Burton, and his Bull*. Henry Burton (1578-1648), rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, published in 1627 *The Baiting of the Popes Bull. Or An vnmasking of the Mystery of iniquity, folded vp in a most pernicious Breeue or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, to cawse a Rent therein, for his Reentry*. He was violently Puritanical and was one of Laud's victims.

scribe Prin—Gent. William Prynne (1600-69) wrote about two hundred books and pamphlets on law, theology, and ecclesiastical antiquities. His *Histrionastix* attacking the stage was published in 1633, but it was licensed in November 1632.

40. *Præsto-be-gon*. Whalley suggested the Puritan divine John Preston (1587–1628). 'The greatest pulpit-monger in England in man's memory', was Fuller's description of him. He was Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

'Presto begone' was a conjurer's term: Randolph, *The Jealous Lovers*, II. v (1632, p. 25), 'I think Cupid be turn'd jugler. Here's nothing but Hocas pocas, Præstò be gon, Come again Jack; and feats of activitie.'

48. *port*, carry (Lat. *portare*).

52. *a Sanguinary*. So *The Image of Ipocrysy* (Dyce's *Skelton*, II, p. 415):

. . . a sangunary,
A pastore for to pull
Of bothe skynne and wolle.

I. vi. 2, 3. *Artick* . . . *Antartick*. The older spelling, from the Old French *artique* and late Latin *articus*. Chaucer, *Astrolabe*, II. xxii, 'owre pool Artik'. 'Arctick' in *K. Ent.* 706, *Hadd.* 269.

14. *the true writing* as in Chaucer, 'Sir man of lawe' (*Canterbury Tales*, B33).

16. *the preferments*. Cf. v. iii. 13–16.

18. *eighty-eight*, Armada year, 1588. For the expression 'eighty-eight' cf. *Alch.* IV. iv. 29.

20. *Archimede*. Archimedes, intent on working out a mathematical problem, while tracing a diagram in the dust, was killed by a Roman soldier at the sack of Syracuse, 212 B.C.

21. *Night-cap*. The lawyer's 'biggen' of *Volp.* v. ix. 5.

22. *Guard*, ornamental trimming.

26. *Clots, and Clownes*. *Volp.* III. i. 9, 'clods, and clot-poules'.

30. *devow'd*, devoted (Lat. *devovere*).

31. *to their inches*, up to a point, within their narrow range.

35. *Logarythmes*. John Napier of Murchisten published in 1614 his *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis descriptio*; an English translation by E. Wright followed in 1616. 'Logorythmes' was an erroneous seventeenth-century spelling, presumably the printer's, not Jonson's, in this passage.

39. *paralaxe*. An astronomical term, more correctly 'parallax': the apparent displacement of an object caused by change of position of the point of observation.

I. vii. 12. *Maniples*, bundles (Lat. *manipuli*). Cf. II. vi. 149.

19. *farragoe*, medley (Lat. *farrago*, lit. mixed fodder for cattle).

30. *quar*, quarry.

31. *Cornelian*. A quibble on the family name of the historian Cornelius Tacitus.

33. *brooch*. *Poet.* I. ii. 161–2.

38. *Carract*, worth. *E.M.I.* III. iii. 22, 'caract', as Jonson probably spelt the word.

41. *Corrant's*, express messengers.

Avises, advices, commercial information.

44. *wormes a Dog*, cuts what is called the 'worm' under the tongue, a supposed preventative of madness. Ford, *'Tis Pity*, 1. ii (1633, B3), 'And had <not> your suddaine comming prevented vs, I had let my Gentleman blood vnder the gilles: I should haue worm'd you Sir, for running madde'.

68. *Callott*, *calotta*, the coif of a serjeant-at-law.

69. *parerga*, secondary matters (Greek *πάρεργα*).

70. *Seculars*. *N.I.* v. ii. 9.

74. *Surveyor of the Projects generall*. Cf. *iv.* vi. 16–17, *v.* iii. 12. This looks like a personal allusion, but we have not traced one.

76. *A Nemo scit*, an untold sum. Fuller, *Church History*, 1655, *v.* iii, p. 197, '*Licences . . . and a hundred other particulars, brought yearly a Nemo scit, into the Papal Treasury*'.

Chorus I

1–10. *Protasis . . . Catastrophe . . . Epitasis . . . Catastasis*. J. C. Scaliger, *Poetice*, 1561, 1. ix, defines the parts of comedy: '*Partes legitimæ sunt, sine quibus nequit Fabula constare, quibusque contentam esse oportet. Protasis est, in qua proponitur & narratur summa rei sine declaratione exitus. Ita enim argutior est, animum semper auditoris suspensum habens ad expectationem. Si autem prædicatur exitus, frigidiuscula fit. Tametsi ex Argumento omnem rem tenes: tamen adèò expedita ac brevis est indicatio, vt non tam saturet animum, quàm incendat. Epitasis, in qua turbæ aut excitantur, aut intenduntur. Catastasis, est vigor, ac status Fabulæ, in qua res miscetur in ea fortunæ tempestate, in quam subducta est. Hanc partem multi non animaduertere, necessaria tamen est. Catastrophe, conuersio negotii exagitati in tranquillitatem non expectatam. His partibus additus . . . Prologus: quem Latinis solis attribuunt quidam.*' Cf. Dryden, *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, ed. Ker, p. 45.

16. *if a Child . . . E.M.I.* prol. 7–9, 11–15.

21. *dun Cowes*. A reference to the exploit of Guy, Earl of Warwick, in killing one on Dunsmore Heath. A lost play by Day and Dekker, *The Life and Death of Guy, Earl of Warwick*, was entered on the Stationers' Register on 15 January 1620; John Taylor saw it performed at Islington by Lord Derby's men (*The Penylesse Pilgrimage*, 1618).

22. *marry an Emperours Daughter*. As in *Huon of Bordeaux* (suggested by J. W. Draper, *Modern Language Notes*, xxxv, pp. 439–40). A play with this title was performed by the Earl of Sussex's men on 28 December 1593.

24. *all to be laden*. *C.R.* *iv.* iii. 16.

29. *Hokos-pokos*. *S. of N.* 2 Intermean, 15.

Travitanto Tudesko. From Damplay's question apparently not well known in Jonson's day; unknown since. Stefano Della Bella engraved a portrait of Bernardino Ricco, 'il Tedeschino', 1637, on horseback, a noted buffoon at the court of Frederick II, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

34. *expect no more . . . then they understand*. *B.F.* Ind. 113–15.

43. *a pissing while*. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, IV. i. 3; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. iv. 18.

46. *steepe their temples*. *E.M.O.* v. iv. 44-5.

52. *the King*. This reads like an apologia for the reproachful reference in *The New Inn* epilogue.

54. *clothes . . . the best part about him*. Cf. *Disc.* 1502-8, of 'the shallowest creatures: *Courtiers* commonly'. Their pride 'is but while their clothes last; stay but while these are worne out, you cannot wish the thing more wretched, or dejected'.

66. *call a Spade, a Spade*. In the Greek proverb τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγειν, found in Plutarch and Lucian, σκάφη means 'trough' or 'bowl'. Erasmus rendering it *ligo* ('spade') confused it with σκαφεῖον, and gave a new turn to the proverb. (*O.E.D.*)

II. i. 3. *Store is no sore*. In *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, Proverbs, I. v (1562, B^v); cf. Massinger, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, III. ii (1633, F3):

Overreach. Spare for no cost, let my Dressers cracke with the weight
Of curious viands. *Greddie*. *Store indeed's no sore*, Sir.

Over. That prouerbe fitts your stomacke Master *Greddie*.

8. *Of purpose*. *Poet.* v. ii. 24.

16. *Like a young night-Crow*. The point is the sheen of the young bird's feathers. The night-crow was a bird of ill omen (*S.W.* III. v. 17 n.).

17. *Diaphanous*. Howell, *Letters*, I. i. xxix, 'To transmute Dust and Sand to such a diaphanous pellucid dainty body as you see a Crystal-Glasse is'.

18. *Cannot tell*. *B.F.* I. iii. 10.

19. *copie*. *E.M.O.* II. iii. 70.

II. ii. 2. *on*, about.

9. *us*. Cf. *Cymbeline*, v. iv. 69, 70:

For this, from stiller seats we came,
Our parents and us twain.

10. *prick out*. *C.R.* v. ii. 79. There is, of course, a quibble on 'needle'.

20. *Batcheler*. Rarely used of a girl.

25. *remora*. *Poet.* III. ii. 4.

27. *Katernes*. The district near St. Katherine's Hospital and the Tower, *Alch.* v. iii. 55.

43. *The neat house-doctor*, a skilful domestic practitioner.

a true stone-Doctor. *Stone* is partly suggested by *Loadstone*, the lady whom he serves; and, as his name is *Rut*, the expression 'stone-doctor' may be comparable to 'a stone-puritane' (*B.F.* III. ii. 120). This suggestion also colours *Doctor Doe-all* in line 57.

II. iii. 3. *tendring*, acting tenderly.

6. *Tiffany*, literally a thin gauze-like fabric of soft silk and linen. Hence the notion of 'flimsy'. Cotgrave, s.v. 'Gaze', speaks of '(the sleight stuffe) Tiffanie'.

10. *Darke*, by *darker*. *Obscurum per obscurius*.

14. *Tympanites*. These three kinds are described in John Halle's translation of *Lanfranke of Mylayne his briefe*, 1565, p. 53, s.v. '*Hyposarca*': '*Ανασάρκα*, called also *Sarcites*, *Hyposarca*, and *Leucophlegmatias*, is that kynde of *Hydrops*, whiche (spreading it selfe largelyer then the other *Ascites* and *Tympanites*,) possesseth the whole habite of the body, with muche moisture: though the other two dooe yet sende affectes, to other partes then they possesse, whiche is the belye. As to the great arteries, *Ascytes*, colyng, stretching and aggrauatyng them, and *Tympanites*, filling them with wynde. Whose coates *Anasarca* doth lose & mollifie.' *Tympanites* is so called, 'For yf the wombe be so smytten, hit sowneth as a taboure or a tymbre' (Trevisa's *Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1535, vii, ch. lii).

17. *Aquosus*. The Latin for dropsy is '*aqua intercus*' (Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 891). *Aquosus* is an adjective meaning 'full of water': Jonson may have been thinking of Horace's '*aquosus languor*' for the dropsy (*Odes*, II. ii. 15-16).

25. *Gleeke*. *Alch.* II. iii. 285.

Crimpe. A card-game played in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Addison mentions it in *The Tatler*, no. 250, 14 November 1710.

29. *six . . . horses*. *Alch.* IV. iv. 46.

33. *chuck at*. *N.I.* I. iii. 133.

47. *Hall*, Westminster Hall.

58. *O' the first head*. *E.M.O.* III. iii. 48.

62. *cast-off*, thrown off, slipped, like hounds.

bare, bare-headed, as servants were in public. *T. of T.* v. vii. 40.

II. iv. 21. *Secure you of*, do not trouble about.

34. *nick it*. *N.I.* IV. iii. 103.

II. v. 16. *to your veines*, to blood-relationship with you.

27. *ingenious leave*, frank (ingenuous) permission.

32. *Schemes*. *D. is A.* I. iv. 101.

33. *Amphibolies*. Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus*, 1587, '*Amphibolia*, a fourme of speaking when one sentence hath contrary senses'.

46. *A Cricket by the wing*. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 113-14.

48. *your shoe wrings you*. Plutarch, *Coniugalia Praecepta*, 22: 'Ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων νουθετούμενος ὅτι σώφρονα γυναῖκα καὶ πλουσίαν καὶ ὡραῖον ἀπεπέμψατο τὸν κάλτιον αὐτοῖς παρατείνας, " καὶ γὰρ οὗτος . . , ἔφη, „ καλὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ καινός, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὅπου με θλίβει.,,

64. *though he geld it*. As he proposes to do, II. vi. 16-22 n.

66. *in hand . . . no birds*. 'Proverbs from the Commonplace-book of Richard Hills', c. 1530, in *Fraser's Magazine*, August 1858: 'A byrde yn honde ys better then three yn the wode.'

74. *Six Fleets in seven yeares*. Sir Diaphanous might well ask. At first the voyages were once in two years, though more frequent later. The return of a ship was an event. Cf. Subtle's cautious hint on the ship 'comming from Ormus' (*Alch.* I. iii. 59).

II. vi. 16–22. Sir Moth's bargain is that Bias shall have £6,000 less than the full portion of £16,000. Thus in Fletcher's *A Wit at several Weapons* (I. i) Sir Perfidious Oldcraft compounds with his ward's suitor to take her for a third of her portion. In Shirley's *The Gamester* (v. i) Wilding intended to marry his ward to a younger brother who would be content with half the portion.

Tush! 'tis frequent
With men that are so trusted.

If the ward married without licence she forfeited double the value of her marriage portion. She could not be compelled to marry; but, if she declined the match proposed to her, she had to pay its value, i.e. the amount which would be paid the guardian in return for her lands and dowry.

20. *worke like waxe*. Horace, *Ep.* II. ii. 8, of a young slave, 'argilla quidvis imitaberis uda'.

26. *deduc'd*, deducted.

34. *the usual rate of ten i'the hundred*. The rate when Sir Moth took charge of the money. In 1624 the rate was reduced to 8 per cent. (*S. of N.* II. i. 4).

100. *His wit . . . by Legacie*. Cf. the Spanish saying in the *Disc.* 251–2, 'Artes inter haeredes non dividi'.

101. *Harrington*. *D. is A.* II. i. 83.

106. *heterogene*. *Alch.* II. v. 11.

108. *Mahumetans*. So the form 'Mahumet' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

115. *keepees a servant*. Interest's footboy, who enters with him at IV. viii, hardly counts.

132. *Cutting of throats, with a whispering*. From Juvenal iv. 109–10:

saevior illo

Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro.—

used earlier in *Sej.* I. 30, 31.

144. *Pragmaticke Flies*, busybodies and parasites.

Publicanes, extortioners (Lat. *publicanus*, a tax-gatherer).

150. *Cimici* (Italian), bugs (Lat. *cimex*); the foreign word sounds more elegant. Coryat used the Latin plural: 'Those angry flies called *cimices*' (*Crudities*, 1611, p. 352).

Chorus II

3. *perstringe*. Cooper, *Thesaurus*, 1587, 'Perstringere—to nippe, taunte, or checke shortly in writinge or speakinge'.

4–13. Repeated from *B.F. Ind.* 135–45.

8. *reverend Professors of the Law* recalls Jonson's defence of the criticism of them in *Poetaster*; see *Apol. Dial.* 125–7.

13–14. *vices in generall . . . particularities in persons*. Cf. *Poet. Apol. Dial.* 84–5 n.

16. *Davus*. The slave of Latin comedy.

Pyrgopolinices in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*.

17. *Thraso*. A soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*.

Euclio. The miser in Plautus' *Aulularia*.

Menedemus in Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*.

19, 20. *John à Noke*, or *John à Style* ('John who dwells at the oak, John who dwells at the stile'), fictitious names for plaintiff and defendant in a legal action, now replaced by John Doe and John Roe. The equivalents in Roman law were Gaius Seius and Lucius Titius. Juvenal uses Seius and Titius for 'any ordinary men' (*Sat.* iv. 13); Martial similarly has Gaius and Lucius (*Ep.* v. xiv. 5).

30. *in a Prologue*. The second Prologue of *Epicoene*.

34. *solemne vice of interpretation*. *S. of N.* Intermean II, 21-8, on the abuse of styling Pecunia the Infanta: 'Take heed, it lie not in the vice of your interpretation.'

37. *the Glasse of custom (which is Comedy)*. Cicero's definition in *E.M.O.* III. vi. 204-7.

40. *for my delight, or profit*. *E.M.O.* Ind. 202.

43. *my malice of misapplying*. *Poet.* v. iii. 140-4.

44. *by his calumnie*, by calumniating him. 'His' = 'of him': cf. *Sej.* III. 668 n., 'Leaue our courtings'.

44-7. Repeated from *Poet.* v. iii. 145-8 n.—an echo of Martial.

52. *no Barbers art*, also from Martial quoted in *Volp.* Ded. 141-2.

60-7. So in *B.F.* Ind. 87-91, 97-100.

71-2. *the Beares . . . the Puppets*. *Alch.* v. i. 14 n.

74. *Trowel*, trowel. A bold reference, considering Jonson's past, but characteristic of him.

III. i. 18-19. *Doctrines . . . Uses*. Puritan expressions for the subject of a discourse and the practical deductions from it. Massinger, *The Emperour of the East*, III. ii (1632, F4):

I am so tir'd
With your tedious exhortations, doctrines, vses,
Of your religious morality.

22. *an allay of water*. Lovelace to Althea:

When flowing cups run swiftly round
With no allaying Thames.

23. *a moneths mind*. Originally a mass for the dead celebrated on a day one month from the date of death. Then 'used allusively as a more or less playful synonym for mind' in the phrase 'to have a mind, or a good mind, to do something'—*O.E.D.*, quoting Lyly, *Euphues* (ed. Arber, p. 464), 'Determininge to ende his lyfe in Athens, although he hadde a moneths minde to England'.

37. *cellar*, case of bottles.

III. ii. 4. *Amber-gris*. Nicknamed from the perfume: cf. Dekker, *The*

Honest Whore (1604), 'He smells all of Muske and Amber greece'. For a complimentary reference to it see *N.T.* 494-5.

6. *Amber*. Used also in cookery and to flavour wine: Fletcher and Massinger, *The Custom of the Country*, III. i (1647, p. 10):

be sure
The wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,
And Amberd all.

III. iii. 11. *Rudhudibras*: so IV. viii. 77, V. i. 20. Cf. *N.I.* II. v. 75 n.

18, 19. *Hippocrates . . . Galen. Volp.* II. ii. 121.

19. *Rasis. T. of T.* IV, Interloping scene, 21.

Avicen. Husain ibn' Abd Allah, called Ibn Síná or Avicenna (980-1037), born near Bokhara.

Averroes. Ibn Roschd, the great Arabian philosopher, born at Cordova A.D. 1126, who translated Aristotle, and whose medical treatise in its Latin form of *Colliget* was a standard work in the middle age. He died in 1198. A Latin translation of his works, in eleven volumes folio, was issued at Venice in 1552. Dante's group of doctors in the *Inferno* IV. 142-3 ends with him:

Ippocrate, Avicenna e Galieno,
Averrois che il gran commento feo.

21. *Rosa solis. E.M.O.* IV. viii. 123.

22. *Cynnamon water. Pappe with an hatchet*, 1589 (*Lyly's Works*, ed. Bond, III, p. 399), 'Take away the Sacke, and giue him some Cinamom water, his conscience hath a colde stomacke'.

III. iv. 14-15. *My flesh . . . my clothes*. Cf. J. Pickering, *Horestes*, 1567, Aij^v: the Vice, after staving in Hodge's new hat, says:

Ha, ha, he, mar his hat quoth he? . . .
thear was all his thought.
Tout, tout, for the blose he set not a pyn.

26. *Apprentice at Law*. 'An ancient term for a barrister at law, as distinguished from a serjeant' (Gifford).

37-8. *like a wild Young haggard*. 'The haggard falcon that has never learned constancy to her legitimate pursuit will "check" or change the quarry at which she is flown for any magpie or crow that fortune may throw in her way.'—Madden, *Diary of Silence*, p. 148, quoting *Tw. Night*, III. i. 61-2:

And, like the haggard, check at every feather
That comes before his eye.

55. *London-Iury*. For their untrustworthy character see *E.M.I.* I. ii. 89.

62. *Corriers, curriers*.

63. *Cordo'van skins*, Spanish leather. The point is that they are 'old' and worn; otherwise they were fashionable. In Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject*, IV. vii (1647, p. 45), a courtier is addressed as 'You musk-cat, Cordevan-skin'.

79. *exacuate*, sharpen (Lat. *exacuo*).

83. *great Porter*. William Evans, described in Fuller's *History of the Worthies*, 1662, 'Monmouthshire', p. 54, as 'the Giant of our Age for his stature, being full two yards and a half in height: He was Porter to King Charles the First, succeeding *Walter Parsons* in his place, and exceeding him two Inches in height, but far beneath him in an equal proportion of body; for he was not onely what the *Latins* call *Compernis*, knocking his knees together, but also haulted a little; yet made he a shift to dance in an Antimask at Court, where he drew little *Jeffrey* the Dwarf out of his pocket, first to the wonder, then to the laughter of the beholders.' He died in May 1636, according to his epitaph in Ashmole MS. 38, p. 196.

99. *draughts*, drafts.

114. *As Homer makes Achilles*. 'Furious' is not the word to describe 'the wrath of Achilles'—the keynote of the *Iliad*—which is indignation at a breach of justice. Jonson has followed Horace's summary of the character, 'Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer' (*A.P.* 121).

119. *umbratile*, shadowy (Lat. *umbratilis*).

129. *of right . . . by Law*. An allusion to the Petition of Right pressed upon Charles I by his third Parliament in 1628. One of Jonson's few allusions to contemporary politics, like that to 'Rebels' in his lines to Drayton, *U.V.* xxx. 44.

III. v. 2. *Bow him*. This is a usual direction in such cases. Cf. R. Brome, *The Sparagus Garden*, v. xii (1640, L2^v): '*Reb.* Clap her cheek, rub her nose. *Fris.* Sprinkle cold water on her face. *Rob.* Cut her lace, cut her lace, and bow her forward, so, so, so.'

23. (*as Chaucer sayes*). Quoted anonymously in *B.F.* II. iv. 46-7:

Ful redy hadde he hise apothecaries
To sende him drugges and his letuaries,
For ech of them made oother for to wynne,
Hir frendshipe nas nat newe to bigynne.

(*Prologue*, 425-8.)

In both passages Jonson reads 'not now to begin' for 'not new to begin'.

34. *Vesica*, bladder.

Marsupium, the pouch in mammals, here humorously for 'the stomach'.

40-1. *chiragra . . . Hand-Gout*. *D. is A.* III. iii. 79 n.

59. *the Kings-head* on Fish Street Hill: the site is marked by King's Head Court. *The London Prodigall*, II. iv (1605, C2), '*Lanie.* To morrow be it then, lets meet at the kings head in fishstreet. *Oli.* No fie man no, lets meet at the Rose at *Temple-bar*.'

63. *Secundum Artem*. A cant phrase of the faculty: Rabelais, *Gargantua*, xxiii; Byron, *Don Juan*, x. x. 42:

This is the way physicians mend or end us,
Secundum artem.

64. 'spute, dispute, with a suggestion of 'spew', 'spit out'.

67. *residence*, residuum.

69. *oppilation*. *Volp.* II. ii. 64.

III. vi. 49. *Empire*. *D. is A.* III. iii. 45.

58-9. *the corruption* . . . *Merc. Vind.* 170-2.

69. *baggage Knight*. In the 'Life of Seneca' appended to North's *Plutarch*, 1676, p. 1003, 'This baggage fellow Burrus'.

70. *Mushroome*. *S.W.* II. iv. 153.

92. *the New Inne*. The speech of Lovel on valour in Act IV, scene iv.

96. *redargue*, refute (Lat. *redarguo*).

113. *Towne-top*. Query, a nickname of some fencer or some authority on fencing, with a quibble on 'town-' or 'parish-top'.

116. *O' the first head*. *E.M.O.* III. iii. 48.

122. *Perdu's*. The *Enfans-perdus* of *E.M.O.* v. xi. 24.

135. *blowne up*. *Alch.* I. ii. 78, 'And blow vp gamster, after gamster'.

137. *exemplified*, made an example of. Cf. 157, 'historified'.

139. *lost his ears*. The reference is probably, as Dr. Peck suggests, to Alexander Gill the younger, who was sentenced to lose his ears, but was pardoned in 1630. Prynne, whom Gifford suggested, lost his ears later in 1633.

154. *sheafe*. *E.M.O.* II. i. 85.

165. *head to foot, and foot to foot*. Virgil, *Aeneid*, x. 361, 'Concurrunt; haeret pede pes densusque viro vir'.

172. *perks*, puts on a jaunty air.

175. *Genii*. The Elizabethans took over the Roman idea of a genius or tutelary spirit watching over each man's life:

Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, vultu mutabilis albus an ater.

(Horace, *Ep.* II. ii. 187-9.)

178. *Sine divino* . . . Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 167, 'Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit'.

185. *passion* . . . *action*. Daw's philosophy in *S.W.* IV. v. 263, '*magis patiendo quam faciendo*'.

III. vii. 6. *gok't*, a variant of 'gucked', foolish.

10. *geere*, jeer.

12. *The Timpanie*. Cf. *Cases in the Star Chamber*, &c. (ed. S. R. Gardiner, Camden Society, 1886, p. 275), Joan Lane married on 23 February 1632 and accused of being pregnant on 29 April: 'It is a

timpanie, saith she. A timpany with 2 heeles, quoth the Bishop of London.'

13. *butter'd newes*. The old joke about Nathaniel Butter, *S. of N.* i. iv. 13.

20. *crack't within the Ring*. 'There was a ring or circle on the coin within which the sovereign's head was placed: if the crack extended from the edge beyond the ring, the coin was rendered unfit for currency.'—Douce on *Hamlet*, II. ii. 422-3, 'Pray God, your voice, like a piece of uncurrent gold, be not cracked within the ring'. For the metaphor Cunningham suggests an equivoque on the word 'piece' and compares Fletcher, *The Captain*, II. i (1647, p. 52):

Come to be married to my Ladyes woman,
After she's crack't i'th' ring.

27-8. *slip . . . Counterfeit*. *E.M.I.* II. v. 145-6.

Chorus III

22. *overgrowne*. Cf. *S. of N.* Ind. 63 n.

24. *my Magna Charta*. *N.I.* I. ii. 24.

32. *to the naile*, Lat. *ad unguem*: *T. of T.* I. v. 28.

IV. i. 6. *silke-Grogoran*. *E.M.I.* II. i. 9.

IV. ii. 15. *The Top, or the Top-gallant*, abbreviated for topsail and top-gallant sail. *Topgallant* was a small platform 'at the head of the topmast, and thus in a better position than the original top-castle or top' (*O.E.D.*).

32. *the good dayes . . . the bad*. *Alch.* I. iii. 95.

34. *Allestree*. Richard Allestree of Derby, a maker of almanacs from 1624 to 1643. In Alexander Gill's satire on this play there is a reference to Jonson's

learned brother Allestree
Who's Homer unto thee for Poetry.

38. *Another manner of peice*. *B.F.* I. iv. 87.

46. *double Reader*. A lecturer in law at the Inns of Court, 'single reader' at fifteen or sixteen years' standing in the House, 'double reader' seven years afterwards (Dugdale, quoted by Gifford).

55. *A knitting Cup*. The bride-cup of *N.I.* v. iv. 29.

IV. iii. 4. *broke bulke*. *Bulk* (1) the cargo of a ship: to break bulk is to open the hold and take out goods thence; to begin to unload; (2) the human body.

5. *broke round*. Cf. III. vii. 20, above.

7. *clap*. *Alch.* IV. vi. 3.

10. *Musse*, scramble. *B.F.* IV. ii. 33.

25. *matter of money*. H. Parrot, *The Mastive*, 1615, C4, '*Nuptiæ post Nummos*':

There was a *Time* when Men for loue did marrie,
And not for Lucre sake, as now we see:
Which from that former Age so much doth varie,
As all's for what youl giue? or nought must bee.
So that this ancient word call'd *Matrimony*
Is whollie made *A matter now of Mony*.

iv. iv. 4. *Stroaker*, flatterer. Cf. 'stroke', *Ep.* lxi. 2, and the Latin *palpator* (Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 260).

6. *Apul*. A rare survival of an earlier spelling: e.g. 'appull' in *The Destruction of Troy*, c. 1400, vi. 2435.

5. *A Viper*. *Poet.* v. iii. 327, 'Out viper, thou that eat'st thy parents hence'.

8. *retchlessnesse*, recklessness.

17. *Empresse*. So Morose of Epicoene, 'Empresse, Empresse' (*S.W.* iv. iv. 32-3).

18. *clicket*, latch-key. There is also a verb 'to clicket', used of animal copulation, especially of the fox. Fletcher, *The Humourous Lieutenant*, II. iv (1647, p. 129), 'must ye be clicketing?'

24-5. *Tell truth* . . . The proverb was 'Tell truth, and shame the devil': cf. *D. is A.* v. viii. 142-3. For *She-man-Divell* cf. *N.I.* v. v. 101.

39. *The Practice of Piety*. Jonson pokes fun at it, *G.M.* 947. *The Practise of Pietie. Directing a Christian how to walke that he may please God*, by Lewes Bayly (1565-1631), chaplain to James I and Bishop of Bangor, was licensed for publication on 11 January 1612, and ran through many editions; what appears to have been the seventy-fifth was published as late as 1842. There was a neat hit at the book by Gayton in *Wil. Bagnal's Ghost*, 1655, p. 42, 'A Character of a true Friend': 'He is in his person a Physitian, in his practise a Christian. The second edition of *Religio Medici*, and the first of *Practise of Piety*.' Cf. Newcastle, *The Triumphant Widow*, iii (1677, p. 41), 'Waiting maid. I have a new Bible too; and when my Lady left her Practice of Piety, she gave it me.'

iv. vi. 11. *the old Exchange*. Gresham's building, the first Royal Exchange, so called to distinguish it from the New Exchange or Britain's Bourse, opened in 1609.

17. *Surveyor* . . . i. vii. 74. With the name Thin-wit compare Jonson's name for two other projectors, Sir Politic Would-be in *Volpone*, and Merecraft in *The Devil is an Ass*.

19. *From a right hand*. *S. of N.* III. ii. 83.

26-7. *Noble* . . . *marke* . . . *peece*. The noble was worth 6s. 8d., the mark 13s. 4d.; added together, they made up the piece. Cf. *T. of T.* III. v. 13, 16. Elizabeth made a similar jest on the royal (ten shillings) and the noble: John Blower, in a sermon before Her Majesty, first said:

'My royal Queen', and a little after 'My noble Queen'. Upon which says the Queen: 'What, am I ten groats worse than I was?'

41. *spic'd excuse*. Cf. 'spiced conscience', *B.F.* i. iii. 122 n.

50. *both my livings*. His parish, and Lady Loadstone's favour.

52. *Annulus* . . . Untraced.

iv. vii. 9. *bum*, explosion.

11. *Peace- . . . Pease*. The same pun as in *E.M.O.* iv. ii. 79.

24. *by-chop*, bastard. Cf. 'by-blow'.

25. *Cullice*. Cotgrave, 1610, '*Coulis*, a cullis, or broth of boiled meat strained; fit for a sicke, or weake bodie'.

30. *Secretary*, confidential. Cf. the use in *N.I.* i. vi. 25.

33. *Merkat*. So spelt to copy Latin *mercatura*.

35. *Granam's Crosse*. A metaphor from crying lost articles at a market-cross. For the phrase cf. 'Weeping Cross', *C.R.* v. xi. 147.

41. *verge*. A metaphor from the 'verge' of Court, *E.M.O.* iv. iv. 18.

44. *apparences*. The earlier form of 'appearance', surviving in the adjective 'apparent'.

45. *shop-lights*. A device of dishonest tradesmen: Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, Part ii, ed. Furnivall, p. 24: 'Then haue they their shops and places where they sell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpose to deceiue the buiers. But *Caueat emptor* (as the old saieng is) Let the buiers take heed.' Middleton, *Michaelmas Terme*, II. iii (1607, C4^v), '*Quom. tis alwaies mistie weather in our shops heere: we are a Nation the Sunne neuer shines vpon*'.

th' Ages. This obscure reading is discussed in the textual introduction to the play, vol. vi, p. 503.

57-8. *The more we stirre*. *Und.* xxi. 10; *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, Proverbs, II. vi (1562, Hiv), 'The more we stur a tourde, wurs it will styncke'.

iv. viii. 2. *jangle*. *Hamlet*, III. i. 158, 'Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh'.

13. *pompe*. *Und.* xliii. 35, 'pomp'd'; *Alch.* iv. iii. 44, 'pumped'.

16. *witnesse*. The Puritan term for a godmother: *B.F.* i. iii. 127-8.

17. *horne-spoone*. Instead of the two apostle-spoons usually given (*B.F.* i. iii. 100).

treene-dish, wooden bowl.

19. *Doxey*. *Alch.* III. iii. 23.

21. *that eates*, a euphonic form for 'eatest'. Cf. *Ep.* lviii. 5:

And so my sharpnesse thou no lesse dis-ioynts,
Then thou did'st late my sense, loosing my points.

43. *Persian Carpets*, coverlets. Cf. the 'carpet' (table-cover) in *S.W.* IV. v. 257.

52. *Redintegrate*, make whole again, restore (Lat. *redintegrare*).

63. *Tell-troth*. The term is ironic: Dr. Peck refers to II. vi. 121-31.

72. *Lady, Lady, i'th' song*. The burden of an old song-tune. Cf. John Pickering, *Historye of Horestes*, 1567, Eij, 'Enter Egisthus & Clytemnestra, singinge this songe, to the tune of King Salomon.

And was it not a worthy sight
Of *Venus* childe kinge *Priames* sonne:
To steale from Grece a Ladye bryght,
For whom the wares of Troys begon.
Naught fearinge daunger that might faull,
Lady ladie.
From Grece to Troye, he went with all
My deare Lady.

And *The Trial of Treasure*, 1567, E:

Thou passest *Venus* farre away,
Lady lady;
Loue thee I will both night and day
My dere lady.

This was also the refrain of *The Constancy of Susanna* (Roxburghe Collection, i. 60²), 'There dwelt a man in Babylon' quoted in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Twelfth Night*, and of Elderton's *The Panges and Fits of Love*, with the examples of Solomon, Troilus, Pyramus, and others (C. H. Firth, *Essays*, pp. 18-20).

74. *Harrington*. For this brass-farthing token see *D. is A.* II. i. 83, 'I will not bate a *Harrington* o' the summe'.

Chorus IV

8. *as I told*. Ind. 139-41.

25. *Figure-flinging*, an astrological calculation. So 'to cast a figure'.

v. ii. 1. *gi' you joy*. The greeting to the newly married: *E.M.I.* v. iv. 12.

2. *all to be married* . . . 13. *all to kist her*. *C.R.* iv. iii. 16.

4. *fish'd fair, and caught a Frog*. *E.H.* iv. ii. 115 n.

18. *four-pound Beaver hat*. Pepys, *Diary*, 27 June 1661, 'This day Mr. Holden sent me a bever, which cost me £4 5s.'

v. iii. 27. *Vellute*, velvet.

33. *Choke-baile*. v. x. 49. 'An action raising so great an issue as to prevent the possibility of bail being offered' (*O.E.D.*).

v. iv. 1. *Vogue*. Mead to Stutville, 24 July 1626, after saying that Lord Denbigh was rumoured to be admiral, 'Captain Pennington hath the vogue to go his vice-admiral' (*Court and Times of Charles I*, i, p. 131).

14. *Mother Mid-night*. B. E., *Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, 1700, 'Mother Midnight, a Midwife (often a Bawd)'; so in the ballad, 'The Constant Wife of Sussex' (*Pepys Ballads*, ed. Rollins, ii, p. 231).

v. v. 3. *dousets*, the testicles of a deer. For this hunting term see S.S. I. vi. 7.

22. *Doo-little Lane*. 'Now called Knightrider Court, City, a passage of half a dozen houses between Carter Lane and Knightrider Street.'—(Wheatley). *M. Christmas*, 126.

23. *Chime*. Explained in Prior's poem, 'A Simile' (*Poems of Several Occasions*, 1718):

didst Thou never see . . .
A SQUIRREL spend his little Rage
In jumping round a rowling Cage?
The Cage, as either Side turn'd up,
Striking a Ring of Bells a-top?
Mov'd in the Orb, pleas'd with the Chimes,
The foolish Creature thinks he climbs.

24. *Almonds*. See v. vii. 42.

44-5. *give losers Their leave to speake*. S.IV. II. iv. 39-40 n., 'now I am lost, I may speake'.

v. vi. 2. *o'the Counsels*. Cf. v. ii. 3, 'without counsell'. She expected the same deliberations for her reputed daughter as Lady Loadstone presided over for Placentia.

v. vii. 7. *melancholicke*. An unusual scansion.

14-15. *sowing pillowes Vnder the . . . elbowes*. A semi-proverbial phrase for 'giving a sense of false security'.—O.E.D. quoting Ezekiel xiii. 18, 'Woe to the women that sow pillowes to all arme holes [marginal note, *Or, elbowes*], and make kerchiefes upon the head of every stature to hunt souls'.

37. *Lady-bird*. C.R. II. iv. 7; *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iii. 3.

39. *walke knave, walke*. Cf. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, II. iv (1562, Gij^v):

Walke drab walke. Nay (quoth she) walke knaue walke
Saith that terme.

S. S., *The Honest Lawyer*, 1616, 12, 'Ther's not an Owle in an Iuy-bush, nor a Parrat at a Drugsters dore, has whoo whoop, or walke Knaue, more perfit.' Ingeniously explained in *Notes and Queries*, IX. vi. 266, as a reference to a parrot coming over in a pirate ship and repeating the call for a rope or the command to walk the plank.

42. *Almond for Parrot* goes back to Skelton's *Speke Parrot*, 8, 9: when sent to great ladies, 'Then Parot must haue an almon or a date'.

51. *o' the streight waste*. *Poet*. IV. i. 4.

58. *pease*. Cf. Raleigh, *History of the World*, 1614, I. iv, § 2, 'Of the bigness of a great Peaze'. 'Pease' was the original form of 'pea', with a Middle English plural 'peasen'. 'Pea' arose as a new singular about 1600, when 'pease' was pronounced *pes* and the final s mistaken for a sign of the plural.

67. *Machaon, Podalirius*, two brothers, sons of Esculapius, and physicians of the Greeks at Troy (*Iliad*, ii. 731-2, xi. 833).

67-8. *Esculapius*, the Roman god of medicine, son of Apollo. For his *golden beard* see Valerius Maximus i. i, Ext. § 3 of Dionysius of Syracuse: 'Epidauri Æsculapii barbam auream demi iussit quod affirmaret non convenire patrem Apollinem imberbem, ipsum barbatum conspici.'

82. *Aldermanity*. *S. of N.* Intermean III, 9.

86. *Merchant-Taylors-hall*, famous for its banquets celebrated in *A delightful Song of our four famous Feasts of England*, 1606, alluding to the entertainment there of James I and the King of Denmark.

92. *Citie statues must be painted*. Sir H. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, 1624, p. 89, of 'the expressing *Affection* . . . is as proper to the *Caruer*, as to the *Painter*; though *Colours*, no doubt, haue therein the greatest *Power*; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with vs the *Fashion of colouring*, euen *Regall Statues*, which I must take leaue to call an *English Barbarisme*'.

v. viii. 14. *Waltham Forrest*, Epping Forest.

37. *Boulting-tub*, in which the bran was sifted from the grain.

42. *Defalking*, deducting: the exact sense is to diminish by cutting out a part.

garnish money, Strictly the money extorted from a new prisoner, either as a jailer's fee (*D. is A.* v. vi. 1), or as drink-money for the other prisoners, or a similar payment among workmen when a man finds his first job.

47. *assure*, betroth.

v. ix. 6. *put . . . nature off, and woman*. *D. is A.* II. i. 151, 'A sluggish nature puts off man, and kinde'.

v. x. 16. *Quære*. *N.I.* II. v. 125.

49. *Fright-Baile*. v. iii. 33.

50. *apperill*. *D. is A.* v. iv. 34.

64. For the *Bason* at a wedding see *T. of T.* i. i. 95. With *spit into the Bason* cf. the French proverb *cracher au bassin* of those who contribute unwillingly under stress of public opinion.

112. *breake*, brake, trap, snare, echoing 'the truth breaks out on every side of you' (108), and following on 'nets . . . noose . . . mesh'. Cf. *O.E.D.* s.v. 'brake'⁶.

THE SAD SHEPHERD

THE problems of this play—its relation to the lost *May Lord* and its probable date of composition—have been discussed in the introductory essay.¹ If the piece was a late flowering of Jonson's genius, its freshness and poetic handling make it a thing apart from the other writing of Jonson's last years. But two facts may explain this. In the first place Jonson, who had rigid theories about forms of art, felt that in pastoral he could give the rein to poetic fancy as freely as he did in the masque. Hence such purely pastoral figures as Æglamour, Earine, and Amie. Further, we have to reckon with the possibility that snatches and fragments of *The May Lord* may be embedded in the play. Jonson had a marvellous memory, and he made a point of repeating a telling phrase: the Greek aphorism, *δὲς ἢ τρίς τὰ καλά*, 'Say a good thing more than once', is one which would always appeal to him.

THE AMIE EPISODE

The fourth scene of Act II and scene vi, lines 77–116 contain the tenderest passages of the play: they are a picture of the stricken shepherdess Amie, who loves without knowing how or why the shepherd Karol. The description is clearly copied from Henri Estienne. In *Moschi, Bionis, Theocriti idyllia aliquot, ab Henrico Stephano Latina facta*, published by Aldus at Venice in 1555, there is on signatures B4^v to C4^v an eclogue called 'Chloris'. The following passage is found in it on C1^v, C2:

Saucia sum, nec signa tamen sunt vulneris vlla.
Nec dubius dolor est, dubius locus ipse doloris,
Quin & sollicitis semper nunc fluctuo curis:
At mihi materies curarum est omnis adempta.
Non ferus in nostrum lupo insultavit ouile,
Non vllæ morbo nobis periêre capellæ,
Nec cornu retulit caper, è certamine fractum,
Non pulsat pater, aut dat verba minantia mater.
Sed neque scit noster morbus seruare tenorem.
Ploro: sed lacrymas risus mox siccat abortus,
Aestuo, córq; tamen tremulum mihi palpitat intus,
Ardeo, quū tanta tamen vndique contegor vmbra.
O quoties mihi crura rubi sentésq; notarunt:
At non hos gemitus tunc edere puncta solebam.
Improba apis quoties mihi fecit acumine vulnus:
Tunc tamen & Cereris fuit & mihi cura quietis.

¹ See vol. ii, pp. 213–17.

Ergo quicquid id est quo nunc contacta recessi,
 Omnibus éstq; rubis & api crudelior omni.
 O quoties, medio quum sol altissimus orbe
 Férueret, & terram radiis fecisset hiulcam,
 Tuta recumbebam patulæ sub frondibus vlmi,
 Fontibus aut gelidis recreabam corpus ab æstu.
 At nullæ hunc vlmi, nullæ defendere fagi
 Ardorem possunt, nulli defendere fontes.
 Sæpe etiam glacie passim quum prata rigerent,
 Qúumq; gelu rapidas fluuiorū adstringeret vndas,
 Exuuias gregis ipsa mei munimen habebam.
 Aut si fortè meum penetrassent frigora vellus,
 Larga foco poterant æstatem reddere ligna.
 At nunc corde tremante meo, non vellera possunt,
 Inqué foco totæ hunc syluæ prohibere rigorem.
 Ergo quodcunque hoc frigus, quicunque vel æstus,
 Omnes certè hyemes, omnes superátq; calores.
 Quid tum si pulcher Daphnis? flores quoq; pulchri:
 Sunt etiam pulchræ violæ, pulchríq; hyacinthi.
 At sordent violæ nobis, sordent hyacinthi.
 An non pulchra rosa est? an non & lilia pulchra?
 Nec rosa purpurea est, nec candida lilia curæ,
 Sed Daphnin curo pulchris ex omnibus vnum.
 Quid tum si argutum cantat tua fistula Daphni?
 Et philomela sonos tenui dat gutture dulces.
 Cur ego mihi sola placet tua fistula Daphni?
 Cum paruis iuuit colludere sæpe capellis,
 Deliciásq; meas iuuit gestare per agros
 Agnos sæpe sinu. mea erant spectacula, capri
 Belligeri. at nunc est Daphnis mea sola voluptas.
 Quinetiam quod lædit amo. nam Daphnidi nuper
 Oscula nescio quot concessi inuita roganti.
 Mollitie superare rosas mihi visa labella,
 Et tunc melle mihi visum est os dulcius omni:
 At me apis ipsa tamen pupugerunt oscula more,
 Occultósq; meis morsus fixere medullis.
 Quod me læsit amo: cupióq; hæc oscula rursum.
 Oscula sæpe prius dederam lactentibus hædis,
 Atque recens natis catulis dederam oscula sæpe.
 Vnus erat (memini) reliquis lasciuior hædis,
 Cuius in amplexu olim luxuriare solebam:
 Hæsit in amplexu non vllus aculeus isto,
 Atq; hæc cor nunquam pupugerunt oscula nostrū.
 At mihi ista tamen, quæ sunt innoxia, curo:
 Quæ nocuere placent, dulcedine tangor eorum:
 Et mihi larga mora est quæ Daphnidis oscula differt.

Jonson has shown much skill in excerpting only this portion of the Eclogue. The nymph goes on to wish she were Daphnis' pipe or Daphnis' she-goat, and decides, with some hesitation, to ask advice of her mother. The germ of the passage is in Longus' *Pastorals*, I. vii, a soliloquy of Daphnis which Jonson may have known: 'τί ποτέ με Χλόης ἐργάσεται φίλημα; χεῖλη μὲν ῥόδων ἀπαλώτερα, καὶ στόμα κηρίων γλυκύτερον· τὸ δὲ φίλημα κέντρου μελίττης πικρότερον. πολλάκις ἐφίλησα ἐρίφους· πολλάκις ἐφίλησα σκύλακας ἀρτιγεννήτους, καὶ τὸν μόσχον ὃν ὁ Δόρκων ἐχαρίσατο, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο φίλημα καινόν· ἐκπηδᾷ μου τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐξάλλεται ἡ καρδία, τήκεται ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ὅμως πάλιν φιλῆσαι θέλω.' And the state of the lovers is described in ch. x: ἔχαιρον ἰδόντες, ἐλυποῦντο ἀπαλλαγέστες, ἤλγουν, ἔθελόν τι· ἠγνόουν ὅτι θέλουσι. τοῦτο μόνον ᾗδεσαν ὅτι τὸν μὲν φίλημα, τὴν δὲ λουτρὸν¹ ἀπώλεσεν.

THE DIALECT

Did Jonson first write in plain English and then work up his dialect? His use of it is inconsistent; for example, Scathlock drops it for a moment in I. vi. 61-3 and II. vi. 46-50, and in Act II, sc. vi Maudlin only partly uses it. Earine has two lines of it in II. ii. 43, 44. It is intended for northern dialect; thus, the northern s for sh from Old English sc in unstressed position, 'sall', 'suld', and the present participles in -and from Old English -ende. Spurious and impossible forms are 'fewmand' (II. ii. 44) and 'fugeand' (II. iii. 29); confused forms are 'feighting' (II. iv. 11) and 'gaang' (III. v. 17). The treatment of the dialect is amateurish.

Aubrey has a wild statement that Jonson took a 'catalogue' of 'Yorkshire words' from Lacy the actor for use in *A Tale of a Tub*; he says that Lacy told him this.² If there is any truth in the statement, it must mean northern forms for *The Sad Shepherd*.

Title-page

Nec erubuit. . . . Virgil, *Eclogue*, vi. 2. Thalia was the Muse of Comedy.

The Persons of the Play

3. Family, household (Lat. *familia*).
8. George a Greene, the pinner of Wakefield.
9. Acater, caterer. 'Cater' in *D. is A.* I. iii. 13.
14. Aeglamour, the name of the 'Agent for Silvia in her escape' in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.
18. Earine, 'the maiden of the spring', from the Greek ἐαρινός. Jonson caught up the name from a jesting epigram of Martial (IX. xi): cf. I. v. 44-6. It was the name of a character in Matthew Gwinne's *Vertumnus* acted before King James at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1605:

¹ Chloe had washed Daphnis in spring water after his escape from drowning in the sea.

² See vol. I, p. 180.

Eutrapelus, hearing the name, says 'Vt ipsas spirat hoc nomen rosas' (ed. 1607, II. vii).

20. *Papplewicke*, 'A village lying in the road from Nottingham to Mansfield, not far from Newsted Priory' (Whalley).

22. *Lorell*. Both 'lorel' and its cognate 'losel' mean a worthless person: cf. Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* July, 93, 'Syker thou speakes lyke a lewde lorrell'.

23. *Puck-hairy*, the German '*Pickle-härin*', a merry andrew so called from his hairy or leafy dress. So in Milton's *L'Allegro*, 112, the 'Lubbar Fend' 'Basks at the fire his hairy strength'.

The Scene

27. *Landt-shape*. In *M. Blackness*, 24, and 2 *Theobald*, 33, spelt in the First Folio *Landtschap*, the Dutch form of the etymon. In the text the guttural *sch* of the second syllable is represented by *sh*. 'Land-shape' was a common form of the word in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, as Dr. Greg suggests, this may have influenced the spelling here.

30. *Dimble*, a shady dell, or dingle. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, xxviii. 352, 'dimbles hid from day'.

The Argument

19-21. *at force . . . head . . . breaking him up*. See I. vi. 22, 28, 44.

22-5. *The suspect had . . . and is confirm'd*. The same lax construction is found in the argument of the second act of *Mortimer*, II. 12-16, 'The Chorus . . . celebrating the Kings worthinesse . . . and thereby take occasion . . .'.

27. *Quarry, or Fall of the Deere*. I. vi. 65 n.: 'quarry' could not have this meaning.

The Prologue

1. *these forty years*. Jonson's connexion with the stage began in 1597 at latest when Henslowe enters payments to him in the *Diary*; we may assume that it began a little earlier. Even so *this once more* in line 8 glances at the failure of his latest plays, and suggests a narrower limit.

2. *Fables*, plays (Lat. *fabula*, a plot).

finer. The comparative has a suggestion of 'rather fine', 'too fine'. Cf. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I. viii. 40, 'Entire affection hateth nicer hands'.

3. *the bore*, the mark, as minute as an auger-hole.

10. *pull*. Obsolete in this sense. Cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Prol. 399-401:

And what Schep that is full of wulle
Upon his back, they toose and pulle,
Whil there is eny thing to pile.

14. *Sicily, or Greece*, the pastoral poetry of Theocritus or Virgil.

20. *Passion*, deep emotion.

22. *darke*. 'It appears that Eglamour wore *blacks*, and was further distinguished by a wreath of cypress and yew' (Gifford). For the wreath see i. iii. 37, iv. 66-7.

24-5. '*lasse!* . . . *drown'd?*' Suggested by Donne's fifth *Satyre*, 28-30:

Greatest and fairest Empresse, know you this?
Alas, no more then Thames calme head doth know
Whose meades her armes drowne, or whose corne o'rflow.

27. *the End crowne all*. Ovid, *Heroides*, ii. 85, 'Exitus acta probat'.

31. *Mirth . . . Pastorall*. Jonson is once more asserting the principle he maintained to Drummond. He said that in his lost pastoral of *The May Lord*, 'contrary to all other pastoralls, he bringeth the Clownes making Mirth and foolish Sports'.

36. *Families*, apparently 'groups'.

39. *distaste*, offend the taste.

41. *Fore-wits*, leading wits, the 'first, in the *Commission of Wit*' satirized in *B.F.*, Induction, 100.

45. *Where*, whether.

54. *stamp'd with Ah, and O*. In Daniel's pastoral play, *Hymen's Triumph*, 'Ah' and 'O' are used so frequently as to become a mannerism. Mr. Homer Smith cites over twenty instances (*P.M.L.A.* 'Pastoral Influence in the English Drama', xii, p. 385).

62. *a Rose*. Cf. *Conv. Dr.* xvi. 490-2, and note.

i. i. Gifford compared the purple passage in Thomas Goffe's *The Careless Shepherdess*. v. vii (1656, p. 65), discussed in our introduction, vol. ii, pp. 215-16:

Enter 1 Satyre Solus.

Sat. This was her wonted place, on these green banks
She sate her down, when first I heard her play
Unto her lisning sheep; nor can she be
Far from the spring she's left behinde. That Rose
I saw not yesterday, nor did that Pincke
Then court my eye; She must be here, or else
That gracefull Marigold wo'd shure have clos'd
Its beauty in her wither'd leaves, and that
Violet too wo'd hang its velvet head
To mourn the absence of her eyes.

5, 6. From Virgil's picture of Camilla, *Aeneid*, vii. 808-9—

*Illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina, nec teneras cursu laessisset aristas—*

to which Jonson paid a high tribute in *M. of Q.* 495-500.

9. Gifford compared Persius, *Sat.* ii. 38, 'quidquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiat', but the context is ironic: it is a fond grandmother's wish for a

baby. Claudian (*Laus Serenae*, 89, 90) is nearer: 'Quocunque per herbam Reptares, fluxere rosae.'

1. ii. 4. *Madam*. 'Throughout this piece, generally, if not always, *Madam* has the French accent on the ultimate. The word was undoubtedly so accented when it was first adopted into our language' (Dyce MS.). Cf. *Alch.* II. iv. 26, 'Ma-dâme'.

8. *threaves*, numbers. *Alch.* v. ii. 19.

9. *harbor'd*, marked down the lair so that this deer only may be hunted.

10. *tackling*, equipment, tackle. What this can be besides his horn, bow, and arrows it is difficult to say.

A Hart of ten. George Turberville, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, 1575, p. 241, 'An Hart when he is past his sixth yeare, is generally to be called *an Hart of tenne*, and afterwarde according to the increase of his *Heade*, whether it be *Croched*, *Palmed*, or *Crowned*'.

12. *Slot*, footprints.

Entries, 'the marks, such as bent grass or broken twigs, made by a deer as he brushes through covert, and enabling the woodcraftsman to estimate how high he stands on the leg and how high he is in the side, for a great stag is a broad deer and a tall deer' (J. W. Fortescue in *Shakespeare's England*, ii, p. 336).

Port, 'the sign that is given by the width of his head, that is to say of his horns. If the branches or twigs far apart are scarred by his head, then his head is well-spread and likely to belong to an old stag'. (Ibid.)

13. *Frayings*, 'the marks made by an old stag when he frays the velvet off the newly grown horn against a tree. If he be a tall deer with a great head, "large and well beamed", that is to say wide and heavy of bone, the marks will be high up, and will score so deeply into the bark as even to kill the tree'. (Ibid.)

Fewmets, dung. In Turberville, p. 95, is an engraving of a huntsman kneeling before Queen Elizabeth to present her with the fewmets and make his report:

From out my horne, my fewmets fyrst I drawe,
And them present, on leaues, by hunters lawe.

He then replies to the questions 'what head' the stag 'bears' and 'what slot or view' he found.

15. *well beam'd: with all rights somm'd, and spread*. Turberville, op. cit., p. 236, 'The mayne horne is called the *Beame*'. In ch. xxi (pp. 52-61) he treats 'Of the heades and braunches of Harts': 'at their seuenth yeare, they beare their heades beamed, branched, and somed with as much as euer they will beare' (p. 53). After fraying his head, the hart '*Burnisheth* the same, and then his heade is sayde to be full sommed' (p. 242). The 'rights' are a stag's full compliment of lower antlers, consisting of the brow, bay, and trey. The expression is 'purely English, and not to be found in any text-book of French origin'. 'Now a deer's

rights . . . are not and cannot be spread; they are almost invariably single tines and very rarely bifurcated; while the word "summed" was used properly only of the heads that bore four or more points on the top, that is to say of harts of at least fourteen.' (*Shakespeare's England*, ii, pp. 339-40.)

Despite all the array of technical terms here and in scene vi, Jonson, says Mr. Fortescue, 'knew nothing of woodcraft. . . . No man who knew anything of harbouring would have adduced all the possible signs of woodcraft in reference to a single deer, for it is most unusual to encounter all of them on one day. The frayings indeed occur but once a year. Moreover, there was no occasion for all these tokens, for Jonson's harbourer had seen the stag with his eyes; otherwise he could not have told that he "had all rights summed and spread"; and if the head were such as he described, that would be sufficient to show him a good stag.' (Op. cit., p. 338.)

19. *pound*. Another error. In Sherwood the deer are in open country. Deer were also enclosed in a park or 'pale' into which the great hart of the text would have been driven on the day of the hunt. Cf. *I Henry VI*, iv. ii. 45-6:

How are we park'd and bounded in a pale,
A little herd of England's timorous deer.

1. iii. 2. *all in fee*, retainers. 'To be in fee of', or 'with' a person, is to be in his pay or service.

4. *devises*, the program of the feast, such details as are described in ll. 5-15, iv. 13-16.

5. *Baldricke*. Cf. i. vii. 29.

9. *sword*, sward. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 157, 'greene-sord' (Folio), Milton, *P.L.* xi. 433, 'grassie sord'. 'Sworth' in i. v. 6. For this primitive table cf. Drayton, *The Muses' Elizium*, the Sixth Nymphal, 219, 'at our Shepheards Board that's cut out of the ground'.

13. *bulled*. O.E.D. doubtfully explains as 'bolled', 'swollen': so Whalley explained it. Waldron's gift-copy of his edition to George Steevens, corrected by him and annotated by C. Burney, is in the British Museum, and has a note: 'Considering the Latinized phraseology of Jonson, it is not improbable that *bulled* is an adjective of his own coining from *Bullatus*, i.e., studded, or *buttoned*. The buds of flowers are called buttons by Shakespeare:—

The canker galls the infants of the spring
Too oft before their buttons are disclos'd.

(*Hamlet*, i. iii. 39, 40.)

Nosegays of full-blown flowers would be deficient in permanence as well as beauty, and soon drop from their stems during the motions of the dancers for whose movement they were designed. If *bulled*, however, can bear any meaning like that affixed to it by Mr. Whalley, it must signify tufted.'

19. *Acates*, provisions.

27. *Baily*, bailiff.

53. *Swithen*. *E.M.O.* 1. iii. 33.

72. *of*, 'of' or 'off'? The Folio spelling might be either.

76. *Timburines*. Cf. Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* June, 57-9:

I sawe *Calliope* wyth Muses moe, . . .
Theyr yuory Luyts and Tamburins forgoe.—

where E. K. has a note, 'an olde kind of instrument, which of some is supposed to be the Clarion'. The earliest description of the tambourine, as we know it, is dated 1782; etymologically the word is connected with the Provençal *tamborin*, the tabor of Provence, but the instrument is different. The *O.E.D.* concludes that it is not clear what instrument Spenser and Jonson meant.

1. iv. 1. *bright Clarion*, the Latin *clarus*; *sweet Mellifleur*, the Latin *mel*. Cf. *C. is A.* iv. iv. 1 n.

6. *lighted*, lightened.

10. *eaning*, yeaning.

17. *allow*. We have adopted Waldron's emendation 'Such are the Rites' for the 'Such were the Rites' of the Folio. The plural idea then colours the syntax of the sentence. The rhyme with 'bough' is of course decisive against reading 'allows': it is the final couplet of a speech. Clarion's comment in the next speech, 'They were . . . but now' confirms the emendation.

18-21. In the May Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calendar*, 'two formes of pastoures or Ministers', the Protestant and the Catholic, are the speakers. The latter, Palinode by name, speaks approvingly of a May festival; Piers, the Protestant, answers in words that were undoubtedly in Jonson's mind (ll. 39-50):

Those faytours little regarden their charge,
While they letting their sheepe runne at large,
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
In lustihede and wanton merrymment.
Thilke same bene shepeheardes for the Deuils stedde,
That playen, while their flockes be vnfedde. . . .
But they bene hyred for little pay
Of other, that caren as little as they,
What fallen the flocke, so they han the fleece,
And get all the gayne, paying but a peece.

19. *disclaime in*. *C. is A.* v. xii. 68.

22. *hurried*, agitated. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Harasse*, . . . harried, molested, hurried'.

23. *Covetise*. *Alch.* II. iii. 48.

25. *Fell*, the hide. Cf. *Disc.* 1254-6, 'For a *Prince* is the Pastor of the people. Hee ought to sheere, not to flea his sheepe; to take their

fleeces, not their fels.' But 'fell' can also mean the skin with the wool on, the fleece, as in II. iv. 41, *P.A.* 262.

26. *the prickly weed*, the eryngo or sea-holly. Plutarch, *Cum Principibus Philosophandum*, i. 776, τὸ ἐρύγγιον, τὸ βοτάνιον, λέγουσι μᾶς αἰγὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβούσης, αὐτὴν τε πρῶτον ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰπόλιον ἴστασθαι μέχρις ἂν ὁ αἰπόλος ἐξέλῃ προσελθών. Del Rio, *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, 1599, i, p. 36 (Tradunt), 'Eryngium capræ sumtum ore greges totos sistere'.

28. *Tods*, fox's.

29. *d'off*, turn aside.

32. *Brock*, badger.

45. *Kit*, a small three-stringed fiddle.

Crowd, a fiddle with six strings, four of which were played with the bow, and two by twitching with the fingers.

51. *a new garment*. The common phrase was 'to give a green gown'. Lionel's interruption hardly tells against the Puritans.

52. *Base* still flourishes as 'prisoners' base'. *Barley-break* was not unlike it. The players, three of each sex, were coupled by lot. Three spaces were marked off on the ground, and the central space was called 'hell'. As the outer pairs ran across this, the middle pair had to catch them. But the middle pair must not unclasp their hands, while the others might. The game ended when all had been taken in turn, and the last pair were said to be 'in hell'. (Gifford's *Massinger*, i, p. 104.)

72. *sought* is grammatically connected with *By all our studies*.

79-82. Compare the reference to Alken in the lost *May Lord* coming in mending his broken pipe, *Conv. Dr.* xvi. 399. His advice to indulge Æglamour's passion, and not check it, fits in with Jonson's own treatment of the humours in *Every Man Out of his Humour*: they overflow and fail from their own excess.

I. v. 5-10. Spenser, *Colin Clouts come home againe*, 1595, 632-5:

Her name in euery tree I will endosse,
That as the trees do grow, her name may grow:
And in the ground each where will it engrosse,
And fill with stones, that all men may it know.

9. *mosse-fill*. This instrumental use is commoner with the past participle, 'moss-clad', 'moss-covered': cf. 'mosse-growne Towers', *I Henry IV*, III. i. 33. Elizabethan syntax shows great freedom in forming these compounds: cf. 'furr'd moss. . . . To winter-ground thy corse' (*Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 229), to cover up in the ground as a plant is covered with straw, &c.

14. *rigid*, stiff with age, and freezing like the 'rigid frosts' (*Cat.* I. 519).

17. *Nymphs pull'd in Earine*. Jonson is thinking of the myth of Hylas.

25-6. *Scamander*. . . . *When Vulcan leap'd in to him*. Described in Homer, *Iliad*, xxi. 342-82.

40, 41. *or any branch . . . made*. Gifford compares Bion's lament for Adonis, *Idyll*, i. 75-6:

βάλλε δέ νιν στεφάνοισι καὶ ἄνθεσι· πάντα σὺν αὐτῷ,
ὥς τήνος τέθνακε, καὶ ἄνθεα ταῦτ' ἐμαράνθη.

44-5. From Martial's epigram on the slave boy Earinos, ix. xi. 1, 2:

Nomen cum violis rosisque natum,
quo pars optima nominatur anni.

45. *knots*. A garden-knot means a flower-bed: Jonson here uses the word as an equivalent to 'knop', or bud.

48. *Venus led the Graces*. So in the spring ode of Horace (l. iv. 5-7):

Iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alternò terram quatunt pede.

53. The streams enumerated, some of which are mere brooks, are all in the account of the Vale of Bever in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song xxvi:

Two neat and daintie Rills, the little *Snyte*, and *Deane*,
That from the lovely *Oulds*, their beautious parent sprong
From the *Lecestrian* fields . . . they fall at *Newarck*, into *Trent*.
(32-6.)

The *Soare* is fully described in its course to Charnwood Forest (55-98):

Whose beautie whilst that *Soare* is pawsing to behold
Cleere *Wreakin* comming in, from *Waltham* on the *Ould*,
Brings *Eye*, a pretty Brooke, to beare her silver traine. (99-101.)

Of the Trent

First *Erwash*, and then *Lyne*, sweet Sherwood sends her in. (175.)
From *Nottingham*, neere which this River first begun,
This Song, she the meane while, by *Newarke* having run,
Receiving little *Snyte*, from *Bevers* batning grounds,
At *Gaynsborough* goes out, where the *Lincolnian* bounds.
Yet *Sherwood* all this while not satisfi'd to show
Her love to princely *Trent*, as downward shee doth flow,
Her *Meden* and her *Man*, shee down from *Mansfield* sends
To *Idle* for her ayd. . . . (275-82.)

Snyte should be *Smite*, 'a tortuous little stream, which is one of the boundaries of the counties of Nottingham and Leicester'.—C.C.B. in *N. & Q.* viii. ix. 285. But the spelling *Snite* is not only in Drayton, but in Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia*, 1610, p. 549, so we have been unable to receive the proposed correction in the text.

60. *scritch Owle*. Cf. *Cat.* iv. 508, 'scrich-owle'.

62. *wicker wings*. The parallels quoted in the *O.E.D.* refer to creatures of evil: Dryden describes Allecto in his *Æneis*, vii. 478, 'The Fury . . . on her wicker Wings', translating *fuscis alis* in Virgil; and Congreve, *An Impossible Thing* (*Works*, 1730, iii, p. 361) has 'The Goblin plys his Wicker Wings'. No explanation is offered. Dr. Greg conjectures that

the word is the Middle English *wicke*, evil, wretched, here used in the sense of baleful.

65–80. Set to music by Nicholas Lanieri in Playford's *Select Musical Airs and Dialogues*, 1652, part ii, p. 24. Cf. Herrick's lines 'To Cupid' (*Hesperides*, ed. Moorman, p. 333):

I have a leaden, thou a shaft of gold;
Thou kil'st with heate, and I strike dead with cold.
Let's trie of us who shall the first expire;
Or thou by frost, or I by quenchlesse fire:
Extreames are fatall, where they once doe strike,
And bring t'th'heart destruction both alike.

69, 70. *I have beene told*. . . . Greg compares Donne, 'The Paradox' (*Works*, ed. Grierson, i, p. 69):

Love with excess of heat, more yong then old,
Death kills with too much cold.

96. *Lovers Scriptures*, Cf. *N.I.* III. ii. 205–7:

Who hath read *Plato*, *Heliodore*, or *Tatius*,
Sydney, *D'Vrfe*, or all Loues Fathers, like him?
He's there the Master of the Sentences.

96–7. *Heliodores* . . . *Prodromi*. Writers of late Greek romance. Heliodorus of Emesa in Syria, a sophist of the third century A.D., wrote the *Aethiopica*, or *The Loves of Theagenes and Chariclea*, first printed at Basel in 1534. Thomas Underdowne published an English translation of it in 1569, with later editions in 1577, 1587, 1605, and 1622. Abraham Fraunce versified the opening in English hexameters in 1591. Achilles Tatius of Alexandria in the later half of the third century wrote *The Adventures of Cleitophon and Leucippe*, first published in a Latin version at Basel in 1554, the Greek text following in 1601. Longus wrote the *Pastorals*, or *The Loves of Daphnis and Chloë*, first published in a French version by the famous Jacques Amyot in 1559, the Greek not till 1598. Angel Day paraphrased and adapted Amyot in 1587. This pastoral story influenced the *Diana enamorada* of Montemayor and the *Aminta* of Tasso. Eustathius, the last of the romance writers in the twelfth century, wrote *The Story of Hysmine and Hysminias* in imitation of Achilles Tatius, first printed at Paris in 1617.

Prodromus, more correctly Theodorus—his name was Θεόδωρος ὁ Πρόδρομος—a little earlier than Eustathius wrote *The Loves of Rhodanthe and Dosicles*, first printed at Paris in 1625.

100. *bitter-sweets*. Cf. *Und.* xl. 1, ' . . . Love's a bitter sweet', and Plautus, *Cistellaria*, 69, 70:

Namque ecastor Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus;
gustui dat dulce, amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit.

110. *simple . . . sampled*. For the paronomasia cf. *Ep.* lxi:

Thy praise, or dispraise is to me alike,
One doth not stroke me, nor the other strike.

sampled, tested, and so exemplary.

1. vi. 2. *The Moone's at full*. Used as a symbol of perfection without regard for its temporary character: in *C.R.* v. viii. 11, 12 Jonson strengthened the image—

Whose glorie (like a lasting *plenilune*)
Seemes ignorant of what it is to wane!

Cf. Randolph, *Amyntas*, 1. i:

Now, now she wanes: O for a dainty Husband
To make her a full Moone.

7. *sweet morsels*, Turberville, op. cit., 1575, p. 134: 'As for the deintie morsels, . . . our vse (as farre as euer I could see) is to take the caule, the tong, the eares, the doulcets, the tenderlings (if his heade be tender) and the sweet gut, which some call the Inchpinne, in a faire handkercher altogether, for the Prince or chiefe.' The hounds usually had the paunch, sometimes the head and neck. This explains Robin's question, 'What? and the inch-pin?'

Calle, caul, Mr. L. J. Potts's convincing conjecture attested by the passage from Turberville. For the spelling 'calle' cf. 'Calls', *Und.* lxxxiv (i), 26. The printer mistook Jonson's final *e* for a *d*.

Dowcets, or doucets, the testicles of a stag.

8. *inch-pin*. Cf. Turberville, and Stanyhurst's *Æneis*, 1582, p. 7, 'Thee stags vpbreaking they slit to the dulcet or inchepyn'. Otherwise explained as the sweetbread of the deer.

9, 10. *wanton*. . . . *One*. . . . *I wanted*. Dyce (MS.) compared Lodge, *Rosalynde*, 1590, sig. B2, 'Women are wantons, and yet men cannot want one'.

22. *hunted yee at force*. *Chasse à forcer* was to run the quarry down in open country, not in an enclosure with the aid of nets.

23-4. *hunted change*, went off on a new scent. If the hounds 'fall to change' says Turberville (p. 112), rouse the deer with a bloodhound, 'or with some other stanche old hounde of the kenell, in the which they may affie themselues. For old staunche houndes which will not hunte change, when they see an Harte rowed & before them, they neuer call on nor once open: but if they be yong rashe houndes, they wil runne with full crie and so take change.'

26. *relayes*, hounds kept in readiness where a chase was expected to pass, and then added to the pack. Turberville's 38th chapter is 'How to set Relayes'.

27. *He stood not long then*. 'The stag was "a lusty one, a great large deer"'. In that case he should not have stood up for very long, even when hunted "at force", . . . But on the contrary he stood up for five

hours and a half. The obvious inference is that he must have turned up other deer—a very common trick with old stags. But we are met with the assertion that the hounds never “hunted change”. . . . This was highly creditable to them, for it is not every hound that will carry the scent of a hunted deer through that of the herd and single him out from his fellows; so we may infer that they were all old hounds, such as our ancestors delighted in’ (J. W. Fortescue in *Shakespeare’s England*, ii, p. 338).

34. *these interruptions in a story*. So ‘dulci mora’ in a similar context, Ovid, *Heroides*, xiii. 122, and Tennyson in a cancelled verse of *A Dream of Fair Women* (*Poems*, 1833, p. 133):

what sweet words, only made
Less sweet by the kiss that broke ’em, liking best
To be so richly stayed.

36. *the Assay*, taken by the chief person on the field. Turberville in the 1575 edition has a picture of it: a huntsman kneels before Queen Elizabeth and hands her a knife; in the 1611 edition King James is substituted. ‘The deare being layd vpon his backe, the Prince, chief, or such as they shall appoint, cōmes to it: And the chiefe huntsman . . . doth hold the Deare by the forefoote, whiles the Prince or chief, cut a slyt drawn alongst the brysket of the deare, somewhat lower than the brysket towards the belly. This is done to see the goodnesse of the flesh, and howe thicke it is.’ (P. 134.)

36-7. *ones . . . ’hem*. Correct Elizabethan syntax: see *O.E.D.* s.v. ‘One’, v, quoting Sir Kenelm Digby, ‘Here one may take to themselves a lesson’.

38. *the Arbor’s made*. The ‘arbor’, more correctly ‘arber’ or ‘erber’, was the wind-pipe, French *herbière*. ‘To make the arber’ was to take out the deer’s ‘pluck’, the first stage in disembowelling.

39. *Puld downe*, i.e. away from the throat.

undoes. *The Master of Game*, 1400, MS. Digby 182, xxxiii, ‘Phenne he shulde charge whome him lyst to vndo þe deere’.

40-2. *cleave the brisket-bone . . . Ravens-bone*. The ‘brisket-bone’ was the breast-bone. Turberville, op. cit., p. 135: ‘We vse not to take away the brysket bone, as farre as euer I coulde see, but clyue the sides one from an other, directly from the place of assay, vnto the throate. There is a little gristle which is vpon the spoone of the brysket, which we cal the Rauens bone, bycause it is cast vp to the Crowes or Rauens whiche attende hunters. And I haue seene in some places, a Rauen so wont and accustomed to it, that she would neuer fayle to croake and crye for it, all the while you were in breaking vp of the Deare, and would not depart vntill she had it.’ Gifford quotes the directions in *The Boke of St. Albans*, ‘How ye shall breke an Hart’:

Then take out the shoulders, and slitteth anon
The bely to the side, from the corbyn bone,
That is corbins fee, at the death he will be.

Jonson neatly uses this custom as a link with the magic element in the play.

54. *sick o' the yong Shep'ard*. Gifford quotes Shirley, *The Sisters*, iv. iv:

I should gather,
By symptoms of my mistress, she is sick
Of the younger gentleman.

62. *a Wise-woman*, a 'white' witch, who dealt with familiars and counteracted the spells of the witch proper. Cf. iii. ii. 10, iv. 31.

65. *the Quarrie*. Turberville, op. cit., p. 243, 'The rewarde at death of any beast of Venerie, is called the *quarry* or *rewarde*. But of all other chases, it is to be called the *hallowe*.' The term is used correctly here, but in the Argument, 27, Jonson used it incorrectly as a synonym for the 'fall' of the deer.

i. vii. 1. *Hunt*, huntsman (OE. *hunta*).

11. *'turne*. A colloquial clipping.

24. *cheese-cakes*, ground cheese beaten up with eggs and sugar, coloured with saffron, and baked in crust.

clawted, clouted, or clotted.

25. *fooles*. Florio, 1598, '*Mantiglia*, a kinde of clouted creame called a foole or a trifle in English'.

flaunes, flaws, a kind of custard.

of ale. Gifford read 'swill of ale'. As the text stands, 'a streame' depends on 'Fall to', but this is clumsy; the verse is defective, and the grammar of 'it' in line 26 is far from clear.

27. *Cider sillabubs*, milk fresh drawn from the cow mixed with cider.

Act II. The Argument

6. *jealous*, suspicious.

22. *shep'hardes*, shepherdess.

ii. i. 1. *'em* here and in ii. vii. 16 is probably the printer's spelling, for the text elsewhere has *'hem*.

11. *syke*, such.

12. *all-bee'*. So in *M. Beauty*, 350.

13. *venting*, snuffing the air.

14. *neis*, nese, scent.

19, 20. *As had she seen*. . . . Greg compares Phineas Fletcher, *Sicelides*, 1631, i. iii, B3^v:

So like Glaucillas selfe that had shee spide him,
More would she doubt her selfe, the more shee eyd him.

26. *too slipperie to be look'd upon!* See on *S. of N.* iv. ii. 73.

30. *stock'd up in a tree*, like Ariel in *The Tempest* at the hands of Sycorax (i. ii. 274 fol.), or Fradubio in *The Faerie Queene*, i. ii. 30-43, at the hands of Duessa.

32. *lotted*, allotted.

33. *Gif*, the Scottish and northern form of 'if'.

reclaim'd, tamed, as if Earine were a hawk. Cf. III. iii. 8.

37. *command*, coming. The archaic form of the participle surviving in dialect.

40. *ray*, array, dress.

II. ii. Lorel's pastoral love-making is modelled on Theocritus, *Idyl*, xi. 19 fol., the wooing of the sea-nymph Galatea by the Cyclops Polyphemus. Ovid has an exaggerated copy of it in the *Metamorphoses*, xiii. 789 fol., which Jonson did not use. The echoes from Theocritus are—

- 1-3 ὦ λευκά Γαλάτεια, τί τὸν φιλέοντ' ἀποβάλλῃ,
λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς ποτιδεῖν, ἀπαλωτέρα ἄρνός. . . .
γινώσκω χαρίεσσα κόρα, τίνος ὦνεκα φεύγεις·
7, 8 ὦνεκά μοι λασία μὲν ὀφρῦς ἐπὶ παντὶ μετώπῳ
ἐξ ὧτὸς τέταται ποτὶ θῶτερον ὥς μία μακρά,
εἷς δ' ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπεστι, πλατεῖα δὲ ῥίς ἐπὶ χεῖλει.
15-17 ἀλλ' οὗτος τοιοῦτος ἐὼν βοτὰ χίλια βόσκῳ
κῆκ τούτων τὸ κράτιστον ἀμελγόμενος γάλα πίνω·
τυρὸς δ' οὐ λείπει μ' οὔτ' ἐν θέρει οὔτ' ἐν ὀπώρα,
οὐ χειμῶνος ἄκρῳ· ταρσοὶ δ' ὑπεραχθέες αἰεῖ. . . .
25-9 ἐντὶ δάφναι τηνεῖ, ἐντὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι,
ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἃ γλυκύκαρπος,
ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τό μοι ἃ πολυδένδρεος Αἴτνα
λευκᾶς ἐκ χιόνος πότον ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι. . . .
32-3 συρίσδεν δ' ὥς οὔτις ἐπίσταμαι ὦδε Κυκλώπων.
38-40 . . . τράφῳ δέ τοι ἔνδεκα νεβρώς
πάσας μαννοφόρως καὶ σκύμνως τέσσαρας ἄρκτων.

2. *Deft*, skilful and neat. Cf. III. iv. 33, and *Poet*. v. III. 186, 'well said, my diuine, deft HORACE'. Lorel appreciates a quality in which he is himself deficient.

7. *camus'd*, camoised, pugnosed. Cf. Chaucer, *The Reeves Tale*, 14, 'Round was his face and camuse was his nose'.

10. *Incubus*, a demon believed to cause nightmare and to lie with women in their sleep; deformed children were supposed to be the fruit of this. Some of the lost angels, instead of falling into hell, were supposed to have stayed in the region of the air and from thence to tempt men. There was a legend that they hoped to counteract the Redemption by engendering with some virgin a semi-demon, who would be a power of evil. Merlin was supposed to be the child of an incubus.

Changlin, 'a child (usually stupid or ugly) supposed to have been left by fairies in exchange for one stolen' (O.E.D.). For the suggestion of repulsiveness cf. Macaulay's metaphor, *History of England*, iv. 530, 'The small pox was always present . . . turning the babe into a changeling at which the mother shuddered.'

19. *by live*, or 'belive': originally the Middle English 'bi life' (= with life), 'quickly'; then, as Bullokar defines it, '*Belive*, by and by, anon'.

20-3. Suggested by Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, February, 102-3, 109-10:

There grewe an aged Tree on the greene,
A goodly Oake sometime had it bene. . . .
Whilome had bene the King of the field,
And mochell mast to the husband did yelde,
And with his nuts larded many swine.

39. *Bawsons*. 'Bawson', or 'bauson', having a white patch on the forehead or a white stripe down the face, became a name for the badger. *Gray* is also a name for a badger. *O.E.D.* quotes *The Complete Family-piece and Country Gentleman and Farmer's best guide*, 1741, II. i. 298, 'A Badger is known by several Names, as a Gray, a Brock, a Boreson or Bauson'. *Grice*, cub.

40. *Urshins*, hedgehogs.

42. *the feind, and thee!* Waldron's emendation, 'the fiend on thee', fits in with Lorel's opening words in the next scene, 'shee wish'd mee at the feind', and Jonson has a slightly similar use of 'on' in such phrases as 'foole on me! I had cleane forgot it' (*E.M.I.* III. iii. 43), 'These verses too, a poyson on 'hem' (*Poet.* I. i. 8, 9), '*Absurdity on him, for a huge ouergrowne Play-maker!*' (*S. of N.* 4th Intermean, 8); cf. Harington, *Vlisses vpon Ajax*, 1596, D2, 'a foul on her for a lying quean', and *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, v. viii (Malone reprint, l. 2276), 'Now a fowle ont, I can not make this gew-gaw stand on my head'. 'The diuel on the lie' in *The Pedlers Prophecie*, 1595, C3^v (Malone reprint, l. 697), is a clearer form of the imprecation.

43. *Gar take*, literally, cause to take. Cf. *The Shepheardes Calendar*, April, 1, 'Tell me good Hobbinoll, what garres thee greete'. Earine mockingly echoes Lorel's rustic dialect.

fewmand, foul. The word 'belongs to the imaginary Sherwood dialect of the piece' (*O.E.D.*). Greg explains as the present participle of 'fume' used as the present indicative, like 'wishend', II. iii. 3, in the sense 'to cause to smell'.

44. *limmer*, scoundrelly. The substantive is in II. iii. 3.

II. iii. 3. *drittie*, dirty. ME. 'drit'.

4. *duills*, grieves. Levins, *Manipulus Vocabulorum*, 1570, 'To Doole, sorow, *dolere*'.

8. *Madge-Owle*, barn-owl. *E.M.I.* II. ii. 23.

9. *Owle-spiegle*, Ulen-spiegle. See on *Poet.* III. iv. 139.

17. *twire at*, peep out at. Cf. T. Howell, *The Arbor of Amitie*, 1568, O3, of flatterers:

They fawne in words, and eke with twiring eie,
They will deceiue, trust thou no flattring spie.

And Fletcher, *Women Pleased*, iv. i (Folio 1647, p. 37):

Thou art in love, and I can guesse with whom too,
I saw the wench that twir'd and twinkled at thee,
The other day.

18. *Hee's gett*, he shall get. So 21 *I's*, I shall. Northern dialect.

20. *Gelden*, eunuch. Not found elsewhere; apparently the past participle converted into a noun.

23. *Sowter*, shoemaker.

26. *eirs*, arse.

28. *baudly*, boldly. Northern form.

29. *fugeand* 'belongs to the spurious Sherwood dialect of the piece; it may be an alteration of *figent*', i.e. fidgety, restless (*O.E.D.*).

39. *A Gypsan Ladie*. So an Egyptian gave Othello's mother the fatal handkerchief (*Othello*, III. iv. 56, and the working of it, ll. 70-4).

43. *gaing-night*. A more correct form, and better suited to the metre, would be 'gang-night'. For Hecate's spectral flights at night, accompanied by demons and the souls of the dead ('over the Kirke-yard'), compare the reference in *The Masque of Queens* to the flight of the Dame of the Witches (224-5):

You, that haue scene me ride, When *Hecate*
Durst not take chariot.

44. *barkeand parish tykes*. *Tyke*, dog (usually contemptuous). The approach of Hecate was heralded by the whining and howling of dogs. In Theocritus, *Idyl* ii. 35-6, Simaetha working her spells says,

Θεστυλί, ταὶ κύνες ἄμιν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὥρύονται.
ἃ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι.

45. *spindle*. Cf. *M. of Q.* 80, 'The Spindle is now à-turning', with Jonson's note that 'ye Spindle, in antiquitye, was ye cheife' instrument in witchcraft.

46. *At every twisted thrid*. The grammar is lax, but it resumes 'A Gypsan Ladie Wrought it by Moone-shine for mee' (39, 40).

rock, the distaff on which the flax was held for spinning. Thus with the Fates in 2 *Theob.* 38-40, Clotho holds the rock and Lachesis the spindle.

47. *sew'ster*, sempstress.

48. *Under the towne-turn-pike*. Explained by Whalley: the town turn-pike is a turn-stile, 'often placed at the end of towns, for preventing horses from coming into the foot-way'. He compares *S. of N.* III. i. 37, 'I moue vpon my axell, like a turne-pike'. Jonson is modernizing and giving a new turn to the ancient *rhombus* or magician's circle, to which he refers in his note cited on line 45. Cf. Propertius, II. xxviii. 35, 'magico torti sub carmine rhombi'. In the second *Idyl* of Theocritus the magic wheel has a wryneck (ἰνυξ) tied upon it; as the wheel turned round, it drew men's hearts along with it.

which, i.e. the turnstile.

50. *tent*, attention. So III. ii. 43, *Und.* lxxxiv (i), 31. Usually in the phrases 'to give' or 'to take tent'.

II. iv. 11. *feighting*, a misprint or inadvertently dialectal: Marian does not speak dialect. If a dialectal form was intended, it should have been *feightand*.

15. *raz'd*, scratched.

21. *Alas!* like the cries in 23, 26, 30, added *extra metrum* and equivalent to a stage-direction, 'She sighs'.

30. *Bee*. Love stinging like a bee, a commonplace of pastoral, goes back to a doubtful poem of Theocritus, *Idyl* xix, τὸν κλέπτειν ποτ' Ἐρωτα, and to Anacreon, *Ode* 35.

41. *fells*, here both skin and fleece.

II. v. 3. *so*. Perhaps Jonson punctuated 'so,' as he frequently did with adverbs: the construction is 'so delight to move in', with the 'so' emphasized by its position.

6. *Thrice worthy*. Imitating the Latin *ter*, as in Horace's 'felices ter et amplius' (*Odes*, I. xiii. 17).

33. *formed*, imagined. Dryden, *All for Love*, II (ed. 1678, p. 22):

I form'd the danger greater than it was,
And, now 'tis near, 'tis lessen'd.

39. *Our best of senses*. Greg illustrates from *The First Anniversary* of Donne, 353, 'Sight is the noblest sense of any one', and from old authorities, such as Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, I, cap. xii, § 3, 'Amplius excellit oculorum sensus ceteris sensibus'.

II. vi. 3. *crakes*, boasts. 'A variant of *Crack*, being the direct phonetic reproduction of OE. *cracian*' (*O.E.D.*).

10. *Bedes-woman*, properly an almswoman who prays for the soul of a dead benefactor. Cf. Shirley, *The Grateful Servant*, III. i, 'My humblest service to his grace, I am his beads-woman'.

11. *owe*, own, acknowledge.

13. *toy*, sportive movement. The *O.E.D.* cites Medwall, *Nature*, I. 786 (ed. Brandl):

Though I say yt a praty boy . . .
He maketh me laugh wyth many a toy,
The vrchyn ys so mad.

21. *growne*, ground.

25. *wildings*, crab-apples.

37. *departit*, parted.

48. *two Leggs*. Scathlock held the forelegs over his shoulder. Turberville, op. cit., p. 134, notes that, when the deer was cut up, the legs were left on: the hynder feete 'to fasten (or hardle as some hunters call

it) the hanches to the sydes, and the two forefeete are left to hang vp the shoulders by'.

50. *Karle*, churl.

59. *Devills Pater noster*, a murmured imprecation. Cf. Chaucer, *The Parson's Tale* ('De Invidia'), 'Murmure eek is ofte amonges servantz, . . . and, for-as-muche as they dar not openly withseye the commaundementz of hir sovereyns, yet wol they seyn harm, and grucche and murmure prively, for verray despit, whiche wordes men clepen the develes *Pater noster* . . .'. And *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, part i, ch. xi, Div^v:

And streight as she sawe me, she swelde lyke a tode.
Pattryng the diuels Pater noster to hir selfe, . . .

Devills Mattens, line 65, is similar. In these suggestions of Satanic rites, 'pater noster', 'matins', and witches' sabbath, the terms of Christian worship are taken over by a kind of ironic oxymoron.

63. *Mort-mal on his shin*, a gangrene. Cf. *M.V.* 75-6, and Chaucer's Cook in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, 385-6:

But greet harm was it, as it thoughte me,
That on his shyne a mormal hadde he.

64. *withouten blin*, without ceasing. Found only in this phrase.

66. *Poene*, pain (Lat. *poena*). *C.R.* v. ii. 43.

76-101. Gifford wished to assign Maud's speeches to Marian, but the Argument before the act expressly says that Maudlin 'mocks poore *Amie*' (l. 38).

85. *Angell*, harbinger. Whalley noted the rendering from Sappho's ἥρος ἄγγελος ἱμερόφωνος ἀήδων preserved by the Scholiast on Sophocles' *Electra*, 149.

91. *see . . . to fight*. Cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1. i. 169, 'I saw her coral lips to move'.

94. *but*— only. Then *Amie* stops short, hesitating in her confession.

96. *seelie*, the older form of 'silly', which is due to a change of pronunciation, = 'innocent', 'simple'.

113. *doth please*. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. ii. 292-4:

If thou and nature can so gently part,
The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch,
Which hurts, and is desired.

11. vii. 5. *Spondylls*, vertebrae (Lat. *spondyli*).

16. *pricke*, find the 'pricks' or tracks of a hare.

17, 19. *a Creature of Melancholy . . . like a Hare*. Cf. Turberville, op. cit., p. 160, 'The Hare first taught vs the vse of the hearbe called wilde Succorye, which is verie excellent for those whiche are disposed to be melancholike: she hir selfe is one of the moste melancholike beastes that is: and to heale her own infirmities, she goeth commonly to sit vnder that hearbe: wherevpon it hath bene called in times past *Palatius*

leporis, that is to say, *Hares pallyse*.' The belief that witches turned into hares lasted into the nineteenth century: see Edith Olivier, *Without knowing Mr. Walkley*, pp. 101-3.

18. *fourme*, form, lair.

19. *reliefe*, feeding. Used of the hare and the hart.

II. viii. 7. *a Hare . . . markes the weather*. Turberville, op. cit., p. 163: 'Nexste to this, a huntesman muste marke in what place the Hare sitteth, and vpon what wynde she made hir forme. For if she forme eyther vpon the North wynde, or vpon the South winde, she will not willingly runne into the winde, but will runne vpon a syde wynde, or else downe the wynde.' Ibid., p. 160, 'The Hare doth naturally know the change of weather from .xxiiij. houres, to .xxiiij. houres'.

8. 'Alken has not forgotten the rudeness of Scathlock' (I. vi. 56-8)—(Gifford).

22. *kells*, webs of the spinning caterpillar.

25. *fens, and boggs*. Cf. Jonson's note on *M. of Q.* 55.

26. *the drowned Lands of Lincolnshire*. 'This looks like a reminiscence of the Great Lincolnshire floods of 1613 when the sea entered twelve miles inland' (W. W. Greg).

31-2. *a weed To open locks with*. Gifford quotes Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches*, iii (ed. 1691, p. 47):

From the Seas slimy owse a Weed
I fetch'd to open locks at need.

with a note (p. 50) 'See the renown'd *Johnson*, in the last Scene of the second Act of his sad Shepherd'. Dyce adds Shirley, *The Constant Maid*, v. iii, 'Trust not a woman, they have found the herb To open locks', and explains, the herb is lunary or moonwort. Cf. *The Unfortunate Usurper*, I. iii (ed. 1663, p. 6), 'The greatnesse of Princes Fortune not onely forces 'um to keep open Court, but (as if the Herb Lunaria were in the Locks) makes all their Privy-Chamber doors fly open', and Gerarde's *Herball*, ed. 1633, p. 407, 'Small Moone woort [*lunaria minor*] . . . hath been used among the Alchymistes and witches to doe wonders withall, who say that it will loose lockes, and make them to fall from the feet of horses that grase where it doth growe'. Harrison, *Description of England*, I, ch. xxiv, tells the same story of the horses' feet, and says, 'Roger Bacon, our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouslie in Tuthill fields near London'.

40. *Collects*, collections, stores of knowledge.

43-4. *Mandrake . . . deathfull*. Cf. *2 Henry VI*, III. ii. 310-11:

Would curses kill, as doth the mandrake's groan,
I would invent as bitter-searching terms.

The mandrake (*Atropa Mandragora*) was believed to shriek when uprooted and to kill the person who pulled it; hence a dog was employed for this purpose.

46. *Martagan*, the Turk's-cap lily.

48. *fire-drakes*, fiery dragons. *G.M.* 266.

49. *Flitter-mice*, bats.

50. *habergeons*, literally jackets of mail, here applied to the hard outer wing-case or elytron of the beetle.

54. *Changeling*, here the changed or stolen child, as in *Mids. N. D.* II. i. 23.

61. *Sigilla*, little images, in apposition to *Puppetts*. In classical Latin used of the statuettes of gods which Romans presented to one another on the last day of the *Saturnalia*. No other example is quoted of the word in English.

64. *skutt*. Turberville, *op. cit.*, p. 241, 'The tayle of an Hare and Conney is called their *Skut*'.

65. *Along her back*. *Ibid.*, p. 161. 'If when a Hare ryseth out of the forme, she set vp hir eares, and run not verie fast at the firste, and cast vp her *Skut* vpon hir backe, it is a token that it is an olde and craftie Hare.'

66. *give her Law*. *Ibid.*, p. 246, 'When a Hare is put vp, you muste giue hyr grounde (which is called lawe) xij. score yeardes or more, according to the grounde & countrie where she sitteth: and then let slippe your Greyhounds'.

68. *squatt downe beside us*. *Ibid.*, p. 172, 'oftentimes the Hare followeth the high wayes very farre, to double, crosse and vse pollicies, and will neuer steppe from the way in a myle together. And in such places the houndes can haue no sent, by reason of the duste . . . they will squatte vpon the outsides of the wayes or very neare to them: and therefore let the huntelman beate the sides of the high wayes well.'

71. *blast of Venerie*. The *O.E.D.* has one solitary example of 'A Blast of hunters', meaning a company, from *The Book of Saint Albans*, 1486, F vij a, but Jonson was probably thinking of the hunt in full cry. Whalley's suggestion to read 'beast' is unnecessary.

73. Consistent with Scathlock's words in II. vi. 49, 50.

74. *so haw*. Turberville (p. 169) is very scrupulous about the different hunting-cries: 'at the hallowe to an Hare you say *Haw, Haw, Haw, here, Haw, here, &c.*'

Act III. The Argument

25. *her daughter*. In the text (III. iv. 58, v. 1) it is Puck-hairy on whom she calls for help.

26-8. *The Shepherds . . . Karol, &c.* The text ends with the entry of Lorel, as mentioned in lines 28, 29. The previous scene of the shepherd's triumph was not written.

39. *there ariseth a mist*, 42. *The Aire clearing*. W. J. Lawrence in *Pre-Restoration Stage-Studies* discussing this effect, quoted for an example of it in the public theatre *The Prophetess*, 1622, Act IV, where Delphia raises a mist at the end of the dumb-show and the Chorus explains she tricked the pursuers of the Persians by

A foggie mist, which as a cloud conceal'd them,
Deceiving their Pursuers.

In *Histrion-mastix*, III. i (1610, D), is a stage-direction, 'Enter Pride, Vain-glory, Hypocrisie, and Contempt: Pride casts a mist, wherein Maurontius and his company vanish off the Stage, and Pride and her attendants remaine.' Compare the darkness in *Catiline*, I. 312-14; the mist was probably a similar discharge of smoke.

53. *tract*, track.

III. i. 5. *turnes*, changes of fortune. *Coriolanus*, IV. iv. 12, 'O World, thy slippery turnes! Friends now fast sworn . . . shall within this hour . . . breake out To bitterest Enmity.'

15. *firke it*, move about briskly. Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, Epistle Dedicatory (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii. 13), 'neuer surcease flaunting and firking it in fustian'.

III. ii. 10. *wise good Woman*. Karol is speaking tactfully to Maudlin's daughter. In III. iv. 31 Maudlin, disguised as Marian, applies the term to herself.

20. *Lust . . . Palaces*, as in the Somerset case.

30. *in the midst with Phæbus*. The circles of the Ptolemaic heaven were the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

31. *the jarring Spheeres*. So in *Pr. H. Barr.* 129-33, when Meliadus and his six assistants are discovered, 'I, now the spheeres are in their tunes againe', and 'The heauens, the fates' and 'Meliadus' 'peculiar starres . . . conclude all iarres'.

32. *tunefull planetting*. A phrase of Marlowe's in the *First Book of Lucan*, 640, translating 'numerusque moventibus astra'.

40. *speece*, kind (Lat. *species*).

42. *this eighth sphere*. Cf. *Ep.* cxxx, to Alphonso Ferrabosco on the power of music, 'The soule of heauen', so that

the eight spheare, no lesse, then planets seauen,
Mou'd by her order, and the ninth more high.

Including all, were thence call'd harmonie.

This was the Pythagorean theory that the entire universe was composed of harmony, the seven planets, like the seven strings of the heptachord, producing a series of musical notes too delicate to be heard by the ear of man. Beyond the planets was an eighth sphere, the firmament or heaven of all the fixed stars; so that the notes, taken together, formed an octave or, what was the same thing with the Pythagoreans, a harmony.

III. iii. 8. *haggard, or unmann'd*, untrained. Technical terms of falconry.

III. iv. 5. *a windo' i' your bosome*. Suggested by Lucian's *Hermotimus*, 20, where Momus criticizes a man whom Hephaestus had made τοῦτο ἐμέμψατο καὶ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπέπληξε τὸν Ἡφαιστον διότι μὴ καὶ θυρίδας ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ στέρνον, ὥς ἀναπετασθεισῶν γνῶριμα γίγνεσθαι ἅπασιν ἃ βούλεται καὶ ἐπινοεῖ καὶ εἰ ψεύδεται ἢ ἀληθεύει.

7. *in-parts*. Chapman, *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, 1599, sc. vii (Malone reprint, 893), 'all their in parts then fit to serue pesants'.

15. *runs forth his divisions*. *E.M.O.* III. ix. 135 n. Elsewhere in Jonson 'runs division', which may be the reading here, the printer taking the plural from 'lipp's' and 'eares' in the context.

49. *Copy*. A compressed phrase for 'the source of the imitation that deceived us'.

51. *upon the start*. The *O.E.D.* queries '? suddenly, without warning', quoting this passage and *All 's Well that Ends Well*, III. ii. 47-9:

I haue felt so many quirkes of ioy and greefe,
That the first face of neither on the start
Can woman me vntoo't.

III. v. 10, 11. *Saile . . . Cloth*. Cf. *M. of Q.* 280-2:

We all must home i' the egg-shell sayle;
The Mast is made of a great pin,
The tackle of Cobweb, the Sayle as thin.

'The habit of breaking empty eggshells to keep the fairies or witches from using them as boats is still inculcated in many nurseries—the schools of superstition. Such shipping is necessary, because water is a hindrance to demon journeys' (*Shakespeare's England*, i, p. 543).

17. *gaang*, a confusion of 'gaing' and 'gaand'.

MORTIMER HIS FALL

THIS fragment, with its curious experiment of a chorus that changes its composition in the scheme of the three acts, has the air of being early work. In the preface to *Sejanus* Ben had regretted the absence of 'a proper *Chorus*' such as he achieved later in *Catiline*, and *Mortimer* may represent an earlier experiment which he discarded. The medley of ladies, courtiers, county justices and their wives is far from being Senecan, and before the fourth act its leader, reporting the fall of Mortimer, appears to become the 'Nuncius' of the cast.

The play of *Mortimer*, for which in September 1602 the Admiral's men bought properties recorded in Henslowe's *Diary*,¹ cannot be Jonson's; it was probably, as Dr. Greg suggests, a revival of Marlowe's *Edward II*.

There is an unintelligible allusion to Jonson's fragment in *Don Zara Del Fogo: A Mock-Romance*, 1656, by 'Basilus Musophilus' (S. Holland), on page 65. Zara goes to the other world and in Elysium finds the English poets quarrelling who shall be first; Ben Jonson started the quarrel by claiming this primacy, and Chaucer is pitted against him. 'Chapman was wondrously exasperated at

¹ Ed. Greg, ii, p. 224.

Bens boldness and scarce refrained to tell (his own *Tale of a Tub*) that his *Isabel* and *Mortimer* was now completed by a Knighted Poet, whose soul remained in Flesh.'

Stow's *The Annales of England*, 1592 and later, would supply Jonson with the historical record; Stow drew freely on the *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker* (now Bodley MS. 761), and Baker gives fuller details than Stow of the deception practised at Corfe Castle (*Arguments*, 23-8). 'Anno M.CCC.XXIX. quidam experturi quos haberet amicos Edwardus secundus, rex Anglie nuper extinctus, confinxerunt ipsum in castro de Corf laute vivere, set nusquam de die velle videri. Propterea fecerunt multis noctibus tripudia super muros castri et preferentes cereos et tortices accensos, ut ab ydiotis de patria forent percepti, quasi aliquem magnum regem haberent custoditum, cui solemnizarent.' The Earl of Kent, misled by this, sent a friar to investigate. 'Introducitur nempe latiturus de die in camera ianitoris, visurus de nocte quem videre cupiebat. Nocte introducitur in aulam, iussus induere habitum secularem ne perciperetur, videbaturque sibi ipsum videre Edwardum patrem regis cene splendide assidentem: quod ut credidit, ita retulit comiti Cancie se vidisse.' We have not traced the detail of the King 'using his knife', and we do not know whether Jonson quoted or invented it.

The Persons

1. *Earl of March*, of the Marches of Wales.

8. *W. Mountacute*, or Montagu (1301-44), third baron Montacute and later first Earl of Salisbury.

Arguments

3. *the politique B(ishop)*. He was credited, quite absurdly, with sending to Berkley the equivocal message which caused Edward's death, 'Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est', and then pleading that the message had been misread.

1. i. 1-4. Cf. Fletcher, *The Bloody Brother*, iv. i, Rollo's words to Latorch after the murder of his brother:

We now are duke alone, Latorch, secured;
Nothing left standing to obscure our prospect;
We look right forth, beside, and round about us,
And see it ours with pleasure.

7-10. From Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 103-5:

Multi
committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.

10. *Waxe*, the great seal.

12. *Home to the marke*. *B.F.* II. iv. 43.

checks. *C. is A.* II. ii. 7.

25-6. *Sej.* II. 186-7.

34. *to be a Sheepe*. B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1617, p. 6, 'But I will come ouer these fellowes with a prouerbe that many yeeres agoe I brought out of *France*, and thus followes the text: *He that will make himselfe a sheepe, it is no matter though the Wolues doe eat him.*' The French proverb is, 'Qui se fait brebis, le loup le mange'.

41. *decline*. *Sej.* v. 59.

1. ii. 58. *banquet unto . . . my Senses*. *Poet.* IV. v. 192.

62. *dactile*, 'to run quickly and nimbly. (If not a misprint for *ductile* adj., as treated by Gifford, or for *tactile*.)'—*O.E.D.*

66. *Engle-terre*. The French Isabella half-anglicizes 'Angleterre'.

THE KING'S ENTERTAINMENT, 1604

JONSON and Dekker were hostile collaborators in the speeches for this entertainment. Jonson wrote the speeches for the first and seventh arches in the City as well as the later speeches in Westminster. The Italians and the Dutchmen resident in London erected arches and delivered Latin addresses. Dekker wrote for the remaining three. He had also prepared a preliminary device which 'should haue bene performed about the Barres beyond Bishops-gate', but this was not performed. He pictured St. George and St. Andrew riding together in 'newe sworne Brother-hood' and intercepted by the surprised Genius of the City. He published in 1604 a record of the day's festivities, *The Magnificent Entertainment: Giuen to King Iames, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, vpon the day of his Maiesties Triumphant Passage (from the Tower) through his Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London, being the 15. of March. 1603. . . . With the speeches and Songes, deliuered in the seuerall Pageants*. His own speeches and songs were given in full. Jonson's portion he merely noticed briefly, but he added some interesting touches to the narrative, and he had a fling at Jonson's scholarship.¹ The architect Stephen Harrison published engravings of the seven arches in the City. The two at Fenchurch and Temple Bar are reproduced in our text with Harrison's descriptions.² A few small points in Harrison's engravings do not tally with Jonson's text.³

The festivities had long been planned. James started from Edinburgh on 5 April 1603 and reached the neighbourhood of London early in May. Early in April, after he had been proclaimed king, London began its preparations to receive him. The original plan was to have five triumphal arches; those at West Cheap and Temple Bar were added later. The work on them began at once in the expectation that the King would pass through the City to his coronation on St. James's day, 25 July, but the spread of the plague postponed the visit and the coronation took place quietly. The preparations continued for a month longer and were then postponed till the following year, when James decided to ride through the City before he opened Parliament.

The visit was duly paid on 15 March 1604. James stayed at the Tower the previous evening, and then, as Harrison records, he left

'betweene the houres of 11. and 12. and before 5. had made his royall passage through the Citie, hauing a *Canopie* borne ouer him by 8. Knights. The first *Obiect* that his Maiesties eye encountred (after his

¹ See l. 69 n.

² Vol. vii, between pp. 82-3, 94-5, and pp. xiii-xv.

³ See, for instance, the note on l. 12.

entrance into *London*) was part of the children of *Christs Church Hospitall*, to the number of 300. who were placed on a Scaffold, erected for that purpose in *Barking Church-yard* by the *Tower*. The way from the *Tower* to *Temple-Barre* was not onely sufficiently grauelled, but all the streetes (lying betweene those two places) were on both sides (where the breadth would permit) raild in at the charges of the Citie, *Paules Church-yard* excepted. The *Liueries* of the *Companies* (hauing their Streamers, Ensignes, and Banerets spred on the tops of their railles before them) reached from the middle of *Marke Lane*, to the *Pegme* at *Temple Bar*. Two *Marshals* were chosen for the day, to cleere the passage, both of them being well mounted, and attended on by sixe men (suteably attirde) to each *Marshall*. The *Conduits* of *Cornhill*, of *Cheape*, and of *Fleetestreete*, that day ran Claret wine very plenteously: which (by reason of so much excellent Musicke, that sounded foorth not onely from each seuerall *Pegme*, but also from diuerse other places) ran the faster and more merrily downe into some bodies bellies.'

At Cheapside Cross the Recorder, Sir Henry Montague, read the official address, and gold cups were presented to the King, the Queen, and the Prince.

An interesting glimpse of the King's feelings on this occasion is given by Arthur Wilson, who records in his *Life and Reign of King James the First*, 1653, pp. 12, 13, that the City and suburbs were

'one great *Pageant*, wherein he must give his ears time to suck in their gilded *Oratory*, though neuer so *nauseous* to the *stomach*. He was not like his *Predecessor*, the late *Queen* of famous *memory*, that with a well-pleased affection met her peoples Acclamations, thinking most highly of her self, when she was born up on the *wings* of their *humble supplications*. He endured this *days* brunt with *patience*, being assured he should neuer haue such another, and his *triumphal* riding to the *Parliament* that followed: But afterwards in his *publick* appearances (especially in his *sports*) the accesses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with *frowns*, that we may not say with *curses*.'

Dekker puts it in a courtlier form: 'Reader, you must vnderstand, that a regard being had that this Maiestie should not be wearied with teadious speeches: A great part of those which are in this Booke set downe, were left vnspoken: So that thou doest here receiue them as they should haue bene deliuered, not as they were.'

3. *Vent*, the indentations of the parapet.

houses, towres, and steeples. Dekker says 'the true modells of all the notable Houses, Turrets, and Steeples, within the Citie'. Harrison says the same.

12. *Camera Regia*. Omitted by Harrison.

16, 17. *Par domus* . . . Martial, VIII. xxxvi. 12, of Domitian's palace on the Palatine.

28. *the glorie and light of our kingdome*. So Selden in *Titles of Honor*, 1614, prints after the dedication a Greek epigram 'To that singular Glory of our Nation, and Light of *Britaine*, M. Camden Clarenceulx'. Jonson used the 1587 edition of the *Britannia*, 'Nunc postremò recognita'.

32. *ille*. Virgil, *Eclogue* i. 25.

34. *state*, chair of state.

44. *word*, motto. *E.M.O.* III. iv. 86.

66. *a cube*: 'to shew stabilitie' (459). Contrast the sphere on which Fortune was poised.

69. *Genius Urbis*. Dekker in his unacted device made the Genius of the City a woman, who intervened to give the first greeting to the King. 'And most aptly, (in our Iudgement) might this *Domesticum Numen* (the *Genius* of the place) lay iust clayme to this preheminance of first bestowing Salutations and welcomes on his *Maiestie*, *Genius* being held (*Inter fictos Deos*), to be God of Hospitalitie and Pleasure: and none but such a one was meet to receiue so excellent and princely a Guest. Or if not worthy, for those two former respects: Yet being *Deus Generationis*, and hauing a power aswell ouer Countries, hearbs and trees, as ouer men, and the Cittie hauing now put on a *Regeneration*, or new birth: the induction of such a Person, might (without a Warrant from the court of *Critists*) passe very currant.

'To make a false florish here with the borrowed weapons of all the old Maisters of the noble Science of Poesie, and to keepe a tyrannicall coyle, in Anatomizing *Genius*, from head to foote, (only to shew how nimble we can carue vp the whole messe of the Poets) were to play the Executioner, and to lay our Cities houshold God on the rack, to make him confesse, how many paire of Latin sheets, we haue shaken & cut into shreds to make him a garment. Such feates of Actiuitie are stale, and common among Schollers, (before whome it is protested we come not now (in a Pageant) to play a Maisters prize) For *Nunc ego ventosæ Plebis suffragia venor*. The multitude is now to be our Audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wooll-gathering, if we doo but offer to breake them with hard words. But suppose (by the way) contrary to the opinion of all the Doctors that our *Genius* (in regarde the place is *Feminine*, and the person it selfe, drawne *Figura Humana*, sed *Ambiguo sexu*) should at this time be thrust into womans apparell. It is no Schisme: be it so: our *Genius* is then a Female, Antique; and reuerend both in yeâres and habit: a Chaplet of mingled flowers, Inter-wouen with branches of the Plane Tree crowning her Temples: her haire long and white: her Vesture a loose roabe, Changeable and powdred with Starres: And being (on horsebacke likewise) thus furnished, this was the tune of her voyce.'

71. *Plane tree*. In Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1611, p. 195, 'Genio Buono' is a child 'coronato di platano'. Jonson used the 1603 edition.

93. *mots*, mottoes: cf. 'word' (44).

connexed: so 251. For the form cf. 'annex'.

99. *Aback*, a square tablet or compartment (Lat. *abacus*).

104. *bolne*. A by-form of *bollen*, 'swollen'.

125. *grices*, steps. Cf. *M. Blackness*, 69, 'greces', a conjectural emendation for 'graces'.

127. *Euphrosyne*. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1611, pp. 11, 12: 'Giovannetta . . . vestita di bianco, & detto vestimento dipinto di verdi fronde, & fiori rossi, & gialli, con vna ghirlanda in capo di varij fiori, nella mano destra tenga vn vaso di cristallo, pieno di vino rubicondo, & nella sinistra vna gran tazza d'oro.' Cf. *Challenge at Tilt*, 154, and *L.M.M.* 10-16.

156. *a squirrel*. Ripa, op. cit., p. 439, makes 'Prontezza' carry a squirrel in her left hand, 'perchè è animal velocissimo'. Promptness was one of the masquers in *Love Restored*, 267.

200. *a sheafe of arrowes*. The only touch borrowed from Ripa, op. cit., p. 92.

210. *speakers*. Cf. Dekker, 'Of all which personages, *Genius* and *Thamesis* were the only Speakers: *Thamesis* being presented by one of the children of her Maiesties Reuels: *Genius* by M. *Allin* (seruant to the young Prince) his gratulatory speech . . . was deliuered with excellent Action, and a well tun'de audible voyce. . . '.

218. *Pegme*, platform bearing an inscription.

241. *obiected*. *N.I.* iv. iv. 111.

250. *the owne actiue spheare*. *Disc.* 892, 'the owne graces'.

253. *the Symboles used*. Used again in *The Masque of Beauty*, 178-230; more slightly in *C.R.* v. ix. 15-52.

254. *Hieroglyphickes*, strictly trees or animals used as symbolic characters.

255. *Emblemes*. *E.M.I.* v. v. 35.

Impreses. *C.R.* v. ix. 17.

256. *apted*. *Poet.* i. ii. 101.

261. *Puppits*. *Alch.* v. i. 14.

Truch-man, interpreter. *C.R.* v. iv. 11.

262. *the ignorant Painter*. From Plutarch quoted on *Und.* lxix. 9-13. Cf. Sir T. More's epigram *In Malum Pictorem* (*Lucubrationes*, 1563, p. 236):

Cum cane sic pictus lepus est, vt dicere nemo
Esset vterûe canis, posset, vterûe lepus.
Pictor vbi hoc didicit, quod inertî defuit arti,
Suppleuit miro callidus ingenio.
Res vt aperta foret, longeq; facesseret error,
Subscripsit tantum, est hic canis, iste lepus.

Sidney, *Arcadia*, 1598, iii, p. 282, 'being asked why he set no word to it,'—i.e. to his device—'he said, that was indeed like the painter, that sayeth in his picture, Here is the dog, and there is the Hare'.

266. *grounded iudgements*. *C. is A.* ii. vii. 69: a metaphor from the theatre.

273. *in file*, in succession. Herrick, *Hesperides* (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 140):

since time a thousand cares
And griefs hath fil'de upon my silver hairs.

286, note c. *a learned Poet*. The *Coniugium Tamesis et Isis* quoted in Camden's *Britannia*, and probably composed by him.

ab vrbo. The *urbum* or *urvum* or *buris* was the plough-beam or plough-tail into which the blade was fixed. Varro, *R.R.* ii. i. 10, mentions it as used to mark out the bounds of cities.

289. *white*. The 'better stone' of *Ep.* xcvi. 8.

289, note f. *Euocatio*. Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, i. v, quoting Fulgentius, 'Clotho interpretari euocationem . . . quicquid à Clotho compositum est, & in lucem euocatum, à Lachesi suscipiatur & protrahatur in vitam'. Actually Clotho means 'Spinster' from κλώθω ('spin').

290. *circles*, cycles.

295. *office*, duty (Lat. *officium*).

298. *article*. *S.W.* i. i. 30, 'euery article o' your time'.

304. *inofficious*, undutiful.

307. *Now is not euery tide*. *Ob.* 393, 'This is not euery night'.

312. *Tagus*. *C.R.* v. xi. 152.

324. *euenting*. *C. is A.* v. viii. 35.

329. *blest*. Sir Thomas Bennet, of the Mercers' Company.

338-9. *In a prince*. . . . From Martial, *Ep.* viii. xv. 8, 'Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos'.

349. *nauill*. A round stone in the temple at Delphi was called ὀμφαλὸς (navel) as marking the middle point of the earth; not on Parnassus as in Jonson's citation from Lactantius.

353. *He seekes* . . . From Claudian, *Panegyricus de vi Cons. Honorii*, 610, 'Non quaerit pretium vitam qui debet amor'.

364 (margin). *duke of Rothsey*. A mistake: this was Prince Henry's title; Charles was Duke of Albany.

371. *a forward face*. Dryden, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, 1700, 594:

The lovers close the rear,
With forward faces not confessing fear.

376. *Iano Quadrifronti*. Servius in a note on *Aeneid* vii. 607 says Numa originally made a shrine for a two-headed Janus; a four-headed statue was found at Falerii on its capture in 241 B.C. and transferred to a shrine with four gates. 'Ianum sane apud aliquos bifrontem, apud aliquos quadrifrontem esse non mirum est: nam alii eum diei dominum volunt in quo ortus est et occasus, . . . alii anni totius quem in quattuor tempora constat esse divisum.'

409-10. *Clusius* (shutter), *Patulcius* (opener). Jonson does not explain until line 591 that the small arched building in the Forum with a statue of Janus had two opposite doors which were closed in time of peace and opened in time of war.

430. *Cant*, niche.

431. *Semined*, seeded. *Hym.* 132.

a wreathe. . . . One of Ripa's descriptions, op. cit., p. 401, after a medal of Vespasian is 'Donna che da vna mano tiene vn ramo d'oliuo dall'altra il Caduceo, & in vn'altra si vede con vn mazzo di spighe di grano, & col cornucopia, & con la fronte coronata d'oliuo'.

437. *a little boy*, as in *Love Restored*.

454. *Esychia*. Copied from the *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa*, ed. 1611, s.v. 'Quiete': 'Donna, d'aspetto graue, & venerabile; sara vestita di nero, . . . sopra all'acconciatura della testa, vi starà vn nido, dentro del quale si veda vna Cicogna . . .' (p. 449). 'Donna, che stà in piedi sopra vna base di figura Cubica, con la man destra sostenga vn Perpendicolo' (p. 448).

473. *Eleutheria*. Ripa, s.v. 'Libertà': 'Donna vestita di bianco, nella destra mano tiene vn scettro, nella sinistra vn cappello, & in terra vi si sede vn gatto' (p. 312). 'Donna che nella sinistra mano tiene vna mazza, come quella d'Hercole, & nella destra mano tiene vn cappello con lettere. LIBERTAS AVGVSTI ex S.C.' (p. 313). The 'hat' was the *pilleus*, close-fitting and egg-shaped, given to Roman slaves when they were freed.

480. *Doulosis*. Ripa, s.v. 'Servitù': 'Donna scapigliata, scalza, magra, & legata, con catene, manette, & ferri a' piedi' (p. 479). The yoke is described on p. 477.

491. *Soteria*. Ripa, s.v. 'Salute': '. . . vna Donna, la quale con la sinistra mano tiene vn hasta, & con la destra vna tazza, dando da bere ad vna Serpe inuolta ad vn piedestallo' (p. 466). The serpent was sacred to Esculapius.

507. *safetie* . . . *securitie*. For this antithesis cf. *The Forest*, xi. 116, 'Man may securely sinne, but safely neuer'.

510. *Eudaimonia*. Ripa, s.v. 'Felicità': 'Donna, che siede in vn bel seggio regale, nella destra mano tiene il Caduceo, & nella sinistra il Cornucopia pieno di frutti, & inghirlandata di fiori' (p. 167). The caduceus, with which Mercury parted two fighting snakes, is 'in segno di pace, & di sapienza'. 'I fiori sono inditio d'allegrezza.'

511. *varied on the second hand* should mean 'varied from the original maker', but Jonson has closely followed Ripa, and the phrase seems to lack point.

517. *Dyspragia*. Adapted from Ripa's 'Infortunio', pp. 247-8: 'Il Cornucopia riuolto, & i piedi scalzi, dimostrano la priuatione del bene, & ogni contento: & il coruo non per esser vccello di mal augurio, mà per esser celebrato per tale da Poeti, ci può seruire per segno dell'infortunio.'

522. *soule*. Cf. 680.

616. *masculine gums*. *Sej.* v. 91.

644. *He merits not* . . . From Martial, *Epigr. Liber*, xxxi:

Non displicuisse meretur,
festinat, Caesar, qui placuisse tibi.

Cf. *M. of Q.*, letter to Queene Anne, 13.

647-74. The Latin formulae are—*D.I.O.M.*, Domino Iacobo Optimo Maximo; *P.P.F.S.*, Patri Patriae, Fidei Servatori; *D.A.*, Dominae Annae; *H.F.P.*, Henrico Frederico Principi; *S.P.Q.L.*, Senatus Populusque Londinensis; *L.M.*, Libens merito (a formula in thank-offerings: cf. Plautus, *Persa*, 251-4, 'Iovi . . . lubens vitulorque merito'); *P.*, posuit; *S.C.*, Senatus consulto.

653. *Annae ipsae Perennae . . . optatiori*. Query, read 'Anna ipsa Perenna optatiori' (more to be desired even than Anna Perenna). This would balance 'Marte maiori' (greater than Mars) in line 649, and tally with line 590, 'Who brings with him a greater ANNE then shee'. But Harrison has 'Annae ipsae Perennae' in his engraving.

665. *Votis .x. votis .xx.*, 'with ten, twice ten vows'. On the sides of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, one set on each side, are the words

SIC X
VOTIS X

SIC XX
VOTIS XX—

(Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 694)—conjectured to mean, 'celebrating the tenth anniversary of the reign and praying for the twentieth'. Jonson copied the words, quite uncritically, from J. B. Marlianus's *Antiquae Romae Topographia*, 1534, iv, ch. viii.

679-80. *bodie . . . soule*. Cf. *Hym.* 6, 7.

697. *Anonymus*. Did Jonson mislay the reference? Cf. the scholium of Didymus on the *Iliad*, xviii. 486 (Oxford, 1676), *Τροίας πορθουμένης τὴν Δαρδάνου μητέρα Ἡλέκτραν μίαν οὔσαν τῶν Πλειάδων φυγεῖν τε τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίαν καὶ τὰς κόμας λύσασαν ἐνίοτε κομήτην ἀστέρα φαίνεσθαι*.

734. *feate*. A misprint in our text for 'seate'.

744-9. From Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, II. 111-15:

Ac primam scelerum matrem, quae semper habendo
plus sitiens patulis rimatur faucibus aurum,
trudis Avaritiam; cuius foedissima nutrix
Ambitio, quae vestibulis foribusque potentum
excubat et pretiis commercia pascit honorum,
pulsa simul.

Cf. *G.A.R.* 36 foll.

A PANEGYRE

OF the ancient panegyrics in honour of a Roman emperor, Jonson made slight use of only two—the speech of the younger Pliny on the accession of Trajan in A.D. 98 and the verse tribute of Claudian to Honorius on the occasion of his sixth consulship in A.D. 406.

6. *realme*. Pronounced 'ream': *E.M.I.* v. v. 21 n.

21. *that rich chaine*. See *Hymenaei* 320, 'the Golden Chaine let downe from Heauen', with Jonson's note.

25. *her daughters*. Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 901-3, of Zeus:

δεύτερον ἡγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν ἢ τέκεν ὦρας,
Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,
αἷτ' ἔργ' ὠρέουσιν καταβητοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

The reference to Irene has special point from James's policy of peace: his motto was *Beati pacifici* (Walton, *Life of Donne*, 1670, p. 44).

40. *red silence*. Cornificius, *ad Herennium*, IV. x. 14, 'Vultu modesto ruborisque pleno'.

50-4. Suggested by the image in Claudian, *de sexto Consulatu Honorii*, 529-31, of a mother decking her daughter for her wedding:

Sic oculis placitura tuis insignior auctis
collibus et nota maior se Roma videndam
obtulit.

53. *this Towne*, Westminster.

57-68. Cf. Pliny, *Panegyricus*, xxii: 'Ac primum, qui dies ille quo expectatus desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es! . . . Ergo non aetas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quo minus oculos insolito spectaculo impleret. Te parvuli noscere, ostentare iuvenes, mirari senes. . . . Inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto, alii nunc magis esse vivendum praedicabant. . . . Videres referta tecta ac laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum qui non nisi suspensum et instabile vestigium caperet. . . . Tam aequalis ab omnibus ex adventu tuo laetitia percepta est quam omnibus venisti.' Claudian, *Panegyricus de VI Cons. Honorii*, 543-9:

Omne Palatino quod pons a colle recedit
Mulvius et quantum licuit consurgere tectis
una replet turbae facies: undare videres
ima viris, altas effulgere matribus aedes. . . .
Temnunt prisca senes et in hunc sibi prospera fati
gratantur durasse diem.

71-2. The rhyme of *waxe* and *makes* is found in Strode, *Poems*, ed. Dobell, p. 55.

84. *enuies . . . eyes*. *Sej.* II. 442-3:

For your state
Is wayted on by enuies, as by eyes.

101-2. Written in Jonson's Catholic days.

115-20. Cf. *Disc.* 1182-7, where the same is said of cruelty in a king.

121-3. So Herrick, *Hesperides* (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 323):

That Prince must govern with a gentle hand,
Who will have love comply with his command.

Cf. Seneca, *Phoenissae*, 659, 'Qui vult amari languida regnet manu'.

143-7. From Pliny, *Panegyricus*, xix, 'Est haec natura sideribus ut parva et exilia validiorum exortus obscuret: similiter imperatorum

adventu legatorum dignitas inumbratur. Tu tamen maior omnibus quidem eras, sed sine ullius deminutione maior.'

161-2. From Martial, *Ep.* xii. vi. 5, 6, a poem on Nerva's accession, the second line of which supplies the motto to the *Panegyre*:

Hoc populi gentesque tuae, pia Roma, precantur:
dux tibi sit semper talis, et iste diu.

Cf. *Und.* lxxii. 18.

163. *Solus.* . . . *E.M.I.* v. v. 38-40 n.

THE ENTERTAINMENT AT ALTHORP

QUEEN ANNE and Prince Henry in their progress from Edinburgh to London reached York on 11 June 1603, Leicester on 23 June, and Northampton on 25 June. They stayed four days at Althorp, the house of Sir Robert Spencer, where they were expected on Midsummer day (l. 80).

Robert Spencer, created Baron Spencer of Wormleighton in Warwickshire on 21 July 1603, was noted for his sheep-breeding; he was one of the wealthiest men in England. He died on 25 October 1627. His correspondence is preserved in British Museum Additional MS. 25079, ff. 43-94, and his household accounts in MS. 25080-2. These contain some details of the preparations for June 1603.

Fol. 98 Itm̄ to iij woomen weedinge ij dayes }
 a peece in the new spynneye and in the } ijs
 double hedge in the wyndmill feild }

This is the 'spinet' of the opening lines.

Fol. 100 Itm̄ to vij woomen j daye settinge vpp } iij^s
 Iuye in the garden }
 Itm̄ to viij taylors iij dayes a peece } vij^s vj^d
 sowinge of Canuas }
 Itm̄ to iij taylors more ij dayes a peece xx^d
 Itm̄ to iij more j daye a peece xij^d

'Althrop' was the old pronunciation of Althorp, but it is rare now: the fifth Earl Spencer always used it.

A SATYRE. This heading is the printer's; hence Gifford called the entertainment *The Satyr*.

2. *Spinet*, spinney, thicket.

19. *Cyparissus*, a beautiful youth of Cos, who was metamorphosed into a cypress-tree and is thus associated with the woodland gods (Ovid, *Met.* x. 120-42).

20. *Syrinx*, the Arcadian nymph beloved of Pan and metamorphosed to the reed of which he made his pipe (Ovid, *ibid.*, i. 689-710). Milton closes the *Arcades* with a similar compliment to the Dowager Countess of Derby:

Though *Syrinx* your *Pans* Mistres were,
Yet *Syrinx* well might wait on her.
Such a rural Queen
All *Arcadia* hath not seen.

38. *stound*, moment.

40. *bonny-bell*. *E. Highgate*, 224.

41. *leasings*. *C.R.* i. iv. 23.

48. *creame-bowles*. Milton, *L'Allegro*, 105, of the stories how at night Puck,

the drudging *Goblin* swet,
To ern his Cream-bowle duly set.—

and how '*Faery Mab* the junkets eat' (cf. l. 54).

55. *hurt*, or *helpe the churning*. So of Puck himself, *D. is A.* i. i. 14-15.

58. *pinches countrey wenches*. Drayton, *Nimphidia*, *The Court of Fayrie*, 65-8:

These make our Girles their sluttery rue,
By pinching them both blacke and blew,
And put a penny in their shue,
The house for cleanly sweeping.

61. *rake not vp their embers*. Herrick, *Hesperides* (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 201), '*The Fairies*':

If ye will with *Mab* find grace,
Set each Platter in his place:
Rake the Fier up, and get
Water in, ere Sun be set.
Wash your Pailes, and clense your Dairies;
Sluts are loathsome to the Fairies:
Sweep your house: Who doth not so,
Mab will pinch her by the toe.

63. *a tester*, sixpence. Corbet, *The Fairies Farewell*:

And, though they sweepe their hearths no lesse
Than maides were wont to doe,
Yet who of late for cleanlinesse
Findes sixpence in her shooe?

66. *Takes out children* before they were baptized. The children left in their place, '*changelings*', were usually stupid or ugly. The substitution of ladles appears to be mentioned only here: the ladle with the bowl-head would be dressed up in baby-clothes.

67. *Traynes forth mid-wives* . . . *With a siue*. For this too we have not found a parallel.

72. *Franklins*, landowners not of noble birth.

daughters rhyming with *laughters*: *Volp.* i. ii. 74-5 n.

74. *Saint Anne's night*, St. Agnes' eve, 20 January. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1632, p. 542: 'Tis their only desire, if it may be done by art, to see their husbands picture in a glasse, they'le giue any thing to know when they shall be married, how many husbands they shall haue, by *Cromnyomantia*, a kind of Diuination with onions laid on the Altar on Christmas Eve, or by fasting on S. Annes night, to know who shall bee their first husband, or by *Amphitomantia*, by beanes in a Cake, &c. to burne the same.' *Anne's* = Agnes, in which the -*gn*- was sounded like the French, e.g. *mignon*: 'our modern pronunciation was due to the revival of Greek' (Skeat in *N. & Q.*, 11 Dec. 1904, p. 473). The form *Anne's* in the text was out of compliment to Queen Anne, in whose honour the entertainment was given. Compare the etymology of Oriana as 'Oriens Anna' (111 n.).

82. *I con you thanke*. Cf. *Timon of Athens*, iv. iii. 423-4:

Yet thanks I must you con
That you are thieves profess'd.

So εἰδέναι χάριν in Greek.

90. *cock-shout light*, 'the time when the cockshoots, or glades in a wood, were utilized; when it grew dark, nets were set in them' (Skeat, who specially refers to *The Widow*, III. i, 'a fine cockshoot evening', as decisive of the meaning). Cf. Florio, 1598, '*Cane e lupo*, cock-shut or twilight, as when a man cannot discerne a dog from a Wolfe'. So Cotgrave, s.v. 'Chien', '*Entre chien & loup*'.

123. *Long liue Oriana*. 'This is taken from the *Triumphs of Oriana*, a collection of madrigals published in 1601, and intended to commemorate the beauty and inflexible virginity of Elizabeth, then only in the sixty-eighth year of her age' (Gifford). They are reprinted by E. H. Fellowes in *English Madrigal Verse, 1588-1632*, pp. 143-51, 'Long live fair Oriana' is the refrain of the twenty-four madrigals.

132. *Thamyra*. Margaret, Lady Spencer, the daughter of Sir Francis Willoughby, of Wollaton, who died 17 August 1597.

136. *trace*, traverse.

151. *beware you doe not tell*. *S.W.* v. ii. 49-51.

168. *courtiery*, 'the manners of a courtier, or ? the body of courtiers collectively' (*O.E.D.*).

198. *His son*. 'John Spencer: he was now in his twelfth year. He died in France at the age of nineteen' (Gifford). At the end of Milton's *Comus*, 966-75, the Attendant Spirit similarly presents the Two Brothers to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater.

217. *of Sparta breed*. Cf. *Mids. Night's Dream*, iv. i. 116:

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flew'd, so sanded;

and Seneca, *Phaedra*, 35-7, Hippolytus of his dogs:

At Spartanos

(Genus est audax avidumque ferae)
nodo cautus propiore liga.

219. *his name*, i.e. Ringwood, a common name for a hound. *Merry Wives*, II. i. 106, 'Like Sir Acteon he, with Ringwood at thy heels'. Madden, *The Diary of Silence*, p. 52 n., speaks of the name as typical of a running hound 'from the time of Xenophon, whose catalogue of forty-seven names for hounds, each possessing some significance, includes 'Υλεός'.

235. *officiously*, dutifully. *C.R.* v. ix. 6.

238. *No-body*. Compare the anonymous play of *Nobody and Somebody*, which John Trundle entered on the Stationers' Register on 12 March 1606; he had previously entered it as 'The picture of No bodye' on 8 January. It had for frontispiece a picture of Nobody as Jonson describes him. Trundle's sign at his shop in the Barbican was the sign of Nobody. In the play Nobody does all the good, Somebody all the ill, which he puts off on Nobody.

244. *Duke*, i.e. Prince Henry, who was Duke of Rothsay.

250. *Huisher*. *Sej.* v. 450.

251. *A kind of Masque*. Cf. *T. of T.* v. ii. 29, '*Pan.* A Masque, what's that? *Scr.* A mumming, or a shew'.

263. *Holmby*, or Holdenby in Northamptonshire, the stately house built by Sir Christopher Hatton, eulogized by Barnabe Riche in his *Farewell to Militarie profession*. Hatton first attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth by his graceful dancing at a masque; hence the allusion to 'dauncing dayes' in line 264.

267. *soles* with a quibble on 'souls'.

279. *ierke* suggests crude dancing such as might be expected from the hobnailed rustics. The verb is in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, II. i (1606, C4), 'Daunce, what daunce? hetherto your dauncers legges bow for-sooth, and Caper, and Ierke, and Firke, and dandle the bodie aboue them, as it were their great childe.' Cf. the quibble in Munday's *John a Kent*, IV, Turnop, the leader of a morris, says 'let maide Marian haue the first flurt at him, to set an edge on our stomacks, and let me alone in faith to ierke it after her'.

286. *the Hobby-horse is forgot*. *B.F.* v. iv. 222.

299. *leese*, lose.

310. *paragon*, comparison.

313. *strict Ocean*, the narrow seas: cf. 'strait'.

320. Repeated from the epilogue to Queen Elizabeth, *E.M.O.* 31.

THE ENTERTAINMENT AT HIGHGATE

THE scene of this entertainment is described by John Norden in *Speculum Britanniae. The first parte.* 1593, p. 22: 'At this place—CORNEWALLEYS esquire, hath a verie faire house from which he may with great delight beholde the stately Citie of *London, Westminster, Greenwich*, the famous river of *Thamyse*, and the countrey towardes the south verie faire.' When Highgate was a village separated from London by a wide belt of green fields, it was a pleasant setting for a May-day entertainment.

The entertainer was Sir William Cornwallis the elder, so called to distinguish him from his nephew, Sir William Cornwallis the essayist, with whom he has been confused.¹ The elder Sir William was the son of Sir Thomas Cornwallis of Brome Hall, Suffolk, who had been controller of Queen Mary's household. He may have been knighted in May 1593 when the Queen visited Highgate; at any rate, he is spoken of as a knight from 1594 onwards.² He died in 1611.

2, 3. *the Penates, . . . attir'd after the antique manner.* Giraldi, *De Deis Gentium*, 1548, f. 603, quotes Dionysius as saying 'in templo obscuro & humili, quod erat non procul a foro Romano, duas duorum Troianorum imagines se vidisse, duorum iuvenum sedentium, habentiumque pila in manibus, vetera eius artis opera, quibus esset inscriptio, D. PENATES. Similesque vetustis in templis plerisque conspici iuvenes militari habitu, cultuque.'

12. *merror.* An obsolete spelling in Jonson's day.

51. *fortunate.* *E.M.O.* Ind. 273.

55. *glorie*, vain-glory.

59. *no wonderfull storie*, no myth: 'This place is really Arcadia; poetic fiction is here a truth.'

63, 65. *Cyllene . . . yond' purslane tree.* A mountain in Arcadia: Virgil speaks of it as the birthplace of Mercury:

Vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit.

(*Aen.* viii. 138-9.)

For the purslane tree see Natalis Comes, *Mythologia*, v. v, citing Didymus: 'Hunc educatum fuisse inquit sub arbore portulaca, quae andrachne dicta est a Graecis, quare illi fuit consecrata.'

93-112. In Martin Pearson's *Private Musicke, or The First Booke of*

¹ See the correspondence in *The Times Literary Supplement*, October to December 1930, and especially the letter of R. E. Bennett on 4 December. The *D.N.B.* makes the essayist the giver of the Jonson entertainment.

² See the Cecil Papers, Hist. MSS. Commission, iv, p. 578, where Sir William writes from Highgate to Sir Robert Cecil on 5 August 1594.

Ayres and Dialogues, 1620, no. xxiv; the text has a number of small variants.

104. *Record*, warble. Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, II. iv. 28, 'Harke, Madame, how the birds record by night'.

118. *Hybla* in Sicily.

119. *mazor*, drinking-bowl.

121-2. *Panchaia* . . . *Hydaspes* . . . *Phœnix*. Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 81-2:

Quidquid turiferis spirat Panchaia silvis,
quidquid odoratus longe blanditur Hydaspes,
quidquid ab extremis ales longaeva colonis
colligit optato repetens exordia leto.

The fabulous Panchaia was located on the Erythrean Sea east of Arabia; the Hydaspes is the Jeloum.

138. *Paniskes*, the Greek *Πανίσκοι*, diminutive of Pan.

158. *Iō pæan*. Strictly, as in the Greek *ἰὼ Παῖάν*, a chant to Apollo, 'Praise to the Healer'. So Lyly uses it in *Midas*, v. iii. 135-6 (ed. Bond):

Iō Pæans let vs sing,
To Physickes, and to Poesies King.

Then as an exclamation of triumph, like the Latin *io triumphe*, as in Ovid's 'Dicite iō Pæan, et iō bis dicite Pæan' (*Ars Amat.* ii. 1).

166. *your other you*. *P. Henry's Barriers*, 419. Cf. 'alter ego' and 'alter idem' in Cicero.

181-3. See Jonson's note on *Oberon*, 66.

217. *loose, or costieue of laughter*. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, 1606, E3, 'Sir is your Ladie Costieue of laughter, or laxatiue of laughter?' *Alch.* II. iii. 26.

220-2. These lines point clearly to King James.

223. *Dame*. Queen Anne.

225. *all out*, empty the cup.

226. *borne a good drinker*. An allusion to the hard drinking of the Danes: cf. *U.V.* vi. 86.

236. *Laugh, and be fat*. Proverbial: *E.M.O.* III. i. 10.

246. *a forsooth of the citie*. *Poet.* IV. i. 33, 'your citie mannerly word (forsooth)', a harmless and petty oath. For the sipping cf. *B.F.* III. ii. 111, 'sippers o' the City'.

249. *blushet*. *S. of N.* II. iv. 119.

anan. An obsolete form of 'anon' in Jonson's day.

258. *reed*, advise.

THE ENTERTAINMENT OF THE TWO KINGS AT THEOBALDS

THEOBALDS House, a seat of the Cecil family, was at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Burleigh began the building about 1560 and enlarged it in 1571 to provide better accommodation for Queen Elizabeth. A note in his handwriting gives the 'Rooms and Lodgings in the two Courts at Theobalds 27 May 1583' when she came again; the Hall is marked as 'The Queen's great Chamber'. The two courts were the fountain court, a quadrangle 86 feet square, and the middle court, 110 feet square. Lysons in *The Environs of London*, 1796, vol. iv, p. 33, gives the survey made by the parliamentary commissioners in 1650, when the greater part of the house was pulled down; it was finally destroyed in 1765.

On 3 May 1603 Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, had entertained James on his way from Scotland to London. 'His Maiesty stayed at Theobalds foure dayes, with entertaynment such and so costly as hardly can be expressed, considering the multitudes that thether resorted, besides the traine, none going thence vnsatisfied' (Stow, *The Annales of England*, p. 1414).

There is a contemporary account of the King of Denmark's visit in Henry Robarts's *The Most royall and Honourable entertainment, of the famous and renowned King, Christiern the fourth, King of Denmarke, &c. who with a Fleete of gallant ships, arriued on Thursday the 16. day of Iuly 1606. in Tylbery-Hope, neere Grauesend. With a relation of his meeting, by our royall King, the Prince and Nobles of our realme: the pleasures sundry times shewed, for his gracious welcome, and most famous and admirable entertainment at Theobalds. With the royall passage on Thursday the 31. of Iuly, thorough the Cittie of London, and honorable shewes there presented them, and manner of their passing. By H. R. At London. Printed for H. R. and are to be sold by William Barley, dwelling in Gracious streete, neere Leaden Hall gate. 1606.*

There is an interesting account, with a glance at Jonson's work, in *The King of Denmarkes welcome: Containing his ariuall, abode, and entertainment, both in the Citie and other places. Discite Io pean, Io bis discite pean. London, Printed by Edward Alde, 1606*, on pages 12-15:

'On Thursday the foure and twentyeth of Iuly, both the Kinges with their traines, which contained great numbers, roade in progresse to Theobalds and Waltham, being twelue miles from the Cittie of London, and being in house of the moste Noble and worthie Earle of Salisburie, where vppon the approach of the Kinges Maiesties, there were manie

verie learned, delicate, and significant shoves and deuises presented vnto them, which I wil omitte amply to discribe, because my coniecture may erre from the drift of the inuentor, and I hould it a capitall offence by a sleight imagination to misconster a fayre inuention; and there is no doubt but the author thereof who hath his place equall with the best in those Artes, will himselfe at his leasurable howers publish it in the best perfection. Yet to giue you a little taste of what came nearest to my vnderstanding, there was at the entrance of the Gates, planted a goodly Tree with leaues, and other ornaments resembling a great Oake: the leaues cut all out of greene silke, and set so artificially, that after certaine speeches deliuered, and Songes of *Welcome* sung, as the Kinges Maiesties passed away, euen in a trice, all the leaues showered from the tree, both vppon the heads and Garmentes of both the Kinges, and of a great multitude of their followers: vppon euerie leafe beeing written in golde Letters this word (*Welcome*) and vppon some twice (*Welcome*) and the better to put your eares in tune, beeing duld with this my ill pend discourse, I wil set you downe heere the Song of *Welcome*, which was sung before both the Kings: The Stanzaes by a single voice, the Chorus by a whole consort of voices.

The Song at Theobalds.

*If euerie Ioy now had a tongue,
And all the seuerall thoughts were sung,
Vnder this happie roofe,
They could make prooffe,
How much they doe reioyce,
In one, the Maisters voice:
and that is welcome still.*

*Hayle double flame of Maiesties,
Whose luster quicken's: blindes not eyes,
Who euer saw such light
would wish for night?
Stay, stay, we may reioyce,
And keepe our constant voice,
which is your welcome still.*

*When two Sunnes shine, the ample day
Should not so haste it selfe away:
A feare to loose destroyes
almost our Ioyes,
But we must so reioyce,
As we make good our voice
of welcome, welcome still.*

Chorus

*And would you euer stay,
And make it lasting day,
Tis welcome, welcome still.*

After the two kings with great state and magnificence were entred the house, it is not to be imagined, but beleued, that there wanted no meanes either of deuise, pleasure, entertainment, feasting, or what else might glut the heart with contentment.'

As Gifford notes, with the visit of Christian hard-drinking set in at Court. Sir John Harington in the famous letter which described the carousals (*Nugae Antiquae*, i, pp. 348-54) comments 'The Lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvelously please both Kings, with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britains, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself. I wish I was at home:—*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*'

2. *as at the ports of Heauen.* Homer, *Iliad*, v. 749-51:

αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὠραι,
τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπὸς τε,
ἡμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἥδ' ἐπιθεῖναι.

5. *Law, Iustice, and Peace.* Cf. *Pan.* 24, 27.

14. *shewer*, shower. The reference is to the oak-tree mentioned in the account quoted above, and again referred to in 25-6, 40, 58.

19, 20. Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* xv. 104-5:

βάρδισται μακάρων Ὠραι φίλαι, ἀλλὰ ποθεῖναι
ἔρχονται πάντεσσι βροτοῖς αἰεὶ τι φεροῦσαι.

30. *Date veniam subitis.* Martial, *Epigr. Lib.* xxxi, to Domitian: 'Da veniam subitis.'

31. *Debentur.* . . . Untraced.

AN ENTERTAINMENT OF THE KING AND QUEEN AT THEOBALDS

JAMES had been attracted by the house at Theobalds during his two previous visits. He arranged with the first Earl of Salisbury to exchange the manor of Hatfield for it. He enlarged the park by taking in part of Enfield Chace, Northlaw and Cheshunt Commons; the enclosing wall was ten miles.

In the Domestic State Papers of James I's reign (xxvii. 7) is a letter of the Earl's, on 15 April 1607. He had been to take a last look at Theobalds, and he was arranging to meet the owners of the neighbouring land to compensate them for enlarging the park.

Theobalds became a favourite residence of James, especially during the latter part of his reign. He died there on 27 March 1625.

The Prince Joinville (1571-1640) was the son, not the brother, of the Duke of Guise, as Jonson says, copying a mistake of Camden. He was Charles de Lorraine, eldest son of Henry, third Duke of Guise. He reached England on 8 May 1607. He had been imprisoned for the part he played in the internal troubles of France, but made his peace with Henry IV in 1594 and obtained the government of Provence; Richelieu later forced him to quit France and he died abroad.

16. *in the twy-light of sere age*. The Earl was only in his forty-fourth year, if the date of his birth is correctly given as 1563.

28. *Lares*, the Latin name for the good spirits of the departed who watched over their descendants. Every house had a '*lar familiaris*', the tutelary spirit of the household. The *Penates* were strictly the guardians of the storeroom, two in number, who presided over the supplies of the house. In the *Lararium*, or shrine, the image of the Lar, dressed in a toga, stood between the Penates.

29, 30. *Architrabe . . . Coronice*. *N.I.* III. ii. 147.

30. *Diaphanall glasses*. These are the 'seuerall-colour'd Lights' in the friezes of the House of Fame in *The Masque of Queens*, 695-7. See in the Introduction to the *Masques*, pp. 413-20, a discussion of this stage-device.

33. *Landtschap*. S.S. Scene, 'a Landt-shape of Forrest . . . '.

39, 40. *one holding the rock* (distaff), Clotho; *the spindle*, Lachesis; *the sheeres*, Atropos.

40. *a booke of Adamant*. Elucidated in Jonson's note on *The King's Entertainment*, 290.

83. *with mortar, busied . . . too much*. At Hatfield.

93. *make religion*, feel a scruple. *C.R.* v. xi. 23.

108. *Thy humbler walls* at Hatfield.

110. *Bel-Anna*. First used here: see *M. of Q.* 663-6.

THE MASQUES

THE history and technique of the masque have been fully treated. Sir E. K. Chambers in *The Medieval Stage*, 1903, chapter xvii, discussed its origin. For the Tudor and Stuart developments the pioneer works were *Die englischen Maskenspiele* by O. A. Soergel, 1882, and R. Brotanek, 1902, two scholarly studies. A fuller and very interesting survey is Paul Reyher's *Les Masques anglais*, 1909, a literary study with a bibliography which noticed the records and accounts in the Domestic State Papers. In 1923 Miss Enid Welsford published *The Court Masque, a study in the relationship between Poetry and the Revels*, a very artistic survey in which she discussed fully examples and analogues from Italy. Sir E. K. Chambers's fifth and sixth chapters in the first volume of *The Elizabethan Stage*, 1923, give an historical sketch of the Tudor and Stuart masque and a full account of its stage-arrangement and setting. In 1923 Miss L. B. Campbell dealt with the stage-craft in *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance*; chapter xii describes Inigo Jones and his contemporaries in England. In 1924 P. Simpson and C. F. Bell edited the Chatsworth collection of *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court*, a descriptive catalogue of over four hundred drawings for scenery and costume with fifty-one plates of illustrations including twenty-one plates of *Chloridia*; these with the three illustrations in our second volume make an almost complete reproduction of the designs for that masque. The fullest treatment of the subject, with nearly two hundred illustrations including reduced reproductions of most of Inigo Jones's drawings, is in Professor Allardyce Nicoll's *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, 1937.

The competition of foreign ambassadors to secure precedence at these Court exhibitions obtrudes itself into the history of the masque. A standard work on the subject is *Finetti Philoxenis: some choice Observations of S^r John Finett, Knight*, 1656, who had been master of the ceremonies to James I and Charles I. The records for these are found in the *Ambassades de Monsieur de la Boderie en Angleterre*, 1750, 4 vols., and in the dispatches of Zorzi Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, summarized in *The Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, vol. xi, 1607-10. Miss M. Sullivan in *Court Masques of James I*, 1913, enters fully into this aspect of the masque. The modern system in which precedence is determined by seniority of residence was not finally settled till the Congress of Vienna in 1814.

The masque owed its existence to royal patronage; hence the lavish splendour bestowed upon it at Court, aided by the fact that

royal performers took part in it. It was excusable, in such a setting, if the praise bestowed on royalty sometimes mounted to hyperbole. Jonson even assumed that his own theories of what should constitute a masque were those of the King and Queen. Distinguishing in *Hymenaei*, 6-19, between the 'body' or outward form, and the 'soul' or inner meaning and symbolism, he said:

'This it is hath made the most royall *Princes*, and greatest *persons* (who are commonly the *personators* of these *actions*) not onely studious of riches, and magnificence in the outward celebration, or shew; (which rightly becomes them) but curious after the most high, and heartie *inuentions*, to furnish the inward parts: (and those grounded vpon *anti-quitie*, and solide *learnings*) which, though their *voyce* be taught to sound to present occasions, their sense, or doth, or should alwayes lay hold on more remou'd *mysteries*.'

In justification of this view we find Queen Anne actively interested in the form the masque should take and making the first suggestions for *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*; but it was Jonson who gave life to the suggestions and embodied them in classical allegory. In *The Masque of Queens* again Prince Henry from 'a desire borne out of iudgment' asked Jonson to annotate the text and quote the original authorities for his detailed study of witchcraft and for the history of the queens. James, who was erudite even to pedantry, was certainly capable of understanding the 'remou'd *mysteries*', but the only record we have of his behaviour at a masque is a display of vulgarity and an utter want of appreciation.¹

The masque was essentially a spectacle of beauty. Shirley, speaking of the attractions and luxuries of Court, writes in *Loues Crueltie*, II. ii (1640, D):

'Are you Melancholy? a Maske is prepared, and Musicke to charme *Orpheus* himself into a stone, numbers presented to your eare that shall speake the soule of the immortall English *Ionson*, a scene to take your eye with wonder, now to see a forrest move, and the pride of summer brought into a walking wood; in the instant as if the sea had swallowed up the earth, to see waues capering about tall ships, *Arion* upon a rock playing to the Dolphins, the *Tritons* calling up the sea-Nymphes to dance before you: in the height of this rapture a tempest so artificiall and suddaine in the clouds, with a generall darkenes and thunder so seeming made to threaten, that you would cry out with the Marriners in the worke, you cannot scape drowning; in the turning of an eye, these waters vanish² into a heaven, glorious and angelicall shapes pre-

¹ At *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*.

² Gifford's reading; 'ravish' in the text.

sented, the starres distinctly with their motion and musick so enchanting you, that you would wish to be drowned indeed, in such a happinesse.'

Shirley stresses a stage-illusion which was intended or suggested rather than conveyed. 'Fine painted blessings' is the sneering comment of the character to whom this rhapsody is delivered. Obviously it could not be supposed that Queen Anne and her ladies were negro nymphs when they stepped down from the stage to dance with the nobles in *The Masque of Blackness*; nor could there be any illusion about the island which carried them over moving waves. But it has to be remembered that the lighting arrangements were only candles and wax torches. These helped the effect at which the designer aimed by giving a softer light in which the details did not stand out sharply defined. Something of this effect may be judged by those who have been on Christmas Eve to the carol service in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, lit only by candles. What these simpler lights would bring out would be the jewelled dresses and tyres of the masquers, revealed as so many flashing points of light. 'All these lights' were 'so ordred,' says Chapman in *The Masque of the Middle Temple* (1613, a2), 'that though none was seen, yet had their lustre such vertue, that by it, the least spangle of the Maskers rich habites, might with ease and cleerenesse be discerned as far off as the seate.'

I. THE SCENERY

For the stage-setting and machinery there are two contemporary authorities—Sebastiano Serlio, *Architettura*, 1551, in *Il secondo libro di Prospettiva*, folios 26^b–31^b, with illustrations of the scenery, including a 'Scena Satyrica', a woodland scene with cottages, reproduced in Sir E. K. Chambers's *The Elizabethan Stage*, iv, pp. 353–65; and Niccolò Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri*, 1635, which appeared too late for use of it to be made in England. Inigo Jones probably knew Salomon de Caus' *La Perspective, avec la Raison des ombres et miroirs, Ingenieur du serenissime Prince de Galles. Dedie a son Altesse*, 1612, with a section on 'Scenography'. De Caus was an engineer and architect from Normandy in the service of Prince Henry as tutor in mathematics; he dedicated his work to the Prince.

Plans for the masques of *Florimene*, 1635, and Davenant's *Samacida Spolia*, 1640, are preserved in Lansdowne MS. 1171 of the British Museum on folios 1–6, 13–16; these are engraved in Reyher's *Les Masques anglais*, plates I–III.

The stage was a platform at the end of the hall, usually the 'lower end'; before it a green-carpeted space was kept clear for the nobles

or ladies when they descended from the stage for the masquing-dance, choosing their partners from the audience. The king's seat, 'the state', was at the other end of the room. When the spectators entered, the stage was screened from them by a curtain. In *The Masque of Blackness* this was a woodland landscape. The Folio describes it as 'falling' and revealing 'an artificial sea' (24-6); the text in the Royal Manuscript describes it as 'opening'. If the curtain fell it would have to be removed by the attendants. 'Opening' meant drawing the two halves to the sides. In *The Masque of Beauty*, after the preliminary dialogue between January enthroned in the midst of the hall and Boreas, who entered as a messenger, 'a curtain was drawn, in which the night was painted' (161-2). Similarly in Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, 'On the traverse which served as a curtain for the first Scene was figured a dark cloud interior with certain sparkling stars'. In *Hymenaei* the 'scene was drawn' (37). In *The Haddington Masque* the scene was 'a high, steep, red cliff' (23), with a background of cloud, which 'parted in the midst' (264) to discover the masquers in a concave of light. In *The Masque of Queens* the curtain was an 'ugly hell', flaming beneath and smoking to the roof (23-6); it 'vanished' (357), evidently by being drawn, and the splendid palace of the House of Fame appeared. In *Oberon* 'The first face of the scene appeared all obscure, and nothing perceived but a dark rock with trees beyond it' (1, 2); in due course 'the whole scene opened, and within was discovered the frontispiece of a bright and glorious palace' (138-9) by drawing back some of the rock shutters. Inigo Jones's drawings for these two scenes may be studied in our second volume between pages 284-5 and 286-7. Later 'the whole palace opened' (291) by drawing back the shutters. The contrast in *Mercury Vindicated* was between an alchemist's laboratory (1, 2), a front shutter which was drawn and the properties removed; then 'the whole scene changed to a glorious bower' (196). In *The Vision of Delight* 'a street in perspective of fair building' was discovered (1) and changed to cloud (55); then 'the whole scene changed to the bower of Zephyrus' (126-7). In *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* and *For the Honour of Wales* the scene was a mountain, Atlas at first and then Snowdon; the foot of it was a grove of ivy (1-4); the grove vanished (115), and then the masquers came forth 'from the lap of the mountain', which opened (215-16). In front of all this was a curtain described by Busino, the Italian ambassador's chaplain,¹ as a tent of gold cloth on a background of blue calico with stars: he says this curtain dropped. At the end of the masque the dancers 'returned into the scene, which closed and was

¹ See the introduction to *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*.

a mountain again' (349-51). The scene of *Pan's Anniversary* is not described, but this also 'opened' (47) to disclose the masquers. The Court buttery-hatch was the first scene of *The Masque of Augurs* (1); the second scene was the College of Augurs, of which Inigo Jones has left a pencil-sketch (*Designs*, 63). Finally 'the heaven opened, and Jove with the Senate of the Gods were discovered' (429-31). Of the scenery in *Time Vindicated* Sir John Astley's note in his office-book of the revels records three changes of scene: first 'a prospective of Whitehall'; 'the whole scene opened' (272), and the masquers emerged from cloud; thirdly 'the whole scene changed to a wood' (447). For *Chloridia*, the celebration of Chloris, Goddess of the flowers, we have the beautiful opening scene of a hilly and wooded landscape in spring. The first sketch with four wings is in *Designs*, 82, pl. XII; the finished version, with five wings, is in our second volume between pages 334 and 335. It is noticeable that for this scene the curtain was 'drawn up' (19). The scene changed to the bower of Chloris (196-7). 'The farther prospect', i.e. the background, changed to air 'with a low landscape in part covered with clouds' (248-9). These opened to reveal Juno, Iris, and spirits of the air (250-1). Lastly, and quite incongruously, a hill arose out of the earth, with Fame standing on a globe on the top of it (275-6), and Poesy, History, Architecture, and Sculpture seated on it (277-8). Fame mounted up to heaven, the hill sank, and the heaven closed (339-40).

When the curtain fell or opened in *The Masque of Blackness* 'an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth as it flowed to the land raised with waves and in some places the billows to break' (26-8). This was effected by a device such as that recorded by Sabbatini¹ of long cylinders shaped as waves, touched with silver at the top; they were turned by pivots and cranks. On this sea 'a great concave shell like mother of pearl' moved in, 'rising with the billow' (59-61). *Neptune's Triumph* was planned as a sea-piece: at first 'two erected pillars were all that was discovered of the scene' with a curtain between them. The first scene was the full stage: a floating island moved in, and the heavens opened with Apollo, Mercury, some of the Muses, and Harmony forming a choir (334-8). When the island came to the land (at the front of the stage), the masquers disembarked (364-5), and the island went back, the upper Chorus taking it from them (440-1). The House of Oceanus was next discovered (455)—by drawing together the halves of the scene of the maritime palace—a beautiful design of Inigo Jones, three angular wings on each side

¹ Op. cit. ii. 27-9. Sabbatini's diagram is reproduced by Nicoll, op. cit., p. 59.

topped by a Triton blowing a conch (*Designs*, 65, pl. ix). Finally 'the second prospect of the sea' was shown by opening up the scene again, and a fleet discovered in the distance (463, 505). The prospect of a sea appeared again in *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* (94 n.), and a triumphal pageant of Lovers and Cupid led in by Amphitrite and four sea-gods (100-6). After the revels the scene changed to a garden (175), and the heavens opened with Jupiter, Juno, Genius, and Hymen calling upon Venus, who appeared in a cloud, descended to earth, and sang enthroned (191-2). The place of the throne was taken by a palm with an imperial crown interpreted as an emblem of the love of the King and the Queen (214-21).

Sometimes there was a double scene as in *Campion's Lords' Masque*, 14 February 1613: 'The Scene was diuided into two parts from the rooffe to the floore, the lower part being first discovered . . . there appeared a Wood in prospectiue, the innermost part being of releaue or whole round, the rest painted.' Later, 'the vpper part of the Scene was discovered by the sodaine fall of a curtaine': in clouds of several colours appeared eight stars. So on 20 February in Francis Beaumont's *Masque of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple*. The Quarto summarizing the story concludes, 'The Fabricke was a Mountaine with two descents, and severed with two Traverses'. At the entrance of the King 'The first Traverse was drawne, and the lower descent of the Mountaine discovered: which was the Pendant of a hill to life', with woods and fountains. When the main masque began, 'The second Traverse is drawne, and the higher ascent of the Mountaine is discovered', with 'a great rise of the hill' and pavilions containing the masquers. The same method was used in scenes ii and iii of Davenant's *The Temple of Love*, 1635, and can be studied in Inigo Jones's *Designs*, 227, pl. xxvi: flanked by rocks is a semicircular opening below, from which magicians and the characters of the antimasquers enter; while they are performing the upper part of the mountain is veiled in cloud. When the clouds lifted an Indian scene was portrayed.

Eight of Inigo Jones's drawings for these scenes are preserved in the Chatsworth collection; they are noticed in the accounts of the masques to which they belong.

The scene was framed in a 'border', which originated the later proscenium. The first undeveloped form of it is in *The Haddington Masque*: on each side were two gold pilasters adorned with the trophies of love; overhead 'in place of the arch' were winged figures of Triumph and Victory in flying postures twice as big as life 'holding a garland of myrtle for the key' (31-9). The frame was completed in *Tethys' Festival* and in *Lovers Made Men*: 'The Front before the

Scene was an Arch-Triumphal.' Inigo Jones's slight sketch of *The Masque of Augurs* (*Designs*, 63) shows the proscenium. It next appears with the standing scene in his sketch for a French pastoral acted at Court in 1626 (*ibid.* 67, pl. x). So in *Chloridia* we have the lower part of a pilaster, 'the ornament which went about the scene' (14) (*ibid.* 81, pl. xi). Finished sketches for Townshend's *Albion's Triumph*, 1632, and *Florimene*, 1635, are in *Designs*, pls. XXI and XXVIII.

On either side of the stage were 'shutters', or wings, as we should call them, in a projecting series. These were angular or flat. They varied in number from three to five. The first scene in *Chloridia*, reproduced in volume ii between pages 334 and 335, had five flat shutters, with a back-shutter—a woodland landscape. The House of Oceanus in *Neptune's Triumph* had three angular shutters of two stories of heavy masonry, giving almost a quadrangular effect. In the plan of *Florimene* the four pairs of wings showing trees and cottages are angular, with a back-cloth of wooded landscape and the sea in the distance: the scene is the Isle of Delos (*Designs*, pls. XXVIII, XXIX). 'The scene changes only at the backshutters' 18 inches apart from one another and the back-cloth; four of the changes, the seasons of the year, are reproduced in *Designs*, pls. xxx to xxxii. The plan of *Salmacida Spolia*¹ also shows the five sets of flat 'side shutters which run in grooves and change the scene four several times'; the back-shutter could also be varied. Behind the second of the shutter scenes were placed 'engines' or pulleys worked from below, by which the overhanging cloud could be raised or lowered. The innermost shutter or back-cloth was made to open in the middle and could be rolled back to disclose the masquers seated behind on a platform. The use of movable scenery was the most important improvement designed by Inigo Jones.

Curiously, the earliest description we have of shutters is not in a performance of Inigo Jones, but in *Passions Calmed, or The Settling of the Floating Island*, by William Strode before the King and Queen in Christ Church Hall, Oxford, on 29 August 1636. Antony à Wood is rapturous about it.

'It was acted on a goodly stage reaching from the upper end of the Hall almost to the hearth place, and had on it three or four openings on each side thereof, and partitions between them, much resembling the desks or studies in a Library, out of which the Actors issued forth. The said partitions they could draw in and out at their pleasure upon a sudden, and thrust out new in their places according to the nature

¹ Fully discussed by R. T. Blomfield in *The Portfolio*, 1889, pp. 91-2, 'Inigo Jones'.

of the Screen, whereon were represented Churches, Dwelling-houses, Palaces, &c. which for its variety bred very great admiration. Over all was delicate painting, resembling the Sky, Clouds, &c. At the upper end a great fair shut of two leaves that opened and shut without any visible help. Within which was set forth the emblem of the whole Play in a mysterious manner. Therein was the perfect resemblance of the billows of the Sea rolling, and an artificial Island, with Churches and Houses waving up and down and floating, as also rocks, trees and hills. Many other fine pieces of work and Landscapes did also appear at sundry openings thereof, and a Chair was also seen to come gliding on the Stage without any visible help. All these representations, being the first (as I have been informed) that were used on the English stage, and therefore giving great content, I have been therefore the more punctual in describing them, to the end that posterity might know that what is now seen in the Play-houses at London belonging to his Majesty, and the Duke of York, is originally due to the invention of Oxford scholars (*History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, ii, pp. 408-9).

Wood, of course, did not know of *Florimene* performed at Court a year earlier. The 'scholars' drew their inspiration from this.

Clouds played an important part in the scenery; they could be used, for example, to mask a change of scene. The simpler effects were worked by a man holding a pole, who was stationed in 'the heavens'; the more complicated by machines which descended to bring down the masquers. 'An obscure and cloudy night-piece, that made the whole set off' was added to the 'vast sea' over which the masquers floated in in *The Masque of Blackness* (89, 90). In *Hymenaei* 'the upper part of the scene, which was all of clouds, and made artificially to swell and ride like the rack, began to open, and, the air clearing, in the top thereof was discovered Juno sitting in a throne' (212-15). In contrast to this there was above her the region of fire, 'whirling circularly with a continual motion' (223-4). The clouds were borne up on either side by gold statues of Atlas and Hercules (643-52). Below Juno was a rainbow, within which the musicians sat (653-6). In *The Vision of Delight* a moonlit night changed to cloud (55), replaced in its turn by the bower of Zephyrus (126-7), and when this opened the glories of the spring were revealed in the masquers (170-1). In *The Masque of Augurs* Jove and the Senate of the gods were discovered when the clouds of heaven opened (429-30). In *Chloridia* over the spring landscape was 'a serene sky with transparent clouds', which 'gave a great lustre to the whole work' (25-6).

With the 'region of fire' in *Hymenaei* it is interesting to compare a similar effect in *Tethys' Festival*, because Daniel expressly says that

he is quoting Inigo Jones's own description: 'First at the opening of the heavens appeared three circles of lights and glasses,¹ one within another, and came down in a straight motion five foot, and then began to move circularly; which lights and motion so occupied the eyes of the spectators that the manner of altering the scene was scarcely discerned, for in a moment the whole face of it was changed.' Later, when Jonson made his onslaught on Inigo in the *Expostulation* (71-4) he jeered at this effect of light as Inigo's feat

Of lantern-lerry, with fuliginous heat
Whirling his Whimseys, by a subtlety
Suck'd from the Veins of shop-philosophy.

At the time of the performance he had given the device high praise as 'most taking in the spectacle' (*Hymenaei*, 669).

In *Hymenaei* and *Tethys' Festival* the sphere of lights moved circularly. Inigo Jones had a device for this revolving motion, a turning machine or *machina versatilis* which enabled him to display successive faces of a feature in the scenery. Both in *Hymenaei* (632) and in *The Haddington Masque* (266-7) he had a rotating globe in which the masquers were placed. The former is elaborately described and praised for its 'grace and greatness': it was a microcosm or globe with the countries in it gilded and the sea-waves silver. It 'stood or rather hung (for no axle was seen to support it) and turning softly, discovered the first masque' of men. In *The Haddington Masque*, when the cliff parted, there was 'discovered an illustrious concave filled with an ample and glistering light, in which an artificial sphere was made of silver eighteen foot in the diameter, that turned perpetually': it represented the zodiac, with the twelve masquers personifying the signs. But the most memorable use of it was in *The Masque of Queens*, the 'glorious and magnificent building' of the House of Fame; in the upper part were the twelve Queens 'sitting upon a throne triumphal, erected in form of a pyramid and circled with all store of light' (359-63). Fortunately we have the original sketch for this (*Designs*, 14, pl. iv). After a speech of an embodiment of Heroic Virtue, 'The throne wherein they sat, being *Machina versatilis*, suddenly changed, and in the place of it appeared' Good Fame, who 'after the music had done, which waited on the turning of the machine', addressed Virtue.

In his theatrical designs Inigo Jones had, of course, no rival in England. He had made a study of the Italian theatre in which fixed scenery of the type depicted by Serlio was giving place to changes of scene; the classical theatre described by Vitruvius was remodelled.

¹ For the glasses see page 493 in Inigo Jones's bill.

The first public theatre built in Venice, the work of Palladio, was an adaptation, and the Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza was a further development of this.

Inigo Jones also modernized. Discussing in a note on Daniello Barbaro's translation of Vitruvius, 1567, p. 256,¹ the triangular prism-shaped frames (*περίακτοι*) which revolved on pivots to effect a change of scene,² he rejected the then accepted theory that the three faces were for tragic, comic, and satyric drama, and he modified this device at Oxford in 1605 by hanging on them removable canvas slips painted to mark the scenes. He pointed out that if the scene changed the type of play did not; tragical would not change to comical and then to satyric. 'I thinke that the seane chainged accordinge to the occasiones giuen in the accts by taking of³ the cloathes painted frō the tri(a)ngles machins as I have often yoused in masques and cōedies.'

Inigo would know too the Grand Ducal theatre at Florence, which was under the direction of Bernardo Buontalenti and his successor Giulio Parigi. Parigi's designs for Michelangelo Buonarotti's pastoral comedy, *Il Giudizio di Paride*, performed at Florence in 1608, were actually used by Inigo,⁴ but it is important to realize the finer architectural quality of the borrowings. When Sabbatini's work appeared in 1635 Inigo had nothing to learn from it.

II. THE ARTIFICIAL LIGHTING OF THE COURT STAGE

Non norat parcos uncta lucerna patres—Martial, xiv, Epig. xliii.

'I have . . . told twice over how many candles there are i'th'roome lighted, which I will set you downe to a snuffe precisely, because I love to give light to posteritie in the truth of things.'—*News from the New World*, 28–31.

'Diuers Diaphanall glasses, fill'd with seuerall waters, that shew'd like so many stones, of orient and transparent hiewes'—*Entertainment of the King and Queen at Theobalds*, 30–2 (vol. vii, p. 155). This sentence is of great interest because in it alone, amongst the allusions in the text of masques to the use of coloured lights to produce the appearance of jewels distributed about the scenery, is the method of obtaining the effects explained.

As Professor Nicoll has shown in his *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage* (pp. 129, 134, 135), it leads to other matters connected with the stage lighting at these Court performances. He refers to a passage near the end of the third book of Sebastiano

¹ Inigo's copy is at Chatsworth; he did not know the Latin text.

² Vitruvius, v. vii.

³ i.e. off.

⁴ See *Designs*, nos. 108, 139, 192, 229, 299.

Serlio's *Architettura* reprinted in Sir E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage* (iv, p. 364), and also mentions the slightly abridged English translation of it, made through a German version published in London by Robert Peake in 1611. This treatise is by far the most important—indeed with the exception of another a good deal later, which will be discussed farther on—almost the only foundation for fact or conjecture that we have.

The meaning of Serlio's text is not always perfectly clear, but certain obscurities disappear when it has been grasped that the words used belong to the dialect of Venice, where the book was written and published in 1551, and are not merely obsolete technical terms. Admitting, with Professor Nicoll, that in the case of the jewel-like lights Jonson's description 'demonstrates that the arrangement was of the Serlian kind', it is not possible to agree that 'all the evidence', or more accurately the ground for inference, 'convinces us that the system of lighting which Inigo Jones employed', for general purposes that is, 'was based on Italian practice' (op. cit., p. 135), especially if it is to be assumed as part of this system that 'lamps were more conveniently adapted' than wax-lights 'for back-stage work' (p. 129).

In order to form an idea of what that practice was the best plan will be to transcribe Serlio's instructions translated first in modern form, using Boerio's *Dizionario del Dialetto Veneziano* for words having no equivalent in classical Italian, and to follow this by the English version of 1611, since this, if anything, must have been familiar to Inigo's stage-artificers as the original was to their master.

Serlio begins with recipes for making coloured fluids to fill the glass vessels. He then proceeds:

'Moreover to make them' (i.e. artificial lights of various transparent colours) 'it will be necessary to make use of some pointed and flat shapes, and in a glass furnace to prepare bottles taking such shape, and fill them with liquid. But the manner of disposing these transparent colours shall be this. There shall be behind the painted objects where these colours shall go, a thin board, pierced in the manner in which these lights are to be distributed, underneath which there will be another board to support the glass bottles full of these liquids; then the said bottles shall be placed with their most bulbous sides attached to these holes; and well secured so that the shaking of the acrobatic dances may not make them fall down; and behind the bottles a small or larger lamp must be placed, so that the light shall be steady; and if the sides of the bottles toward the lamp are flat or even concave, they will take the light better and the colours will be more transparent, so also for the rounds which are seen in perspective' (i.e. foreshortened) 'bottles of

that sort must be prepared. But if occasion arises for a great and brilliant light, a torch may be placed behind, at the back of which may be set a barber's basin very shiny and new, the reflexion of which will produce a certain splendour like the rays of the sun. And if in some places there are to be openings as it were almond-shaped or in other forms, panes of various coloured glass can be taken and put in these places each with its light behind it. These lights will not, however, be those which illuminate the scene, because a great plenty of torches will be placed hanging in front of the scene. It will likewise be possible to fix above the scene candelabra with torches in them, and yet above the candelabra there may be a vase full of water, inside which a piece of camphor may be put which in burning will give a very fine light, and it is odoriferous.'

The translation of 1611 omits the directions for making bottles of special forms, and begins:

'Behind the painted house wherein these painted collours shall stand, you must set a thin board, cut out in the same manner that these lights shall be placed, whether it be round or square, cornered or ovale, like an Egge; and behind the same board there shall be another stronger board layd flat behind them, for the bottels and other manner of glasses with these waters to stand in, must be placed against the holes, as it shall necessarily fall out, but they must be set fast, lest they fall with leaping and dancing of the Moriscoes. And behind the glasses you must set great Lampes, that the light may be also stedfast: and if the bottels or other vessels of glasse on the side where the light stands were flat, or rather hollow, it would show the clearer, and the collours most excellent and fayre; the like must be done with the holes on the shortening side: But if you need a great light to show more then the rest, then set a torch behind, and behind the torch a bright Bason; the brightnes whereof will shew like the beames of the Sunne. You may also make glasse of all collours and formes, some foure square, some with crosses, and any other forme with their light behind them. Now all the lights serving for the collours shal not be y^e same which must light the Scene, for you must have a great number of torches before the Scene. You may also place certaine candlestickes above the Scene with great candles therein, and above the candlestickes you may place some vessels with water, wherein you may put a piece of Camphor, which burning, will show a very good light, and smell well.'

In this translation the use of the word house (Professor Nicoll makes it 'houses') is due to a misreading of the Italian *cose* as *case*, and is extremely misleading. Inigo Jones notes the use of such glasses on a rock, and it was not therefore confined to scenic architecture. The omission of directions for shaping the bottles, called by the usual Venetian name of *bozze*, is unaccountable. From the original text it seems clear that these, besides being flat or concave

at the back, were some of them flat and others pointed or convex in front; or, as one might say of jewels, table-cut, brilliant-faceted or *en cabochon*. It is nowhere suggested that they might be globular like some lamps, to be mentioned later, assumed by Professor Nicoll to have been used alternatively as receptacles for the coloured liquids. At first reading both Italian and English might be understood to indicate the use of three layers, as it were, of boarding; the front one cut out in a fretwork pattern for the coloured light to shine through; an intermediate one pierced with holes exactly fitted to the bottles; and that at the back used merely to support the sources of light. But on closer scrutiny it would appear that there were only two, the scenery being painted on the front board which was also pierced with the openings fitting the bottles, that behind being merely to support the sources of light. The 'formes' in the translation mean shapes outlined by or filled in with bottles as shown in Inigo Jones's drawing of the House of Fame for the *Masque of Queens* (*Designs* 14, pl. IV). The explanation of the phrase about bottles to be seen foreshortened (*in scurtio*) is that unless they were bulbous and projected from the surface of the scene they would be ineffective. The principal object seems to have been to obtain jewel-like brilliance; an old-fashioned chemist's shop window with its huge bottles of dyed water each with a gas-jet behind at once comes to mind. This can have been the only reason why Serlio, who had, as he says, panes of coloured glass at his disposal, and when at Venice glass-blowing was being practised in perfection, should have advocated the use of the cumbrous and clumsy bottles filled with coloured liquids.

In England the conditions were certainly different. Little coloured glass had been made here; that used for windows during the Middle Ages was almost invariably imported from the Continent.¹ After the Reformation and the earlier Puritan iconoclasm stained windows ceased to be in demand and coloured glass was almost unprocurable. But bottles of good quality believed to have been made in England about 1600 are known; and, although none of their work still exists, Venetian glass-blowers skilled in using coloured glass are said to have been employed in this country at that time.² Where nothing exists it is impossible to guess what the 'Diaphanal glasses' were like.

But as to the sources of light there is strong evidence that wax, not oil, was employed. Professor Nicoll, however (*op. cit.*, p. 129),

¹ See J. A. Knowles, *Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-Painting*, 1936, chap. xiv and elsewhere.

² W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass*, 1935, pp. 117-18, 132.

asserts, as we have seen, that there 'seems to be little doubt that lamps were more conveniently adapted for back-stage work', so it is desirable to give the reasons for believing that this view is a mistaken one. Firstly as to the lamps. The translation of 1611 speaks, it is true, of 'great Lampes', but Serlio's word is *cesendelo*, according to Boerio a little lamp, particularly one of the kind hung before a sacred image or picture. That would mean a small glass cup filled with oil, with a floating wick, such as have been used from a remote period in churches and mosques in the Near East. In Venice itself a conspicuous example is the double-cross-shaped chandelier in the nave of St. Mark's fitted with ruby glass lamps of this kind. They must also have been familiar in England in the Middle Ages; those, for instance, burned before the Rood in Exeter Cathedral (*Antiquaries Journal*, 1943, xxiii, p. 143) were probably of this type. Reference to their adoption for secular purposes occurs in Stow's *Survey of London* (ed. Kingsford, i, p. 101), where it is stated that amongst the decorations of greenery and flowers shadowing every man's door on the vigils of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter and St. Paul there were 'Lampes of glasse, with oyle burning in them . . . some hung out braunches of yron curiously wrought, contayning hundreds of Lampes'. Mr. Kingsford adds a note (ii, p. 284) recording that as early as 1400 the Hanseatic merchants made provision for hanging out lamps on the same saints' eves. But even a large number can have afforded very little light.

If more powerful lamps were available to Serlio it seems strange that he should have ignored them and have given directions for the use of torches, that is, wax candles, and burning camphor whenever bright light was needed. Professor Nicoll thinks he has traced a survivor of a better type of lamp, globular in shape with a stem fitting into a socket, in the Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, and he reproduces a photograph of it (op. cit., fig. 93). Lamps of this sort may have been at one time more or less generally employed. An example dug up at York is conjectured to be of English make and to date from about the fourteenth century.¹ A specimen, fitted into a standing candlestick with a handle all made of Venetian glass, assigned to the seventeenth century, is in the Florio collection at Palermo, and is illustrated by Molmenti in his *Storia di Venezia nella Vita Privata* (Quinta Edizione, iii. 53). They may have been found inconvenient as easily broken or burst with heat. At any rate, as everybody who knew Italy before the diffusion of paraffin and later of electricity will remember, the lamps then and long previously in

¹ W. A. Thorpe, op. cit., pl. xiv. The same writer (p. 84) gives references to other authorities dealing with early glass lamps.

common use were derived from the antique Roman shape with nozzles, 'cruzes' as Professor Nicoll calls them.

In fact his whole argument in favour of the use of lamps on the stage rests on insecure historical foundations. He brings forward as of equal if not preferable authority to Serlio, Niccolò Sabbatini, the author of *Pratica di fabbricar Scene e Macchine nei Teatri* with the weighty introduction that it is upon him 'that we must most rely'. Judging from the copy in the British Museum this book was published at Ravenna in 1638, the *imprimatur* being dated in the previous year at Pesaro. It appeared, as Professor Nicoll observes, 'at a time when the English court masque was about to vanish'. Printed in a remote provincial city, and (its extreme rarity would imply) in a small number of copies, it probably reached a limited circle of readers even in Italy, and as far as is known no contemporary translation was made. The need of such to modern students unfamiliar with Italian is obviated by an admirable book by S. Wilma Holsboer, *L'Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre Français de 1500 à 1657* (Paris, 1933), containing a French version of many of Sabbatini's most instructive pages, including those dealing with lighting, and accompanied by a learned commentary. It is Professor Nicoll's view (*op. cit.*, p. 129) that 'Sabbatini is a trifle uncertain whether oil lamps or candles of white wax are better for his purpose'. This is not the impression conveyed to the present writer, nor he thinks will it be that of any close students of the text with Dr. Holsboer's historical annotations. The general conclusion seems rather to amount to this: that the author, offering guidance to theatrical producers in a country where economy, excepting perhaps at a few extravagant courts, was beginning to be an urgent matter, enlarges on the possibilities of lamps as cheaper than but certainly not preferable to candlelight.

But it is scarcely necessary to dilate upon this point in the present connexion. For Professor Nicoll (*op. cit.*, pp. 26-7) admits that Sabbatini's work 'almost certainly represents not the latest and most progressive contemporary stage method but rather the old tried procedure'. Inigo Jones and other theatrical designers at the Stuart Court undoubtedly possessed full knowledge of the traditional procedure of Italian scenography learned either abroad or from immigrant artists and mechanics. On the other hand, it is quite clear that it was just the 'most progressive' method, the latest and most surprising devices and effects, that they were expected to exhibit, and with abundant funds at their disposal there was nothing to restrain them.

Before bringing forward evidence which appears to decide de-

finitely that the source of artificial light on the Court stage was not oil, it is reasonable to try to ascertain whether any lamps less feeble than the illumination lamps (Serlio's *cesendoli*) are likely to have been available. Testimony has come down to us in an unexpected place, a letter to Archbishop Laud written by the Earl of Strafford from Dublin on 4 April 1637, a date not long before the Court Masque was, in a phrase of Professor Nicoll's already quoted, 'about to vanish'. This is printed in Lady Burghclere's biography of the great Lord Deputy (1931, ii, p. 97). It accompanied the gift of an oil lamp, made and devised in Ireland, which is fully described and, although by no means complicated, was evidently considered a novelty and a rarity, and the light it gave as superior to that of the candles at the disposal of even so influential a personage as the Primate. Had similar things been generally procurable in London and adaptable for stage purposes, it is incredible that entries for supplying such, and the oil to feed them, should have been entirely absent from the Revels Accounts, where nothing but candles and fixtures for them are mentioned.

But even negative evidence becomes relatively meaningless in the face of a document amongst the Inigo Jones material at Chatsworth. This seems strangely to have escaped the notice of Professor Nicoll, although it is printed in the Walpole and Malone Societies' Catalogue of the collection (p. 65, no. 120) upon which he has drawn so very largely in compiling his book, and although he reproduces, as his figure 88, the sketches for *Albion's Triumph*, 1632, on the *recto* of this very sheet.

The memorandum runs as follows:

'Dec 31 1631. May it please your honour to giue order for thes lightes for the firnatvre of his ma(jesty's) meske to bee deliuerd on munday by 6 of the cloke in the afternone.

Torches	4 dosen
Lights according to those of the branches of good wax	16 dosen
ordinary torches	3 dosen
Sises	2 hu(n)derd'

For 'sises' or 'sizes' see Cotgrave, 1611, '*Bougie*, . . . a size or small round candle used in churches'. It means candles six of which weighed a pound; these would have been large enough to burn throughout an evening's entertainment. Although nothing corresponding to such is mentioned in this demand, it is conceivable that even when small lights were needed to put behind the diaphanal glasses there may have been procurable something of the nature of a modern night-light, like the cake of wax mentioned in Ashburnham's

account of the last days of Charles I, as always kept burning in a silver basin beside the King's bed.¹ Sabbatini, indeed, alludes to just such things.

A passage in the masque *For the Honour of Wales*, 205-6, illustrates Inigo's memorandum: two Welshwomen enter and comment on the splendour of Whitehall. 'This's a finely Haul indeed!' says the first, and the second adds, 'What a deale of fine candle it is?'

The expenditure of such a great quantity of wax can scarcely be accounted for unless candles alone were in use for lighting both stage and auditorium, and must be accepted as conclusive against the employment of lamps in any part of the Court theatre until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. Pending this, the original meaning of the tag from Martial quoted at the head of this essay must be read in reverse; it was not the superior splendour and cost of lamp-light which illuminated the unthrifty revels of our forebears of the Stuart Court, for by that time this had become less brilliant and expensive than the candlelight that the ancients despised.

C. F. BELL.

III. CLASSICAL ALLEGORY AND SYMBOLISM

Jonson's citations in the plays from the Greek and Roman classics have been amply illustrated in the previous pages; in the masques he showed himself a keen student of the Renaissance mythologists. Their interpretations coloured his outlook when he designed an ordered sequence of thought or something in the nature of a plot for these ephemeral Court celebrations. Without this, as he explained in the preface to *Hymenaei*, the splendid setting would be worthless.

'It is a noble and iust aduantage, that the things subiected to *vnderstanding* haue of those which are objected to *sense*, that the one sort are but momentarie, and meerely taking; the other impressing, and lasting: Else the glorie of all these *solemnities* had perish'd like a blaze, and gone out, in the *beholders* eyes. So short-liu'd are the *bodies* of all things, in comparison of their *soules*. And, though *bodies* oft-times haue the ill luck to be sensually preferr'd, they find afterwards, the good fortune (when *soules* liue) to be vtterly forgotten.'

In *The Masque of Blackness*, 90, 91, Jonson is careful to say that what Inigo Jones designed was 'the bodily part'.

The authorities that Jonson used for this phase of his work were three Italian scholars who summed up the mythological knowledge

¹ Mr. Thorpe, *op. cit.*, p. 112 footnote, quotes an Elizabethan bill mentioning 'mortars' which he believes to be glasses intended for this purpose.

of European humanism in the sixteenth century—Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, Natale Conti, and Vincenzo Cartari. Their works were: (1) *De Deis Gentium varia & multiplex Historia, in qua simul de eorum imaginibus & cognominibus agitur, ubi plurima etiam hactenus multis ignota explicantur, & pleraque clarius tractantur* . . . Lilio Gregorio Gyraldo Ferrariensi Auctore, Basle, 1548; (2) *Natalis Comitum Mythologiæ, siue Explicationis Fabularum, Libri X. In Quibus omnia propè Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiæ dogmata contenta fuisse demonstratur*, Venice, 1551 (Lyon, 1602, 1605); (3) *Le Imagini con la Spositione dei Dei degli Antichi. Raccolte per Vincenzo Cartari*, Venice, 1556 (frequent editions to 1674). Jonson may have known this last from the Latin translation by Antoine du Verdier, Lyon, 1581. In addition to these standard works use was made of Giovanni Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica siue de Sacris Aegyptiorum Literis commentarii*, Lyon, 1595, which treated Greek and Roman symbols rather than Egyptian in its four hundred pages; *Ὅρου Ἀπόλλωνος Νειλώου ἱερογλυφικά. Ori Apollinis Niliaci, de sacris notis & sculpturis libri duo*, Venice, 1505 (frequently re-edited); Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia overo Descrittione di Diverse Imagini cauate dall' antichità, & di propria inuentione; Opera non meno utile che necessaria a Poeti, Pittori, Scultori, & altri, per rappresentare le Virtù, Viti, Affetti, & Passione humane*, Rome, 1593, 1603 (enlarged 1605, and frequently reprinted).¹

The first to point out Jonson's indebtedness to Valeriano and Ripa in *The King's Entertainment* and *The Masque of Beauty* was Dr. D. C. Allen in the *Philological Quarterly*, 1939, xviii, pp. 290–300, 'Ben Jonson and the Hieroglyphics'. He was followed by Mr. D. J. Gordon in 'The Imagery of Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* and *The Masque of Beauty*' in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1943, vi, pp. 122–41, a very scholarly study in which the subject was completely illustrated.

His most important point is the Platonism of *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*. They are to be 'apprehended in the light of the doctrines of Beauty and Love held by the Platonists of the Renaissance and expressed in Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium* and Pico della Mirandola's commentary on Benevieni's *Canzona de Amore*', and Mirandola, *Commento sopra una Canzone de Amore, composta da Girolamo Benevieni* (*Opera*, Basle, 1601, i, pp. 496 foll.).²

¹ Giraldi is cited in the note on *K. Ent.* 69, Orus Apollo in *M. of Q.* 450, Ripa in *Beauty*, note b, 20, note k, 229, *Hym.* 718, note b, and *M. of Q.* 448.

² Professor E. W. Talbert, 'New light on Ben Jonson's Workmanship' in *S.P.* xl, pp. 154–85, endeavours to show that Jonson derived his mythological knowledge and technical terms mainly from two dictionaries—C. Estienne's *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* (1583, &c.) and R. Estienne's

In *The Masque of Blackness* the Ethiopian nymphs, their dark skins scorched by the African sun, seek a land in the west lit by a greater light which can transform them. The land proves to be Britain,

Rul'd by a SVNNE, . . .

Whose beames shine day, and night, and are of force
To blanch an ÆTHIOPE, and reuiue a *Cor's*.

His light scientiall is. (253-6.)

This *sunne* is temperate, and refines

All things, on which his radiance shines. (264-5.)

In *The Masque of Beauty* the King achieves this miracle by

his attractiue beames, that lights these skies. (389.)

And the main theme of the masque is set forth in the lines

It was for *Beauty*, that the World was made,

And where she raignes, *Loues* lights admit no shade.

(289-90.)

The conception recurs in later masques; it is the theme of *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, the ladies in which, 'the perfect issue of Beautie, were carried by Loue to celebrate the Maiestie, and wisdom of the King, figur'd in the Sunne, and seated in these extreme parts of the world', but were hindered by the Sphynx, a type of ignorance which sought 'to hinder all noble actions' (98, note a). The image of light is also in *Oberon*, 353-6; in *Mercury Vindicated*, 186-95, 268; in the *New World*, 334-9; and in *Pan's Anniversary*, 164. In *The Vision of Delight*, 201-4, the King is the author of 'perpetual *Spring*'. Jonson's final expression of the theme is *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, 155-65, and in the opening song of *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, which was his latest entertainment.

This union of love, beauty, and light, as Mr. Gordon points out, is from Ficino's commentary on the *Symposium* of Plato. He has a chapter '*Quo pacto diuina pulchritudo amorem parit*' (*Opera*, Basle, 1576, ii, p. 1324):

'Nec iniuria soli Deum comparat Dionysius: quia quemadmodum sol illuminat corpus & calefacit: ita Deus animis ueritatis claritatem præbet, & charitatis ardorem. Hanc utique comparationem ex Platonis libro De Republica sexto hoc quo dicam modo colligimus, Sol profectò cor-

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (1531, &c.); he argues that the specious array of first-hand quotations from the classics is derived from these. There are some indications that Jonson used these standard works, but the claim thus made for them is a gross exaggeration.

pora uisibilia, & oculos uidentes procreat:¹ oculis ut uideant lucidum infundit spiritum: corpora ut uideantur coloribus pingit. Neque tamen proprius oculis radius, propriæ corporibus colores ad uisionem perficiendam sufficiunt, nisi lumen ipsum unum supra multa, à quo multa & propria lumina oculis & corporibus distributa sunt, adueniat, illustret, excitet atque roborat.'

In a further chapter, '*Pulchritudo est splendor diuinæ bonitatis, & Deus est centrum quatuor circulorum*' (namely, the mind, the soul, nature, and the universe), he adds (ibid., p. 1325):

'Pulchritudo autem Dei radius, quatuor illis insitus circulis circa Deum quodammodo reuolutis. Huiusmodi radius omnes rerum omnium species in quatuor illis effingit: species illas in mente ideas, in anima rationes, in natura semina, in materia formas appellare solemus. Idcirco quatuor in circulis, quatuor splendores esse uidentur. Idearum splendor in primo: Rationum in secundo: in tertio seminum: Formarum in ultimo.'

Of love in the universe he says (ibid., p. 1322):

'Mundum Latinè, Græcè κόσμον, id est, ornamentum uocamus. Huius ornamenti gratia pulchritudo est. Ad quam amor ille statim natus traxit mentem: atque perduxit mentem ante deformem ad mentem eandem deinde formosam. Ideo amoris conditio est: ut ad pulchritudinem rapiat, ac deformem formoso coniungat. Quis igitur dubitabit, quin amor statim chaos sequatur, præcedatque mundum, & deos omnes, qui mundi partibus distributi sunt?'

Finally we have the statement (ibid., p. 1329):

'Amor autem simile ad simile trahit. Terræ partes singulæ amore mutuo copulante, ad partes alias terræ sui similes sese conferunt. Tota etiam terra ad simile sibi mundi centrum illius auiditate descendit. Aquæ partes ad sese inuicem, similiter & ad locum sibi conuenientem cum toto aquæ corpore perferuntur. Idem partes aëris ignisque faciunt, ac etiam duo hæc elementa ad supernam regionem sibi congruam, & similem regionis illius amore trahuntur. . . . Vnitatem uerò partium mutuus earundem efficit amor. Quod in humoribus nostrorum corporum & mundi elementis intueri licet, quorum concordia, vt ait Empedocles Pythagoreus, & mundus, & corpus nostrorum constat, discordia dissipatur. Concordiam uero illis pacis atque amoris præstat uicissitudo. Hinc Orpheus μόνος γὰρ τούτων πάντων οἷηκα κρατύνεις, id est, Solus horum omnium tu regis habenas.'

Jonson's phrase of the sun being the 'most formall cause Of all dames beauties' (*Blackness*, 141-2) is Platonic. Mr. Gordon illustrates from Mirandola's *Commento sopra una Canzona di Amore*,

¹ *Republic*, vi. 507-9.

composta da Girolamo Beneuieni (Opera, Basle, 1601, i, pp. 496 fol.), which explains the modes of being of Sensible Beauty:

'Amore volgare' is 'appetito di bellezza sensibile per il senso del viso'. 'Questa bellezza, si come la intelligibile, & come vniuersalmente ogni natura, ha tre modi di essere cioè, Causale, Essentiale, ò vero Formule & Participato. la causa sua e il Cielo, sensibile, animato di quella virtu chel muoue, cosi come la causa della bellezza & Venere intelligibile, era quel primo & vero Dio intelligibile. Questa virtu motiua del Cielo, è la infima potentia dell'anima celeste, secondo laqual potentia è congiunta al cor del cielo, come è la virtu nostra motiua & progressiua congiunta à muscoli & à nerui, liquali vsa per instrumenti & organi ad essequire questa sua operatione, che è il moto, cosi la virtu motiua dell' anima del cielo, atto corpo & organo al moto celeste circolare et sempiterno, come i piedi sono atti al moto del camminare delli animali, mediante esso corpo del cielo transmuta questa materia inferiore & formale di tute le forme, che sono in lei non altrimenti, che la mano dell' artefice mediante el pennello forma la sua materia di questa Venere volgare, che è la bellezza di queste forme materiali sensibili, è quella virtu motiua dell' anima celeste, & in quella ha essa Venere lo essere causale. Lo essere suo formale & essenziale è in essi colori dalla luce del sole visibile illuminati, cosi come sono illuminate le Idee dalla luce di quel primo inuisibile sole' (ibid., pp. 505-6).

An exhaustive analysis of Jonson's allegory in *Hymenaei*, 'the Masque of Union', has also been worked out by Mr. D. J. Gordon.¹ The setting is the ritual of an ancient Roman marriage, presided over by Juno,

whose great name
Is VNIO, in the *anagram*. (232-3.)

Hymen enlarges the sphere of union to include the harmony wrought in the world by the power of love. This is an ideal typified by the fruitful marriage of the King and Queen:

O you, whose better blisses
Haue proou'd the strict embrace
Of VNION, with chaste kisses,
And seene it flow so in your happie *race*;

That know, how well it binds
The fighting *seedes of things*,
Winnes *natures, sexes, minds*,
And eu'rie discord in true musique brings. (95-102.)

The discord of the four Humours, Melancholy, Phlegm, Blood, and

¹ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, viii, pp. 107-45 (1945, published 1947).

Choler, and of the four Affections, Desire, Joy, Fear, and Grief, who emerge to disturb the rites, is controlled by Reason:¹

Are VNION's *orgies* of so slender price?
 She that makes *soules*, with *bodies*, mixe in loue,
 Contracts the *world* in one, and therein LOVE;
 Is *spring*, and *end* of all things: yet, most strange!
 Her selfe nor suffers *spring*, nor *end*, nor *change*. (140-4.)

Jonson here, following Macrobius, gives a further meaning to Union; it is *Unitas*, the number One: 'Unum autem, quod *μὴν* id est unitas dicitur, et mas idem et femina est, par idem atque impar, ipse non numerus, sed fons et origo numerorum. Haec monas initium finisque omnium, neque ipsa principii aut finis sciens ad summum refertur Deum' (*In Somnium Scipionis*, i. vii. 7). 'It was a daring innovation of Jonson's to equate *Unitas* with Juno. He may have been led to it by reading in Macrobius that one combines the male and the female; from this he may have reasoned that marriage too effects such a combination, and that so does Juno, who is the patroness of the marriage. . . . This unity, this oneness of the universe is a union effected by love and a union in love' (D. J. Gordon). Order, the servant of Reason, arranges the dance between the eight men, who represent the Humours and Affections, and the eight women, who descend from Juno's sphere, the air, and represent her attributes as the goddess of marriage. Juno, the power who rules the air, is mated with Jupiter, who rules the heaven. The masquers' dance is compared to 'the *Golden Chaine* let down from *Heauen*' by Jupiter, which Jonson interprets from Macrobius as the soul of the world derived from the divine intelligence, filling all things with life, and making an endless chain of being with mutual links never broken:

And not those linkes more euen,
 Then these: so sweetly temper'd, so combin'd
 By VNION, and refin'd. (321-3.)

'To which strength and euennesse of connexion', Jonson notes, 'I haue not absurdly likened this vniting of *Humours*, and *Affections*, by the sacred *Powers* of *Marriage*.'

The final dance is 'a faire orbe, or circle':

The perfect'st *figure* is the *round*.
 Nor fell you in it by aduenter,
 When REASON was your guide, and *center*. (404-6.)

¹ See Jonson's explanation, note *a* on l. 112.

One other aspect of Union is touched upon in the final reference to the King:

As you (in paires) doe front the *state*,
 With gratefull *honors*, thanke his *grace*
 That hath so glorified the place:
 And as, in *circle*, you depart
 Link'd *hand in hand*; So, *heart in heart*,
 May all those *bodies* still remayne
 Whom he (with so much sacred payne)
 No lesse hath bound within his realmes
 Then they are with the OCEANS streames.
 Long may his VNION find increase
 As he, to ours, hath deign'd his peace. (420-30.)

The reference is not only to the royal marriage, but to the union of the two kingdoms under James. Jonson duly celebrated it in *Epigram v*:

When was there contract better driuen by *Fate*?
 Or celebrated with more truth of state?
 The world the temple was, the priest a king,
 The spoused paire two realmes, the sea the ring.

John Pory, in the letter quoted on page 466, saw in lines 424-30 'an apostrophe to the vnion of the Kingdomes', and James was anxious to have his style as King of Great Britain recognized. Parliament hesitated, but on 20 October 1604 James issued a proclamation that he had assumed the title. Mr. Gordon quotes apt parallels for the marriage-image from the literature of the time, but the most felicitous is from *The Ioieful and Blessed Reuniting the two mighty and famous kingdomes, England and Scotland into their ancient name of Great Brittain*, by John Thornborough, Bishop of Bristol, 1604-5, pp. 18-20:

'All blessings, and graces, may be thought attendants, and companions to vnion, who alone knoweth, how to order al things in government: and is a princely commander of Subiects obedience, and subduer of gainsaiers, ordering vnrulie affections, bridling vntamed lustes, restraining swelling pride, composing rebellious appetites, determining al doubts, & rights, within the compasse of her iudgement, and yet giuing to euerie one, his due, by her discretion: And therefore is like the Sunne in the midst of heauen, among the Stars; and as the Stars take light of the Sun, so al blessings of Weale publique proceede from this sacred, & thrice happy vnion into the name of great Brittain, whose glorious light shineth to all, and euerie one hath comfort thereby. It is also not vnlike the Soule in the body of man; for in the whole common Weale, it is wholly, and in euerie part thereof, whether it be of English, or

Scottish entire. *Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte*. As a shining light, it sheweth a way for common good, and as a reasonable soule, giveth vnderstanding to the blindest body, to see the full fruition of al worldly happinesse. . . .

'If I could expresse the image of this vnion in liuely colours, I would surely make her a Goddes, faire, and beautiful, having a garland, & crowne of al blessings vpon her head, & sitting in a Chaire of State, with al good fortunes, vertues and graces attending her, and as a Goddes in triumphant chariot going into the capitol, or temple of mighty Iupiter: where also the Poets haue found her, but called by another name, euen Pallas, who is also named *Monas*, that is, vnitie: because having one only parent, shee resideth in Iupiters braine, even in the chiefe seate of his wisdom; where al the Muses are her companions, so called *Musæ*, quasi *ὁμοίουσαι*, that is altogether in one; where al the Graces go hand in hand, congratulating to vnion their mutual societie; where al vertue, and knowledge, are neere of affinitie, but Iustice, and government of consanguinity to her, her selfe stil holding primacy over al.'

How came Jonson to transfer these conceptions to the King and make him the guiding light of the masque? Primarily no doubt from his profound belief in kingship and the divine right of kings. The praise is not empty panegyric, for as Professor E. W. Talbert, who has discussed this question,¹ points out, it is often counsel how a king should rule. Jonson had spoken frankly in the *Panegyre* appended to the coronation entertainment (121-7): James knew

that those, who would, with loue, command,
Must with a tender (yet a stedfast) hand
Sustaine the reynes, and in the checke forbear
To offer cause of iniurie, or feare.
That kings, by their example, more do sway
Then by their power; and men doe more obay
When they are led, then when they are compell'd.

And in this temper Jonson enumerated the true attributes of kingship in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1446-55):

The muses arts, ye schooles, commerce, or honors, Lawes,
And vertues hang on him, as on their working cause.
His handmaid Iustice is,
Wisdom his wife,
His Mistresse Mercie,
Temperance his life,
His Pages Bountie and Grace, w^{ch} many proue.
His guardes are Magnamitie and Loue,
His vshers Counsell, truthe, and pietie.
And all that followes him, ffelicitie.

¹ 'The Interpretation of Jonson's Courtly Spectacles', *P.M.L.A.*, 1946, lxi, pp. 454-73.

The motive is therefore something higher than flattery. We will not disturb the picture by inquiring too curiously how far James the First fulfilled this high ideal.

IV. LIST OF MASQUERS AND TILTERS

HENRY FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES (1594–1612), tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606 and was the chief masquer in *Oberon*.

CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES, afterwards Charles I, was the chief masquer in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* and *For the Honour of Wales*, 1618, his first appearance in that role. His other masques were *News from the New World in the Moon*, *The Masque of Augurs*, *Time Vindicated*, *The Fortunate Isles*, and *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*.

ABERCROMBIE. Chamberlain writes to Carleton on 5 April 1617, 'Abercrombie, a Scottish dancing Courtier hath gotten . . . the making of two Irish Barons' (S.P.D., James I, xci. 18). He danced in *The Irish Masque*, *Pleasure Reconciled*, *For the Honour of Wales*, and *Love's Triumph*.

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL. Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Earl of Surrey, the famous collector (1585–1646). His father died in the Tower attainted in 1595, and the estates were forfeit. On James's accession he recovered the title; in 1605 he came to Court. He danced in *Hymenaei* and the *Haddington Masque*, and tilted in *Prince Henry's Barriers*. His fortune as Earl Marshal is told in *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, 612–27.

SIR JOHN ASHLY. Identified by Nichols (*Progresses of King James I*, ii, p. 5) as Sir John Astley of Maidstone, son of John Astley esquire, Master of Queen Elizabeth's jewels. He was a gentleman pensioner, and James knighted him at the Charterhouse on 11 May 1603. He was afterwards Master of the Revels to King James and to King Charles, and a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the latter. He died on 26 January 1639 and was buried in Maidstone church, to which he gave a large silver flagon for the use of the altar. Campion calls him 'Ashley' in the masque at Lord Hayes's wedding, 1607. He danced in *Hymenaei*.

JOHN AUCHMOUTY (ACHMOUTY) is instanced in Weldon's *Court and Character of James I* as a Scot who 'came to England under James and got a pretty estate'. He is described as 'Auchmouty, that was at Padua and Venice' in a letter of Chamberlain's, describing *The Irish Masque*, in which Auchmouty danced (Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, p. 725). When Lord Hay paid his splendid visit to France in 1616 Chamberlain describes him as taking with him 'three Mignards, three Dancers, and three Fools' (ibid. iii, p. 177);

Auchmouty was one of the dancers. King James made him a groom of the bedchamber, and on 21 March 1608 gave him a free gift of £2,000 out of the recusants' lands and goods (*ibid.* ii, p. 190), and on 18 July 1620 a pension of £500 on surrender of an earlier pension of £200 and all the perquisites of his office (*S.P.D.*, James I, cxvi). He danced in *The Irish Masque*, *Pleasure Reconciled*, and *For the Honour of Wales*.

SIR THOMAS BADGER, second son of Sir Thomas Bagehott (or Badger) of Prestbury, Gloucestershire. On 30 January 1605 he was granted the office of master of the harriers for life, and was said to have the finest breed of bulldogs in England. A pension of £300 was granted him on 24 March 1625. He danced in Campion's masque at Lord Hay's wedding, 1607. He died about Christmas 1638. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

JAMES BOWY (BOVEY, or BUY), Serjeant of the Cellar; the Domestic State Papers record warrants to him from 1611 to 1622 for provisions of wine and fruit for the King and for licence to travel to France to procure wine. He danced in *News from the New World*, *Pan's Anniversary*, *The Masque of Augurs*, and *Time Vindicated*.

THOMAS BOWEY. There is a bill for his masquing suit in *Neptune's Triumph*. Is 'Thomas' a clerk's error for 'James'?

SERJEANT BOYD. Andrew Boyd on 26 February 1616 was granted the office of Surveyor of Coals in the North of England to prevent their being deceitfully mingled with 'unfuellable' material; his patent was opposed at Newcastle, but he did good work against dishonest coal-merchants. He was knighted for his services in 1620. On 15 March 1615 he had a gift of £1,000 from the Exchequer and in 1621 a grant of an annuity of £500. He danced in *The Irish Masque*.

SIR WILLIAM BROOKE, of Cooling Park, Kent, made a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I, 2 February 1626, danced in *Love's Triumph*.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. George Villiers, the first duke (1592–1628). He danced in *The Golden Age Restored*, *The Vision of Delight*, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, and *For the Honour of Wales*. He was the first gipsy in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*. He appeared also in *News from the New World in the Moon*, *Time Vindicated*, and *The Fortunate Isles*.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON. Robert Dormer, created first Earl of Carnarvon on 2 August 1628, chief avener and master of the hawks to Charles I; he fought for the King in the Civil War and was killed at the first battle of Newbury, 20 September 1643. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

SIR HENRY CARY (CAREY). See *Epigram* lxvi. He tilted on 1 January 1614 after Somerset's wedding.

SIR ROBERT CAREY (1560?–1639), tenth son of Henry, first Lord Hunsdon. He distinguished himself at the death of Elizabeth, who had been his benefactress, by riding post to Holyrood to convey the news to her successor. He was created Earl of Monmouth on 5 February 1626. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

THOMAS CAREY, son of Sir Henry Carey, and a groom of the bed-chamber. He went to France in 1624 with a love-letter and a jewel for Princess Henrietta Maria. He was granted a pension of £500 a year for life on 25 May 1625. On 24 March 1620 he took part in a tilting as a substitute for Lord Montgomery, whom the Prince had hurt in the arm. He died in 1635. He danced in *The Fortunate Isles*.

SIR ROBERT CARR (KER) of Ancrum (1578–1654), Gentleman of the Prince's Bedchamber in 1625, was created Earl of Ancrum on 24 June 1633. He is probably the 'Karre' whom Donne describes as taking part in *The Golden Age Restored*, and the 'Car' of *For the Honour of Wales*, 172.

LORD CHANDOS. Grey Bridges, fifth Baron Chandos, was born before 1581. He was commonly called the King of Cotswold, keeping open house three days a week at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire. He died at Spa in Germany on 10 August 1621. He tilted at the Somerset wedding, 1614.

LORD COMPTON. William, Lord Compton, K.B. 1605; President of the Council within the Marches of Wales and Lord-Lieutenant of the Principality, 1617; Earl of Northampton, 1618; K.G. 1629. He died on 24 June 1630, aged about seventy. He tilted at Somerset's wedding in 1614.

SIR WILLIAM CONSTABLE of Flamborough was knighted by Essex in Ireland in 1599 and created a Baronet on 29 June 1611. He fought on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War and was one of the regicides. He died on 15 June 1655. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR OLIVER CROMWELL, of Hinchinbrook, knighted in 1598, high sheriff of Huntingdon and Cambridge, Knight of the Bath at St. James's on 24 July 1603. He was uncle of the Protector, who was named after him. He entertained James several times, but with special splendour on his coming to England. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR ROGER DALISON, of Laughton, Lincolnshire, high sheriff of Lincoln in 1601, knighted at Belvoir Castle on 23 April 1603, created a Baronet on 29 June 1611. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

THOMAS DARCY, only son of Thomas, Baron Darcy of Chiche, St. Osyth's, Essex, afterwards Earl Rivers. He died before his father without issue. He tilted in *Prince Henry's Barriers*.

LORD D'AUBIGNÉ. See the dedication to *Sejanus*. He danced in the *Haddington Masque*.

MASTER DIGBY. John Digby (1580–1653), knighted in 1607 when he acted in Campion's masque at Lord Hay's wedding, Baron Digby of Sherborne 1618, Earl of Bristol 1622. He was for many years ambassador at Madrid, where he conducted the difficult negotiations for the Spanish marriage. The part he played in the constitutional struggle which preceded the Civil War is matter of history. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

LORD DINGWELL (DINGWALL). Richard Preston, Knight of the Bath at the coronation of James I, Gentleman of the King's privy chamber and instructor in arms to Prince Henry; he was created Lord Dingwell in the peerage of Scotland, 1609, and Earl of Desmond in the peerage of Ireland, 1619. He died on 28 October 1628, being drowned in the Irish Channel. He tilted in *Prince Henry's Barriers*, 1610, and at the Somerset wedding, 1614.

VISCOUNT DONCASTER. James Hay, son of the first Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Doncaster in 1622, succeeded to his father's title in 1636. In 1639 he established his hereditary right to the island of Barbados, then called the Carlisle Islands, and resided there during the Civil War. He died in November 1660. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

THE EARL OF DORSET. Richard Sackville, third earl (1589–1624). He was the first husband of Lady Anne Clifford: she records of him that 'he did much diminish his estate, as also with excessive prodigality in housekeeping and other noble ways at Court, as tilting, masking, and the like, Prince Henry being then alive, who was much addicted to these noble exercises, and of whom he was much beloved'. He tilted at Somerset's wedding, 1614.

SIR ROBERT DRURY of Hawsted, Suffolk, knighted by Essex at the siege of Rouen (1591–2), served in the Low Countries and saved Sir Francis Vere at the battle of Nieuport (1600) when his horse was shot under him. He was a chief patron of Donne, who travelled abroad with him and was given rooms in Drury House. He died in 1615. He tilted at the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR THOMAS DUTTON of Dutton, Cheshire, sheriff of the county in 1611. He was knighted on 23 July 1603, and died in 1614. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

MASTER DYMCK, probably a son of Sir Charles Dymock, champion

of England at the coronation of Charles I, who died in 1644. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

LORD EFFINGHAM. William Howard, eldest son of the Earl of Nottingham, born 27 December 1577. He was summoned to Parliament as Baron Effingham in his father's life-time; he died on 28 November 1615 and was buried at Chelsea. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

'MR. ERSSKINS' in *The Haddington Masque*, 369. Jonson has made some mistake; he records eleven masquers instead of twelve. E. Lodge in his *Illustrations*, 1791, iii, p. 343, gives a list of twelve including 'The Master of Mar and young Erskine'. 'Master' was the title of the heir-apparent to a Scottish peerage below the rank of marquis in Jonson's day, so the Master of Mar was John Erskine, son of John, Earl of Mar, who succeeded his father in 1634, and the younger Erskine would be his half-brother James, afterwards Earl of Buchan; his mother was the daughter of the Earl of Lennox.

SIR WILLIAM ERWIN (IRWIN), gentleman usher of the Prince's Privy-chamber, described by Chamberlain to Carleton, 6 March 1619, as 'a kind of dancing tutor to Prince Henry' (*S.P.D.*, Jas. I, cvii. 6). He danced in *Pleasure Reconciled* and *For the Honour of Wales*.

WILLIAM FEILDING, first Earl of Denbigh (d. 1643), created 1622. He married Susan, daughter of Sir George Villiers and sister of Buckingham. He was the second Gipsy in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

LORD GERRARD. Thomas, son of the Sir Gilbert Gerard who was Attorney-General and master of the rolls under Elizabeth. He was created Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley, Staffordshire, on 21 July 1603, and died at Ashley in 1618. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR THOMAS GERRARD of Bryan was knighted at York on 18 April 1603 and made a baronet on 22 May 1611. In 1628 he was a member of Parliament for the county palatine of Lancaster. He died in 1652. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR HENRY GOODYERE. See *Epigram* lxxxv. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR ROBERT GORDON. Chamberlain writing to Winwood on 13 February 1610, describing the *Barriers* on Twelfth Night, says they were 'well performed': 'The three Prizes were bestowed on the Earle of *Montgomery*, young *Darcie* Son to the Lord *Darcie*, and Sir *Robert Gordon* a Scot, more in Favour of the Nation then for any due desert' (Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, p. 117). Grants to him appear in the State Papers of 1607, 1614, and 1625. He tilted in *Prince Henry's Barriers*.

GEORGE GORING (1608–57), eldest son of George Goring who was created Earl of Norwich, 28 November 1644, a brilliant figure at Court and a noted prodigal. A royalist general in the Civil War, he commanded the left wing at Marston Moor. After the war he went abroad and died in Spain. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

SIR JOHN GRAY was knighted at Cadiz by the Earl of Essex in 1596. He died in 1611. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

MASTER GUNTERET, a German, who appears in a list of tilters on the King's day 1607 as 'Monsr. Goterant' (Cotton MS. Vespasian C xiv, f. 161). On 13 February 1608 'Henry Contherant, Teutonicus' was knighted (Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, p. 190). 'Sir Henry Gunderrot' in a warrant of 22 March 1608 (S.P.D. 14, xxxi). He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON. James, second marquis (1589–1625), succeeded to the title in 1604. He was a gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, Lord Steward of the Household, and a privy councillor; on 16 June 1619 he was created Earl of Cambridge and Baron of Ennerdale in Cumberland. His fortune was told in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, 649–62. He danced in *Pleasure Reconciled* and *For the Honour of Wales*.

THE (third) MARQUIS OF HAMILTON. James (1606–49) succeeded to the title in 1625 and played a prominent part in politics. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

LORD HAY. James Hay, knighted by James I, who brought him to England. Created Lord Hay in the Scottish peerage on 21 June 1606, a Knight of the Bath on 4 June 1610, Baron Hay of Sawley on 29 June 1615, Viscount Doncaster on 5 July 1618, and Earl of Carlisle on 13 September 1622. He married as his first wife Honora, daughter of Lord Denny, and secondly the famous Lucy Percy. He was sent on diplomatic missions to France in 1616 and to Germany in 1619. He died in 1636. 'He left behind him the reputation of a very fine gentleman and a most accomplished courtier; and after having spent in a very jovial life above £400,000 . . . he left not a house nor an acre of land to be remembered by' (Clarendon). He danced in *Hymenaei* and *The Haddington Masque*, and tilted in the *Barriers*, 1606, and at Somerset's wedding, 1614. *Lovers Made Men* was written for the entertainment he gave the Baron de la Tour in 1617.

SIR WILLIAM HERBERT, of Powys Castle, Montgomeryshire, son and heir of Edward Herbert, second son of William, first Earl of Pembroke; Knight of the Bath on 24 July 1603; created Baron Powys in 1639. He died in 1655, aged eighty-three. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

THE EARL OF HOLLAND. Henry Rich (1590–1649), second son of the first Earl of Warwick, knighted on 3 June 1610, a favourite with James and for a time with Charles I; Baron Kensington, 1623; Earl of Holland 15 September 1624, after he had been sent to Paris to negotiate the marriage with Henrietta Maria. He changed sides more than once in the struggle of King and Parliament. He finally appeared in arms for the King, was captured and executed. He danced in *Love's Triumph*. Jonson's speech for him and his brother at the tilting of 24 March 1613 is given in *U.V.* xvi.

SIR RICHARD HOUGHTON, sheriff of Lancashire in 1598, knighted by Essex in Ireland in 1599, created a baronet on 22 May 1611; he was member for the county palatine of Lancaster in several parliaments. He was a personal favourite of James I, who visited him at Houghton Towers in April 1617. He died on 12 November 1630, aged sixty. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR GILBERT HOUGHTON (1591?–1647), eldest son and successor of Sir Richard, knighted at Whitehall on 21 July 1604. He was celebrated for his accomplishments, and especially for his skill in dancing. He accompanied Lord Hay on his embassy to France, 1616. M.P. for Lancashire 1614–23, high sheriff 1643. He succeeded to the baronetcy in 1630. He fought for King Charles in the Civil War. He danced in *Pleasure Reconciled* and *For the Honour of Wales*. (See *Assheton's Journal*, ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Society, xiv, p. 35.)

SIR CHARLES HOWARD, second son of the Earl of Nottingham, born 17 September 1579; knighted at the Charterhouse on 11 May 1603; succeeded his father, 1624. He was member of Parliament for Bletchingley, and for Surrey in 1597; for Sussex 1601–11; for Windsor 1614; Lord Lieutenant of Surrey in 1627. He died at Reigate on 2 October 1642. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR CHARLES HOWARD (ob. 1622), fourth son of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, danced in *Pleasure Reconciled* and *For the Honour of Wales*.

SIR EDWARD HOWARD, seventh son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, Knight of the Bath in 1616, first Baron Howard of Escrick in Yorkshire on 12 April 1628. Later he joined the Parliamentary side. He died on 24 April 1675. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR FRANCIS HOWARD, of Great Bookham, knighted at Chatham on 4 July 1604. Died 7 July 1651. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

HENRY HOWARD, third son of Thomas, the first Earl of Suffolk. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Basset of Blore, Staffordshire. He took part in the *Challenge at Tilt*, 1614.

SIR THOMAS HOWARD (1580?–1669), second son of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, was created Knight of the Bath in 1605; he succeeded

to his mother's estate at Charlton in Wiltshire and was created Baron Howard of Charlton and Viscount Andover in 1622, Knight of the Garter in 1625, and Earl of Berkshire in 1626. He danced in *Hymenaei*, 1606, in *Pleasure Reconciled* and *For the Honour of Wales*, 1619, and tilted at Somerset's wedding, 1614.

SIR WILLIAM HOWARD danced in *Love's Triumph*, 1630. At that date there were three Sir William Howards: (1) a son of the Earl of Suffolk, knighted at the creation of Charles as Prince of Wales in November 1616; (2) a son of the Earl of Arundel, knighted on 2 February 1626 at the coronation of Charles I; (3) a son of Lord William Howard, knighted on 8 November 1628.

KARRE. Sir Robert Carr, q.v. Donne in *Letters to Persons of Honour* spells his name 'Ker'.

SIR JOHN KENNEDY (KENNETHIE) succeeded his uncle John as sixth Earl of Cassilis in 1615. In 1660 he was one of the commissioners sent to Charles II at Breda. He died in April 1668. He danced in the *Haddington Masque*.

SIR ROBERT KILLIGREW (1579-1633), the father of the dramatist, was knighted on 23 July 1603, sat in several parliaments for Cornish boroughs, and was involved in the Overbury case, but cleared himself. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR JOHN LEIGH. There were various John Leighs in the reign of James I, but the Leigh who tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606 was probably the man knighted at Theobalds in May 1603. He was one of the masquers at the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan de Vere on 27 December 1604.

THE DUKE OF LENNOX. Ludovic Stuart (1574-1624), second Duke of Lennox, son of Esmé, the first Duke, succeeded his father in 1583. He was highly in favour with James I, whom he accompanied to England. He was made Baron Settrington in the county of York and Earl of Richmond in 1613; Earl of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Duke of Richmond in 1623. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606, *Prince Henry's Barriers*, 1610, and the tilt at the Somerset wedding, 1614; he danced in the *Haddington Masque*. He was Lord Steward of the Household in 1621, and his fortune was told in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, 631-43.

SIR LEWIS MAUNSELL, son of the Sir Thomas who was created a baronet on 22 May 1611; he was knighted on 23 July 1603, and succeeded to the title in 1626 and died in 1638. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR ROBERT MAUNSELL (1573-1656), of Margam in Glamorganshire, knighted in 1596, a member of Parliament for various constituencies from 1601 to 1628, served in the Island Voyage, 1597,

Vice-Admiral of the Narrow Seas, 1603, and Vice-Admiral of England, 1618. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR THOMAS MONSON (1564–1641), baronet, of South Carlton, Lincolnshire, knighted in 1588. A favourite with James I, who made him his master falconer and in June 1611 master of the armoury at the Tower. He was accused of complicity in the Overbury case, 1615, tried and imprisoned, but subsequently discharged. Cam-pion dedicated to him *A Book of Airs*, 1601, and *The Third and Fourth Book of Airs*, 1617. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

LORD MONTEAGLE. See *Epigram* lx. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

THE EARL OF MONTGOMERY. Philip Herbert (1584–1650), younger brother of William, Earl of Pembroke, Jonson's patron; to this 'incomparable paire of brethren' the First Folio of Shakespeare was dedicated. He married Lady Susan de Vere on 27 December 1604. He became Earl of Montgomery on 4 May 1605, Knight of the Garter in 1608, and fourth Earl of Pembroke on his brother's death, 10 April 1630. He afterwards joined the Parliamentary side. He was noted for his handsomeness, his knowledge of dogs and horses, and his quarrelsome temper. He danced in *Hymenaei*, *The Haddington Masque*, *The Vision of Delight*, *Pleasure Reconciled*, *For the Honour of Wales*, and *Love's Triumph*, and tilted in *Prince Henry's Barriers*, 1610, and in the *Challenge at Tilt*, 1614.

THE EARL OF NEWPORT. Mountjoy Blount (1597?–1665), illegitimate son of the Earl of Devonshire and Lady Penelope Rich, Baron Mountjoy in the Irish peerage, 1618, and in the English peerage, 1627; Earl of Newport, 1628. Though hostile to the Court in political matters he fought for the King in the Civil War. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

LORD NORRIS. Francis Norris (Norreys), of Rycot (1579–1622), succeeded his grandfather as second Lord Norris in 1601; Viscount Thame and Earl of Berkshire in 1620. Quarrelling with Lord Scroope before the Prince of Wales in the passage of the House of Lords, he was committed to the Tower and, resenting this disgrace, wounded himself mortally with a crossbow. He took part in the *Challenge at Tilt*, 1614.

LORD NORTH. Dudley, Baron North (1581–1666), eldest son of Sir John North, succeeded his grandfather, Roger, second baron, 1600. 'He was a finished musician and a graceful poet, while at tilt or masque he held his own with the first gallants of the day' (*D.N.B.*). Retiring to his country seat at Eridge through ill health, he discovered the springs of Tunbridge Wells (*News from the New World*, 265). He took part in the *Challenge at Tilt*.

THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM. Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham (1536-1624), the victor over the Armada, created Earl of Nottingham in 1596. He acted as Lord High Constable at the *Barriers* of 1606.

JOHN OGILBY, dancing master, was one of the minor characters in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

HUMPHREY PALMER danced in the *News of the New World in the Moon*, *Pan's Anniversary*, and *The Masque of Augurs*.

ROGER PALMER, second son of Sir Thomas Palmer, cupbearer to Prince Henry (with a salary of £20) and afterwards to Prince Charles. He became master of Charles's household and was created Knight of the Bath at his coronation, 1626. He is described in the *Sydney Papers*, ii, p. 262, as 'the admirablest Dawncer of this Tyme'. He danced in *Pleasure Reconciled* and *For the Honour of Wales*.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE. See the dedication to *Catiline*. He danced in *The Haddington Masque*, and tilted at the Somerset wedding, 1614.

ENDYMION PORTER, the poet (1587-1649), a dependant of the Buckingham family; the Marquis obtained for him the post of groom of the bedchamber to Prince Charles. He accompanied Charles and Buckingham to Spain in 1623. Herrick's *Country Life* (*Works*, ed. Moorman, pp. 229-31) is addressed to him. He was the third gipsy in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

SIR RICHARD PRESTON. See LORD DINGWELL.

MASTER RALEGH danced in *Love's Triumph*, 1630. Probably Carew Raleigh (1605-66), the second son of Sir Walter. He was restored in blood in 1628, came to Court, and in 1635 was made a gentleman of the privy chamber.

SIR CAREY REYNOLDS (CAREW REYNELL). Carew Reynell, knighted by Essex in the Irish wars, 1599, gentleman pensioner to Queen Elizabeth and James I. He died in September 1624 at his house near Charing Cross. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR ROBERT RICH (1587-1658), the eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich, who was created Earl of Warwick in 1618. Knight of the Bath in 1603, and succeeded to his father's title in 1619. He joined the Puritan party in Charles I's reign and became a prominent member; he was Lord High Admiral 1643-5 and 1648-9, an office in which he did great service. He danced in the *Haddington Masque*. For a verse-speech which Jonson wrote for him and his brother Henry at a tilting on 24 March 1613 see *U.V.* xvi.

THE EARL OF RUTLAND. Francis Manners, sixth Earl of Rutland (1578-1632), succeeded to the title on 26 June 1612. He was keeper of Sherwood Forest in 1612, and warden and chief justice

of the royal forests north of the Trent in 1619. He was admiral of the fleet to bring Prince Charles home from Spain in 1623. He took part in the *Challenge at Tilt*, 1613.

EDWARD SACKVILLE (1591-1652) succeeded his brother Richard as fourth Earl of Dorset in 1624. In August 1613 he killed in a duel near Bergen-op-Zoom Edward Bruce, the second Lord Kinloss; a long letter of justification from Louvain is printed in John Bridgman's *Sketch of Knole*, 1817, pp. 84-91. His life was attempted after he returned to England. He was a leading man of business in his day. He fought for the King in the Civil War. It is not certain whether he tilted at Somerset's wedding in 1614 (see Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, p. 704).

LORD SANQUHAR (SANKRE). Robert, sixth Lord Crichton of Sanquhar. In 1605 he lost an eye in a match with John Turner, a fencing-master. In 1612 he avenged this by having Turner assassinated; he was hanged in Great Palace Yard before the gate of Westminster Hall on 29 June. He danced in the *Haddington Masque*.

LORD SCROOPE. Emanuel, the last Lord Scroope, Lord President of the King's Council in the North, 1618-19; Earl of Sunderland, 1627. He married Elizabeth, the fourth daughter of the fourth Earl of Rutland. He tilted at the *Challenge at Tilt*, 1614.

SIR THOMAS SOMERSET, the third son of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, was sent to Scotland along with Sir C. Percy to announce Elizabeth's death to James. He was created Viscount Somerset of Cashel, Tipperary, on 8 December 1626, and died on 17 December 1632. He danced in *Hymenaei* and tilted in the *Barriers*, 1606, and *Prince Henry's Barriers*, 1610, and at Somerset's wedding, 1614.

THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON. Henry Wriothesley, third earl (1573-1624), Shakespeare's patron. He was involved in the Essex rising and imprisoned for two years till the accession of James in 1603. He took a prominent part in furthering colonial enterprise. He tilted in *Prince Henry's Barriers* and danced in *Oberon*.

SIR ROBERT STANLEY, son of William, sixth Earl of Derby, Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I, 2 February 1626. He died on 3 June 1632 and was buried at Chelsea. He danced with his brother Lord Strange in *Love's Triumph*.

LORD STRANGE. James Stanley (1607-51), eldest son of William, sixth Earl of Derby, joined the royal side in the Civil War, and succeeded his father as Earl of Derby on 29 September 1642. He was captured after the battle of Worcester, court-martialled, and beheaded on 13 October. He danced in *Love's Triumph*.

THE EARL OF SUSSEX. Robert Radcliffe (1569?–1629), fifth Earl of Sussex; he succeeded to the title in 1593. Chapman has a sonnet in his honour in the *Iliad* of 1598. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

GEORGE VILLIERS. See THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

JOHN VILLIERS, Viscount Purbeck (1591?–1657), the eldest son of Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, Leicestershire, by his second wife, Mary, afterwards Countess of Buckingham. He was probably the fourth gipsy in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (see vol. vii, p. 551).

LORD WALDEN. Theophilus Howard (1584–1640), eldest son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in 1626. Member for Malden in Essex 1605 till he took his seat in the House of Lords during his father's lifetime as Lord Howard of Walden in 1610. In 1612 he married Lady Elizabeth Hone, daughter of the Earl of Dunbar. He danced in *Hymenaei* and the *Haddington Masque*, and tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606 and at the Somerset wedding, 1614.

LORD WILLOUGHBY. Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby (1572–1642), succeeded to the title in 1601. He was knighted for valour at Cadiz in 1597; created Earl of Lindsey 1626, Lord High Admiral 1636, and General of the King's forces 1642. He was mortally wounded at Edgehill. He danced in *Hymenaei* and tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

SIR WILLIAM WOODHOUSE was knighted by the Earl of Essex at Rouen in 1591. He tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606. 'It does not appear that he was any relation of the baronet of that name' (Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, p. 25).

THE EARL OF WORCESTER. Edward Somerset (1553–1628), fourth Earl of Worcester, who succeeded to the title in 1589; in spite of his catholicism he was a favourite with both Elizabeth and James. He was made Master of the Horse and Lord Privy Seal. He was Earl Marshal at the *Barriers* of 1606. Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (ed. Arber, p. 63), describes him in his youth as 'the best Horseman and Tilter of his times'. His fortune was told in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, 601–8.

EDWARD WRAY, younger son of Sir William Wray, first baronet, and a creature of Buckingham's, who got him made a groom of the bedchamber (Nichols, *Progresses*, iii, p. 347). He lost his post owing to his runaway marriage in March 1622 with Lord Berkshire's daughter Elizabeth, Baroness Norris de Rycot in her own right (Locke to Carleton, *S.P.D.* Jas. I, cxxviii. 97). He danced in *The Masque of Augurs*.

SIR SIGISMUND AND MR. HENRY ZINZEN (alias ALEXANDER). The

Zinzanos were an Italian family who settled in England in the reign of Mary. Mr. Alexander Zinzan is heard of in 1555; his son Robert professed to use his father's Christian name as a surname. Robert was an equerry of the royal stable and was knighted in 1603. His sons, Sigismund and Henry, received by a privy seal warrant on 14 March 1608 a free gift of £100 'towards their charges for running at tilt'; this was renewed annually up to 1614, when they received an additional free gift of £1,000. In December 1607 Henry received the office of the brigandry (i.e. keeping the brigandines or coats of mail). In 1617 Sigismund was lieutenant in the Low Countries. (See C. Rogers, *Memorials of the House of Alexander*, ii, pp. 172-8.) They tilted at Somerset's wedding in 1614.

QUEEN ANNE, the leading masquer in *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*, *The Masque of Queens*, and *Love Freed*.

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA, the leading masquer in *Chloridia*.

THE COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL. Alatheia Talbot, third daughter of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury; on 30 September 1606 she married Thomas Howard, the art collector, Earl of Arundel. The King was god-father to their eldest son, James, christened on 17 July 1607. She died at Amsterdam on 3 June 1654. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens*.

THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD (1581-1627). Lucy Harington, wife of the third Earl of Bedford. See on *Epigram* lxxvi. She danced in the *Masques of Blackness and Beauty*, *Hymenaei*, and *The Masque of Queens*, and she organized *Lovers made Men* for Lord Hay in 1617.

LADY BERKELEY. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Cary, the second Lord Hunsdon; on 19 February 1596 she married Thomas Berkeley, son and heir of Henry, the seventh Lord Berkeley, who died in the lifetime of his father in 1611. She danced in *Hymenaei*.

THE COUNTESS OF BERKSHIRE. Bridget, daughter of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, born 6 April 1584, married Francis Norris, first Earl of Berkshire, who killed himself in 1622. She appears to have died between February and May 1631 (*The Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 648). She danced in *Love's Triumph*.

LADY BEVILL. Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Knevyn, widow of Sir William Bevill of Kilkhampton, Cornwall, married in 1602 Francis Manners, who became the sixth Earl of Rutland. On 12 October 1605 Chamberlain wrote to Winwood (*Memorials*, ii, p. 141), 'Sir Lewis Lewknor hath buried his new young Lady . . . and Sir Francis Manners his Lady Bevill, both of the Small Pox, which have rained and raged here this Summer exceedingly'.

- Their daughter Catherine married the Marquis of Buckingham (G.M. 420-57). Lady Bevill danced in *The Masque of Blackness*.
- THE COUNTESS OF CARLISLE (1599-1660). The brilliant and beautiful lady who played so important a part in the intrigues before the Civil War, Lucy, second daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, second wife of James, Lord Hay, at this date Earl of Carlisle. She danced in *Chloridia*.
- THE COUNTESS OF CARNARVON. Anna Sophia, daughter of Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, married Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, on 27 February 1625 and died at Oxford on 3 June 1643 of the small-pox. She danced in *Chloridia*.
- MISTRESS SOPHIA CARY danced in *Chloridia*. We have not traced her.
- LADY ANNE CAVENDISH, daughter of William, second Earl of Devonshire. She married Robert, Baron Rich, second son of Robert, Earl of Warwick. She was a well-known patroness of literature. She danced in *Chloridia*.
- FRANCES, LADY CHICHESTER. The second daughter of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, and sister to the Countess of Bedford. She married Sir Robert Chichester of Rawleigh, Devon, Knight of the Bath, and died in 1615. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty*.
- LADY ANNE CLIFFORD. Daughter of George, third Earl of Cumberland; the poet Daniel was her tutor. In 1609 she married Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset; after his death she married Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in 1630. Her diary is in Harley MS. 6177 on ff. 61-104. She notes (f. 62b) that Queen Anne was 'very gracious & favourable unto us, for in my Youth, I was much in the Court with her, & in Masques Attended her, tho I never served her'. She died at Brougham Castle on 22 March 1676. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens*.
- LADY CRANBORNE. Catherine Howard, youngest daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk; she married on 1 December 1608 William, Viscount Cranborne, eldest son of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, whom he succeeded in 1612. She danced in *The Masque of Queens*.
- THE COUNTESS OF DERBY. Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1575-1627); she married William, sixth Earl of Derby, in 1594. She danced in *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens*.
- LADY EFFINGHAM. Anne, daughter of John, second Baron St. John of Bletsoe, married William, eldest son of the admiral Lord Howard of Effingham. Her husband died in 1615, and she herself

in 1638; she was buried in Westminster Abbey on 8 June. She danced in *The Masque of Blackness*.

LADY PENELOPE EGERTON, sixth daughter of John, first Earl of Bridgwater. She married Sir Robert Napier of Luton, Bedfordshire. She danced in *Chloridia*.

THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX. Frances Howard, second daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, whose disastrous marriage to Robert, Earl of Essex, was celebrated in *Hymenaei*, 1606. In 1613 a divorce was secured, and she married her lover, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. Their exposure and ruin, caused by the Overbury murder, followed in 1615. She died in 1632. She danced in *The Masque of Queens*.

LADY GERARD (GARRARD). Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Woodford of Brightwell, Bucks., and second wife to Thomas, Baron Gerard of Gerard's Bromley. She died in 1613. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty*.

ELIZABETH, LADY GUILDFORD. Elizabeth Somerset, the eldest daughter of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, wife to Sir Henry Guildford of Hemsted Place in Kent. She was married at Essex (now Somerset) House on 8 November 1596, at the same time as her sister Catherine; the marriage was celebrated in Spenser's *Prothalamion*. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens*.

LADY DOROTHY HASTINGS, second daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntingdon. She married first Sir James Stuart, eldest son of Lord Blantyre, who was killed in a duel in 1609, and secondly Robert Dillon, Earl of Roscommon. She danced in *Hymenaei*.

ELIZABETH, LADY HATTON. The fourth daughter of Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter; she married (1) Sir William Hatton, who died in March 1597, and (2) Sir Edward Coke on 6 November 1598. Their violent quarrels are recorded in the gossip of the time. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty*.

LADY ANNE HERBERT. Daughter of Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, by his third wife Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, the patroness of poets. She died young. She danced in *The Masque of Blackness*.

LADY HOWARD danced in *Chloridia*; the wife of the Sir William Howard, who danced in the corresponding masque of *Love's Triumph*.

LADY ELIZABETH HOWARD. See LADY KNOLLYS.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGTON. Elizabeth Stanley, daughter of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby; in 1603 she married Henry Hastings, who succeeded his grandfather as fifth Earl of Hunting-

don, on 30 December 1604. Donne wrote verse letters to her. She died in 1633. She danced in *The Masque of Queens*.

LADY KNOLLYS. Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, born in 1586 and baptized at Saffron Walden on 11 August. At the age of nineteen she married William, Baron Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury; he died on 2 July 1632, and within five weeks she married Edward, fourth Lord Vaux. She died on 17 April 1658. She danced in *The Masque of Blackness* and *Hymenaei*.

THE COUNTESS OF MONTGOMERY. See *Epigram* civ. She danced in *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*, *Hymenaei*, and *The Masque of Queens*.

MARY, LADY NEVILL. Daughter of Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset and part author of *Gorboduc*; she married Sir Henry Nevill, afterwards ninth Lord Abergavenny. She died in 1649. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty*.

THE COUNTESS OF NEWPORT. Anne, daughter of John, Baron Boteler of Brantfield, a noted figure in London society. She married Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport, on 7 February 1627. In 1637 she became a catholic. She was allowed to leave the country in 1653, but suspected as a royalist intriguer. She died 26 May 1699. She danced in *Chloridia*.

THE COUNTESS OF OXFORD. Lady Diana Cecil, second daughter of William, second Earl of Exeter, married Henry de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford, in 1624. She danced in *Chloridia*.

LADY PETER. Catherine Somerset, second daughter of Lord Worcester; she married William, Baron Petre of Writtle. See the notice of her sister, Lady Elizabeth Guildford. She died 31 October 1624. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty*.

MISTRESS PORTER. Olivia Boteler, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham's favourite sister, married the poet Endymion Porter about 1620 and died in 1663. She danced in *Chloridia*.

LADY RICH. Penelope Devereux, daughter of Walter, first Earl of Essex, the 'Stella' of Sidney's sonnets, married, probably in 1581, Robert Lord Rich, to whom she was unfaithful. When she performed in *The Masque of Blackness* she was living in open adultery with Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. She was divorced in 1605 and married her lover later in the year. She died in 1607.

ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF RUTLAND. See *Epigram* lxxix. She danced in *Hymenaei*.

MISTRESS CECILY SACKVILLE, daughter of Robert, second Earl of Dorset; she married Sir Henry Compton, K.B. She danced in *Hymenaei*.

MISTRESS DOROTHY and MISTRESS ELIZABETH SAVAGE were daughters of Sir Thomas, afterwards Viscount, Savage of Rock Savage, Cheshire, and sisters of Lady Jane Pawlet (*Und.* lxxxiii). Dorothy, baptized on 3 March 1614, married Lord Andover, heir to Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire; Elizabeth married Sir John Thimbelly of Irnham, Lincolnshire. They danced in *Chloridia*.

LADY BLANCHE SOMERSET, the sixth daughter of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester. She married in 1607 Thomas, second Baron Arundell of Wardour. In 1643 with a garrison of twenty-five men she defended Wardour Castle against an attacking force of 1,300; she held out for eight days against artillery till two mines were sprung against the walls. She had refused to surrender because quarter was offered to the women and children only. She died at Winchester on 28 October 1649 in her sixty-sixth year. She danced in *Hymenaei*.

LADY STRANGE. Charlotte, daughter of Claude de la Trémoille, duc de Thouan (1599-1664); she married on 26 June 1626 James, Lord Strange, afterwards the seventh Earl of Derby (*L.T.* 229). She made a spirited and successful defence of Latham Castle in Lancashire in 1644. She died in 1663. See Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*. She danced in *Chloridia*.

LADY ARABELLA STUART. She was the only child of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lennox, born in 1575. As a cousin of King James she was politically important, and restrictions were put upon her marrying. She evaded them by marrying William Seymour in July 1610, was imprisoned and escaped, but was recaptured and lodged in the Tower, where she died on 25 September 1615 (see vol. v, pp. 144-7). She danced in *The Masque of Beauty*.

THE COUNTESS OF SUFFOLK. Catherine, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Knyvet of Charlton, Wiltshire. Her first husband was Richard, eldest son of Robert, Lord Rich; after his death she married in 1583 Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Treasurer. In 1619 she was tried along with him in the Star Chamber on a charge of embezzling the Treasury funds; Bacon in prosecuting compared her to an exchange woman, who kept her shop while her creature, Sir J. Bingley, cried 'What d'ye lack?' Her beauty was ruined by the small-pox in 1619. She danced in *The Masque of Blackness*.

LADY SUSAN DE VERE. See the COUNTESS OF MONTGOMERY.

LADY WALSINGHAM. Ethelreda or Audrey, daughter of Sir Ralph Shelton and wife to Sir Thomas Walsingham. She and her husband were appointed Chief Keepers of the Queen's Wardrobe; in 1604

James gave her a yearly pension of £400. She danced in *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*.

MISTRESS ANNE WESTON, daughter of Richard, Earl of Portland (*Und.* lxxvii), married Basil Feilding, heir to the first Earl of Denbigh. She danced in *Chloridia*.

LADY WINDSOR (1590–1641). Catherine, seventh and youngest daughter of the fourth Earl of Worcester, wife of Henry, sixth Lord Windsor. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens*.

ANNE, LADY WINTER. Anne Somerset, third daughter of Lord Worcester; she married Sir Edward Winter of Lydney, Gloucestershire on 11 August 1597. She danced in *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens*.

LADY WROTH (WORTH). See the dedication to *The Alchemist*. Jonson addressed to her *Epigrams* ciii and cv, and *Underwood* xxviii. She danced in *The Masque of Blackness*.

THE MASQUE OF BLACKNESS

THIS masque was performed on 6 January 1605 at Whitehall in the old Banqueting House of Elizabeth. The Revels' Book of 1605 (f. 2^v) records, 'On Twelke Night The Queens Maties Maske of Moures wth Aleven Ladies of honno^r to Accūpayney her matie w^{ch} cam in great showes of devises w^{ch} they satt In wth excellent musik'. In the Declared Accounts of the Audit Office for 1605–6 (A.O. 1/42/388) Lord Stanhope includes 'for makeinge readie the banquettinge house at Whitehall for the Maske for the King and Queene by the space of iiij^{or} daies mense Ianuarij 1604. lxxviij^s viij^d'. In the account of Andrew Kermyn, gentleman, paymaster of the works (A.O. 1/37/2418), about 'makeinge readie the hall, & grete chamber for playes and shewes at divers tymes', he particularizes 'framinge and settinge vpp of a greate stage in the banquettinge house xl foote square and iiij^{or} foote in heighte wth wheelles to goe on, makeinge and setting vpp twoe pticōns there xlvij foote longe the pece wth a retourne at one ende, framinge and setting vpp of an other stage a greate halpace and degrees in the saide banquettinge house for people to sitt on to see maskes & showes before the Kinge and Quene wth paintinge the rooffe overheade wth Clowdes and other devyses'.

The cost of the masque was heavy. In S.P. 14, xiv. 59, 'Provision for the support of her Ma^{ty}' includes 'The summes wch haue rysen by her owne guifts to Ambassadors, and Maskes for honor to the King and them', £260; but also no. 60 includes *The Masque of*

Blackness, 'for a maske presented by her Matie to his highnes at xpēmas last m^lm^l li'. But this charge of £2,000 appears to have been exceeded. Sir Thomas Edmonds wrote to Lord Shrewsbury on 5 December 1604, 'Our Corte of ladyes is pparing to solempnize the Christmas wth a gallant maske, w^{ch} doth cost the Exchequer 3000^l'. (Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, p. 114.) Similarly John Chamberlain, telling Sir Ralph Winwood on 18 December 1604, of 'great provision' of masques and revels for the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert on St. John's day, adds 'The Queen hath likewise a great Mask in hand against Twelfth-Tide, for which there was 3000^l. delivered a Month ago' (*Memorials*, ii, p. 41).¹ John Packer had already written to Winwood on 12 December, 'Now Sir for Womens News. Wee have here great Preparation for the Queens Mask; wherein besides her Majesty will be eleven Ladies, *Bedford, Suffolk, Susan Vere*, Lady *Dorothy Rich*,² a Daughter of my Lord Chamberlaines,³ Lady *Walsingham*, Lady *Bevill*, and some other which I have forgotten for haste. But the Lady of *Northumberland* is excused by sickness, Lady *Hertford* by the Measles. Lady of *Nottingham* hath the *Polypus* in her Nostril, which some fear must be cut off. The Lady *Hatton* would feign have had a Part, but some unknown reason kept her out' (*ibid.*, p. 39).

Two dispatches of Nicolò Molin, the Venetian ambassador, give us a side-light on the behaviour of the diplomatists. The first, written on 29 December 1604, says:

'Here they are preparing to keep Christmas (*Crisme*) with great solemnity and an unwonted splendour. The Queen's brother, the Duke of Holstein, is here. Her Majesty is preparing a masque, which will cost twenty-five thousand crowns. At Court they are studying how the Ambassadors can be present at the festival. But as the King declines to make any decision as to precedence between France and Spain, it is held certain that no Ambassador will be invited, and if anyone is curious to see the sight he must go privately. When the festivities are over, which will be about Candlemass, the Queen will retire to Greenwich, nor will she leave it till her confinement' (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, x, no. 312).

Molin writes again on 27 January 1605:

'On the 16th of this month, Epiphany old style, the King created his second Son Duke of York, and made twelve Knights of the Bath, so called because at their creation they are dipped. The morning of that day, the Chamberlain sent to say that if I cared to see the Queen's masque that evening he would secure a convenient seat for myself and

¹ Vincent's estimate quoted on p. 449 must be an exaggeration.

² This should be Penelope, Lady Rich.

³ Lady Elizabeth Howard.

three or four of my suite. He explained that all the Ambassadors were being invited privately, so as to avoid quarrels for precedence. I said I would gladly attend. Meantime the Spanish Ambassador hearing that the French Ambassador was confined to his bed made vigorous representations at Court to secure for himself a public invitation; and he succeeded. Sir Lowis Lewkenor presently went to visit the French Ambassador, who having got wind of what the Spaniard was about, received Lewkenor very haughtily. Lewkenor said he had come on behalf of his Majesty to enquire how the Ambassador was, and to say how much his Majesty regretted that the Ambassador would be prevented from attending the Queen's masque. The Ambassador burst out into a fury and said he knew what was going on and that it was all the work of seven or eight officials, of whom Lewkenor was the chief, whose sole object was to discredit the French and aggrandise the Spanish Ambassador, who was so insolent that the Ambassador of France had to put up with some fresh slight every day. . . . He said the King of France was quite aware that he was held in but little esteem at this Court. Sir Lewis endeavoured to make apologies, but the Ambassador would not let him speak, but held on himself in the same strain; finally he said, "Off with you, off with you, Sir Lewis; I won't speak about the matter", and with that he led him to the door of the antechamber, about which stood many of his suite and strangers also, and there he added in a loud voice, so that all might hear, "I am glad they have this idea of my illness, for his Majesty will get this pleasure out of it that he can more freely enjoy his Ambassadors". Sir Lewis with that went away in confusion. In obedience to his orders he came on to tell me that I was to go publicly to Court. He did not find me in, but left a message that I was to be at the Spanish Ambassador's house at the fourth hour of night, and to go together to Court. That was done, and we were conducted to the King's chambers, where his Majesty appeared about the seventh hour, and moved on to the place where they gave the Masque, which was very beautiful and sumptuous' (ibid., no. 332).

The French ambassador, Chr. de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, subsequently went to Court and complained 'very loudly'. 'The King replied that his own affection for the King of France was so well known that he was sure his most Christian Majesty would never have made so much of a mere bagatelle as his Ambassador was doing.' If an exaggerated account went to Paris James would himself inform the King of France of the true facts. An inquiry was made. 'The officials maintain that they have done no wrong; that the King will never make a declaration of precedence, and, therefore, will never invite Ambassadors to public ceremonies; that a Masque is not a public function, and that his Majesty is quite entitled to invite any Ambassador he may choose, not as an Ambassador, but as a friend' (ibid., no. 332).

Beaumont's own account is in the documents of the French Foreign Office, MS. fr. 15979, f. 320, a letter to de Villeroy on 12 January:

'Il y a quelques jors quil [i.e. the King] menvoya dire sur ce que Mr L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne l'auoir pryé de luy permettre de uenir a un ballet qui se fut soir le Jor des noces du sr Philipp herbert son fauorit que si je uoulois uenir Incongnét et non comme Ambassadr quil donneroit vn ordre que J'y aurois vne bonne place. Mais a propos sur un fasheux mal lequel ma retenu en la chambre depuis quinze jours et depuis je nay povra este Inuite a aucun festin Ainsy que l'anne passe et ne croyais non plus de l'estre pour ce superbe ballet que la Royne sapprest de faire, donc je ne me soucyois pas plus que de raison.'

There are contemporary descriptions of the masque. Dudley Carleton wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood:

'At Night we had the Queen's Maske in the Banquetting-House, or rather her Pagent. There was a great Engine at the lower end of the Room, which had Motion, and in it were the Images of Sea-Horses with other terrible Fishes, which were ridden by Moors: The Indecorum was, that there was all Fish and no water. At the further end was a great Shell in form of a Skallop, wherein were four Seats; on the lowest sat the Queen with my Lady *Bedford*; on the rest were placed the Ladies *Suffolk, Darby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham* and *Bevil*. Their Apparell was rich, but too light and Curtizan-like for such great ones. Instead of Vizzards, their Faces, and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known; *but it became them nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly Sight, then a Troop of lean-cheek'd Moors.* The Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors were both present, *and sate by the King in State*; at which Monsieur *Beaumont* quarrells so extreamly, that he saith *the whole Court is Spanish*. But by his Favour, he should fall out with none but himself, for they were all indifferently invited *to come as private Men, to a private Sport*; which he refusing, the Spanish Ambassador willingly accepted, and being there, seeing no Cause to the contrary, he put off *Don Taxis*, and took upon him *El Señor Embaxadour*, wherein he outstript *our little Monsieur*. He was privately at the first mask,¹ and sate amongst his Men disguised; at this he was taken out to dance, and footed it like a lusty old Gallant with his Country Woman. He took out the Queen, and forgot not to kiss her Hand, though there was Danger it would have left a Mark on his Lips. The Night's Work was concluded with a Banquet in the great Chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went Table and Tresses before one bit was touched. . . .

'There was lately an Apparition near *Barwick* of Armies and fighting

¹ At the wedding of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan de Vere.

Men on *Holydown Hills*,¹ . . . And . . . our Neighbours at *Thistleworth* took last Week a *Seale* which they discovered a Fortnight before, . . . Those which are Weatherwise make great Divination of both these; and for the first, apply it, as they did in old time, *Armorum sonitus*, &c. to a Prediction of War; but for the other, methinks they need trouble themselves no further, then to think it came in Company with the Sea-Fish that drew in our *Lady-Moors*, and carried a waiting Gentlewoman and some Baggage.' (*Winwood Memorials*, ii, p. 44.)

On 7 January Carleton also wrote to Chamberlain, giving an account of the recent festivities at Court, the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert, the masque in the evening, and the creation of Prince Charles as Duke of York.

'The maske at night requires much labor to be well described; but there is a pamphlet in press w^{ch} will saue me that paynes. meane time you shall onely knowe that the Actors were the Q: the Ladies Bedford, Suffolke, Darby, Rich, Harbert, Effinghā Susan, El: Howard, Beuell, Walsingham, and Wroth. The presentaōn of the maske at the first drawing of the trauers was very fayre, and theyr apparel rich, but too light and curtisan-like; Theyr black faces, and hands w^{ch} were painted and bare vp to the elbowes, was a very lothsome sight, and I am sory that strangers should see owr court so strangely disguised. The Spanish and venetian Ambassadors were both there, and most of the French abowt the towne. The confusion in getting in was so great, that some Ladies lie by it and complaine of the fury of the white stafes. In the passages through the galleries they were shutt vp in seuerall heapes betwixt dores, and there stayed till all was ended. and in the cūming owt, a banquet w^{ch} was prepared for the k: in the great chamber was ouerturned table and all before it was skarce touched. It were infinit to tell you what losses there were of chaynes, Jewels, purces, and such like loose ware. and one woeman amongst the rest lost her honesty, for w^{ch} she was caried to the porters lodge being surprised at her busines on the top of the Taras.' (*S.P.* 14, vol. xii, no. 6.)

In a further letter among the State Papers on 8 January (*ibid.* 16) Vincent writes to Benson at Brussels on 10 January:

'At night was there a sumptuous shew represented by y^e Q. and some dozen Ladyes all paynted like Blackamores face and neck bare and for y^e rest strangely attired in Barbaresque mantells to y^e halfe legge, having buskins all to be sett wth iewells, w^{ch} a waue of y^e Sea as it weare very artificially made and brought to y^e stage by secrett ingines cast forth of a skallop shell to performe y^e residue of y^e devise of dansing etc. W^{ch} I saw not, nor harkened after further. But tell it you only for this y^t you discern y^e humor of y^e tyme. It cost y^e K. betweene 4. and 5000^{li} to execute y^e Q. fancye.'

¹ See *Volp.* II. i. 36.

The Masque of Blackness marks an epoch in the history of the English masque. Jonson and Inigo Jones collaborated for the first time; that fact alone would have made it memorable. Jonson tried to import into it a constructive and dramatic element; Inigo brought to bear upon the setting his fine artistic sense and his knowledge of Italian art. It is easy to see how they advanced on their predecessors. Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* at Hampton Court on 8 January 1604 was structureless and old-fashioned. The action was dispersed between a Cave of Sleep at the upper end of the Hall, a Temple of Peace near by it, and a mountain at the lower end, from which the masquers descended. Jonson and Inigo concentrated on a single scene, a sea with moving waves over which the masquers made their entry in a concave shell.

Miss Welsford (*The Court Masque*, pp. 176-8) points out that hints were taken for this masque from an Italian tournament at Florence in 1579 for the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Bianca Cappello.¹ A theatre was erected in the courtyard of the Pitti Palace; the scene was a loggia overlooking the sea realistically painted with waves that seemed to move, break on the rocks, and leave a fringe of foam. Three Persian knights put forth a challenge that Persian beauties were superior to all others in the world. The challenge was accepted by masquers and knights in triumphal cars, one of which was of mother of pearl containing two queen-like ladies, Europe and Africa, with their knights: 'Allora venne in campo vna Madreperla molto grande, e risplendente, e tale, che ben mostraua d'essere stata gloria del profondissimo Oceano . . . la Madreperla simigliana vna naue rotonda: intorno alle sponde della quale essendo appoggiate le Donne, e i Cauallieri.' It was drawn by two mariners, 'e sospinta, e retta da molte Ninfe, e Dee, e Dij del Mare'.

Two of Inigo's drawings for this masque have survived—those of a Negro Nymph and an Oceania reproduced in the Walpole Society's catalogue of *Designs*, nos. 1 and 4. Their black features were set off by rich colours. The Nymphs had a bright blue gown, skirts striped with yellow and gold, a white petticoat, blue stockings, and golden shoes. The Oceaniae, with deep-blue faces and hands, had hair of brighter blue with a green and gold wreath, a long jacket of emerald green lined with white, with short and gold-puffed sleeves, a kirtle of sea-green reaching to the knees, a petticoat of greenish-blue shot with gold. Carleton's absurd criticism of these dresses has been quoted above.

¹ Described in *Feste nelle Nozze del Serenissimo Don Francesco Medici Gran Duce di Toscana: et della Sereniss. sua Consorte la Sig. Bianca Cappello*, by Raffael Gualterotti (Florence, 1579).

The motto, 'Salve festa dies . . .', is from Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 87, with *festa* substituted for *læta*.

8. *to deface their carcasses*. 'Apparently the Tudor custom of finishing the proceedings by rifling the pageant and the dresses of their decorations had not been wholly abandoned' (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, i, p. 206, citing Halle's *Chronicle*, i, pp. 27, 117).

16. *Leo the African*. Al-Hassan Ibn Mohammed Al-Wezaz, al Fasi (= the man of Fez), our chief authority for the geography of North Africa and the Sudan before Mungo Park. Captured by pirates about 1520, he was sold as a slave and ultimately fell into the hands of Pope Leo X. He became a Christian under the name of Giovanni Leone.

19. *lake*. Lake Chad, now known to be connected with the Niger. Leo, who had sailed down part of it, thought it was the Upper Senegal.

19, note *e*. *This riuer*. The Melas of Lucan (*Pharsalia*, vi. 374) was a river of Thessaly. It was the Nile that was called 'Melas' (Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes, § 222, ed. Bernhardt); 'Melo' in Servius' commentary on Virgil, *Georgic*, iv. 291.

22. *Black-mores*. There had been a masque of Indian and Chinese knights on 1 January 1604; following the masque convention, they visited the Court of James and were presented by a Chinese magician.

at first. They were to be transformed later.

24. *Landtschap*. S.S., Scene, 27.

26. *which falling*. The MS., on the other hand, describes the cloth as 'opening in manner of a Curtine' (vol. vii, p. 195).

27. *rayesed with waues*. N. Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene*, 1638, gives a diagram of a wave machine, cylinders in wave form covered with blue and black cloth the top of which was touched with silver. They were worked by levers attached to cross-bars (Nicoll, *Stuart Masques*, pp. 59, 60).

29. *orderly disorder . . . in nature*. Horace, *Ep.* i. xii. 19, 'rerum concordia discors'.

30. *Tritons* (note *f*). From Conti, *Mythologia*, 1605, p. 817: 'Fuit autem Triton Oceani ac Neptuni buccinator & tubicen, vt testatur Ouid. lib. 1. Metam. . . . Cæruleum Tritona vocat.'

32. *their haire were blue*. Cf. *Comus*, 29, of the sea-gods, 'blu-hair'd deities'.

33. *their desinent parts, fish*. Like Horace's mermaid, *A.P.* 4, 'desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne'.

45. *his flesh, blue*. Inigo Jones depicted the Lightbearers of this masque (79) with blue faces and hands.

45, 51. *shaddowed*, shaded.

46. *horned*. Cf. 'the horned Floud' Achelous in *Volp.* iii. vii. 153. The Latin note is from Conti, p. 812: 'Taurinum autem caput Oceano tribuerunt antiqui propter vim ventorum, à quibus excitatur & impellitur, vel quia tauri similem fremitum emittat, vel quia tanquam taurus furibundus in litora feratur, cuiusmodi finguntur esse etiam fluuij'; *ibid.*, pp. 809-10, 'Huic tauri caput esse censuerunt antiqui, quare illum

ita ταυρόκρανον appellauit Euripides in Oreste: Ω'κέανος δὲν ταυρόκρανος ἀγκάλαις ἐλίσσων κυκλεῖ χθόνα. *Oceanus quem Tauriceps vlnis Se flectens ambit terram.*'

55. *induced*, introduced (Lat. *induco*).

68. *torch-bearers*. Statius, *Silvae*, I. ii. 117-18, Venus, speaking of the bride Violentilla:

Haec et caeruleis mecum consurgere digna
fluctibus et nostra potuit considerare concha.

69. *greces*, steps. *K. Ent.* 125, 'grices'; *Love R.* 113.

73. *azure*, and *siluer*. So the sea-nymphs in *The Faerie Queene*, III. iv. 40, 'Their watchet mantles frindgd with siluer round'.

84. *State*, the king's chair of state.

90. *the bodily part*. Cf. *Hym.* 1-7.

91. *Ynigo Iones*. Similarly acknowledged in *Hymenaei* (the Quarto version only, after 678), the *Haddington Masque*, 352-3, and *The Masque of Queens*, 36-8, 680-3.

100, note *k*. From Conti, p. 813, 'Oceani filij tam multi & filiae fuisse dicuntur, quia ex vaporibus, qui calore Solis sublimes tolluntur, gignuntur fluuiorum aquae & fontes, vt putarunt antiquorum nonnulli'; *ibid.*, p. 812, 'Hunc eundem Oceanum tradidit Orpheus, & omnes antiquorum theologi principium ortus Diis & rebus exstitisse, quia, vt sensit Thales, nihil sine humectatione nascitur aut putrescit'. The references are to *Orphica*, 83-6; *Iliad*, xiv. 245-6.

107. *feature*, shape, especially 'good shape'.

118, note *l*. Plutarch's Melas is a river of Boeotia, now the Mevro-potanis. As to '*Nicanor lib. i de fluminibus*', this lost work is known only from a single reference to it in the spurious Plutarch *Libellus de Fluuiis*, xvii Eurotas: καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Νικάνωρ ὁ Σάμιος ἐν β' περὶ Ποταμῶν. Cf. the error in 19, note *e*.

120-1. *skies* . . . *bodies*. The rhyme shifts from a stressed to an unstressed syllable. This was frequent in Peele and Chapman, occasional in Spenser and Jonson. So in ll. 123-4, 'all', 'mórtall'; 132-3, 'lábors', 'shores'; *Hym.* 123-4, 'be', 'bódie'; *Ep.* xlii. 5, 6, 'company', 'eárlly'; *Ep.* cxiv. 5, 6, 'you', 'vértue'; *Ep.* cxxxiii. 11, 12, 'nóne', 'Cháron'. This rhyme-variation was discussed by P. Simpson in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1943, pp. 127-9.

130. "And hell . . . Horace, *Odes*, I. iii. 36, 'Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor', echoed in the '*Herculean labors*' of line 131.

138 n. Diodorus, III. ii: Αἰθίοπας τοίνυν ἱστοροῦσι πρώτους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων γεγονέναι . . . ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν οἰκοῦντας πιθανόν ἐστι πρώτους ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐξωογονῆσθαι, προφανὲς ὑπάρχειν ἀπασι τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον θερμασίας ἀναξη-ραινούσης τὴν γῆν ὑγρὰν οὔσαν, ἔτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν καὶ ζωογονούσης, εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν ἐγγυτάτῳ τόπον ὄντα τοῦ ἡλίου πρῶτον ἐνεγκεῖν φύσεις ἐμψύχους.

144. *the perfectst beauty*. Denying the popular idea that black meant unbeautiful. Cf. Sidney's sonnet on Stella's black eyes, *Astrophel and Stella*, vii:

whereas blacke seemes Beauties contrarie,
Shee even in blacke doth make all Beauties flowe.

149. *Death her selfe*. The feminine is unusual: was Jonson influenced by the Latin *mors*?

174. *revilings*. Pliny, *N.H.* v. viii, 'Solem orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur ut exitialem ipsis agrisque'.

185. *Ibid.*, 'Neque in somno visunt qualia reliqui mortales'.

190. *heat*. A sixteenth- and seventeenth-century form of the past tense.

209. *walk'd the round*. *Alch.* III. iii. 2.

225 n. *Stepha*. The reference is to Stephanus of Byzantium, *De Urbibus*; Jonson's copy of the edition of 1568 is in the library of Clare College, Cambridge. From Giraldi, op. cit., p. 517, 'Aethiopia Diana cognominata, teste Stephano, qui & eius varias opiniones recenset'.

226-7. *particular . . . particular*. *C.R.* v. xi. 49, 'Particular paines, particular thankes doe aske'.

234. *errors, wanderings*.

236-7. *Pythagoras . . . by a reuerberate glasse*. Cf. *New World*, 92-3. The Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 752, describes Pythagoras as discovering a method of writing on the moon by a reflection of letters written in blood on a mirror: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρου παίγνιον διὰ κατόπτρου τοιοῦτον. πληροσελήνου τῆς σελήνης οὐσης, εἴ τις εἰς ἔσοπτρον ἐπιγράψειεν αἵματι ὅσα βούλεται, καὶ προσειπὼν ἑτέρῳ στήναι κατόπιν αὐτοῦ δείκνυσιν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην τὰ γράμματα, καὶ κεῖνος ἀτενίσας ὁ πλησίον εἰς τὸν τῆς σελήνης κύκλον ἀναγνοίη πάντα τὰ ἐν κατόπτρῳ γεγραμμένα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης γεγραμμένα. This is from Conti, pp. 252-3: 'Inde verò natam fuisse hanc opinionem scripserunt antiqui, quòd specula quædam rotunda ita parabantur, vt in his Luna omnino appareret è cælo deducta. Atque Pythagoræ ludicrum fuit quoddam, Luna plena existente, vt quis in speculo quodam, sanguine, quæcunque collibuisset, scriberet: atque alter prædicens à tergo illi assisteret, ea quæ scripsisset Lunæ ostentans: atque ille deinde intenta acie oculorum in Lunam, vniuersa quæ forent in speculo scripta perlegeret, tanquam in Luna scripta fuissent. Inde existimo artificium Cornelij Agrippæ originem cœpisse, qui in occulta philosophia videtur rationem quandam attingere, vt qui maxime à nobis distant, possint quæ volumus in Luna descripta perlegere.'

248. *A world, diuided from the world*. Cf. *K. Ent.* 41-50, with quotations from Claudian and Virgil, and the riddle in *Love Freed*, 189-90, 285.

248-9. *tri'd The abstract of it, in his generall pride*, experienced the perfection of it in the pride it inspires throughout the country. *His* = 'its', but the wording is obscure.

250-2. *For were the world . . .* Camden has the same image in *Remaines concerning Britaine*, 1605, p. 1: 'So rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, so resplendent in all glorie, that if the most Omnipotent had fashioned the world round like a ring, as hee did like a globe, it might haue beene most worthily the onely gemme therein.'

255. *To blanch an Æthiope*. A neat resetting of the proverb: Lucian,

Adversus Indoctum, 28, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν Αἰθίοπα σμήχειν ἐπιχειρῶ. Cf. *M. Beauty*, 81.

260. *Indent*, leave their mark on.

269. *mute Hieroglyphick*. Jonson's symbolism is expressed in Greek names (275–86). The nymphs are in pairs, and D. J. Gordon interprets them. *Euphoris* (εὐφορία, 'abundance') and *Aglaia* (ἀγλαία, 'splendour') with their golden tree symbolize fertility: Aglaia is the only name in this list which Johnson has not invented; she was one of the Graces, but he uses her as an embodiment of splendour. For the *golden tree* and its fruit compare the *Barriers* in *Hymenaei*, 727–8:

The golden tree of *marriage* began
In *paradise*, and bore the fruit of *man*.

It is thus a symbol of fertility.

The next pair *Diaphane* (διαφανής, 'transparent') and *Eucampse* (εὐκαμψία, 'flexibility') express the idea of water. So Pierio, op. cit., 1575, f. 439, 'Aquam verò Isocaëdri figuram tenere dixerunt. Est autem Isocaëdron, Euclide auctore, figura solida, quæ viginti triangulis æquatibus & æqualium laterum, continetur: propterea quòd aqua sua natura mobilis sit, & diuisioni flexuique perfacilis.' (We printed in our text *Icosaedron*, the correct form, from εἰκοσάεδρον, but Gordon points out that Jonson copied the misspelling in Pierio's text.)

Ocyte (ὠκύτης, 'swiftness') and *Kathare* (καθαρός, 'spotless') express purity. The image of the *naked feet in a river* is from Pierio, f. 257, 'Si verò pedes altiùs in aquam mersos effinxissent, purificatorem significabant. Nam & alibi aqua & ignis in defæcationis significatum accipiuntur, quòd rebus his labes omnis eluatur & eximatur. Hic verò de iis sermo est, quæ leui sint macula contaminata, quibus vnda satis supérque sit ad depurandum.' He takes the image from Horus Apollo, *Hieroglyphica* (1551, p. 126), πῶς γναφέα, the method of the fuller, whose business was cleansing.

Notis (νότις, 'moisture') and *Psychrote* (ψυχρότης, 'coldness') have the *Salamander* for their emblem, a creature which could extinguish fire by touch. Pierio, f. 120, describes it as 'animal sine squamis & cute esse, corpus habens frigidum, & maximè humidum, quo singula quæcunque contigerit humectet multò magis, quam limaces faciant: humoremque illum à corpore tam longè diffluentem, vim eam habere, vt ignem extinguat quem attigerit'.

Glycyte (γλυκύτης, 'sweetness') and *Malacia* (μαλακία, 'delicacy') have the dropping rain-cloud. Pierio (f. 281) has this and interprets it as education: 'cælum Ægyptij rore pluuium cùm pinxissent, disciplinam institutionisque laborem & operam intelligebant: mira etenim est vtriusque rei similitudo. Nam ueluti ros in herbas, frutices, plantasque omnes decidens, ea omnia quæcunque molliri apta sunt, humectat, pascit, et liberaliter educat.' Pierio took this from Horus Apollo's *Hieroglyphica* (1551, p. 56), πῶς παιδείαν, the method of education.

Baryte (βαρύτης, 'weight') and *Periphère* (περιφέρης, 'revolving', 'cir-

cular') symbolize the globe of earth. But the emblem *An vrne. spheard with wine* is very obscure. The *O.E.D.* explains, 'made into a sphere, crowned with liquor', like Jonson's 'Deepe-crown'd-Bowle' (*Und.* li. 19); but, as Mr. Gordon says, this is difficult to represent visually; he interprets 'encircled by a vine'. If that is the meaning, it is clumsily expressed.

270. *Imprese. K. Ent.* 255, *Conv. Drum.* 578-85.

273 n. Diodorus, III. iii, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν νομίμων τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπάρχειν Αἰθιοπικά . . . τὰς τε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ιδέας καὶ τοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων τύπους Αἰθιοπικοὺς ὑπάρχειν. Herodotus merely comments on the two forms of writing, sacred and demotic (II. xxxvi).

288. *the Oceanicæ*. The list is in Giraldi (pp. 235-6). *Lycoris* should be *Lycorias* (Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 339).

299, 300. For the rhyme of 'they', 'sea' cf. *Beauty*, 56-7, 'Sea', 'day'.

301. *corrantós*, dances French in origin, characterized by a running or gliding step (*courante*).

302. *accited*, summoned. *Und.* xliii. 85, in the sense of 'provoke': cf. the MS. reading 'provoked' here.

304. *double eccho*. Cf. *M. Beauty*, 280.

345. *gentler*. The comparative has an intensive force: *Hadd. M.* 155, 'his falser play'; *Und.* xxxi. 7, 'the gentler Muses'; *A.P.* 334, 'every baser shop' (*obscuras tabernas* in the original). It is a Latinism: Horace, *Odes*, II. i. 29-31:

Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulcris impia proelia
testatur?

347. *the year gone round*. *The Mask of Beauty* had to wait till 1608, owing to the trouble about inviting ambassadors.

THE MASQUE OF BEAUTY

THIS was performed on 10 January 1608 in the new Banqueting House at Whitehall, which replaced the old timber structure of 1581. On 19 December 1607 Zorzi Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, reported that the King was at Royston, but 'must come to London for Christmas, however, and at his request the Queen and the principal Ladies of the Court are preparing to give a magnificent Masque' (*Venetian S.P.* xi, p. 74). He further reported on 27 December that the Queen had prepared the masque 'at her own charges' (*ibid.*, p. 76).

Writing to Dudley Carleton on 5 January, Chamberlain said:

'The maske goes forward at court for twelfth day, though I doubt the new roome wilbe scant redy. all the holy-dayes there were playes, but wth so little concourse of straungers, that they say they wanted

companie. the Kinge was very earnest to haue one on christmas-night, (though as I take yt he and the Prince receued that day) but the Lordes told him yt was not the fashion, w^{ch} aunswer pleased him not a whit, but said what do you tell me of the fashion I will make yt a fashion.' (S.P. 14, xxxi. 2.)

Writing again to Carleton on 8 January, he said:

'S^r we had great hope to haue you here this day, and then I would not haue geuen my part of the maske for many of theyre places that shalbe present, for I presume you and yo^r Lady wold find easie passage beeing so befrended. for the shew is put of till sunday by reason all things are not redy. whatsoeuer the deuise may be, and what succese they may haue in theyre dauncing, yet you shold haue ben sure to haue seene great riches in iewells, when one Lady and that vnder a baronesse, is saide to be furnished for better then an hundred thousand pound, and the Lady Arbella goes beyond her, and the Q. must not come behinde. on twelfth eue there was great golden play at court, no gamster admitted that brought not 300^l at least.' (Ibid. 4.)

Actually it was not the unfinished state of the room, but the difficulty of adjusting ambassadorial claims of precedence which caused the delay. It was a struggle between France and Spain, which La Boderie summed up as '*les brouilleries des ballets*'. In his dispatch of 1 January 1608 he states he has learnt from the Duke of Lennox

'que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne étant avant hier allée au devant du Roy son mari, elle lui avoit dit que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne l'avoit priée qu'il vît son bal, & qu'elle lui avoit promis; de quoi le Roi étoit demeuré un peu étonné, & lui avoit répondu seulement: mais que dira l'Ambassadeur de France, vu même qu'au dernier que vous fîtes, l'autre Ambassadeur d'Espagne s'y trouva, & celui de France ne s'y trouva point.¹ Que pour cela elle ne s'étoit point sentie rebutée, & faisoit toujours état que ledit ambassadeur y assisteroit' (*Ambassades*, iii. 9).

He commented on the fact that the King of England was not master in his own house, and in a still lengthier dispatch of 14 January (ibid. 13-25) explained that Lennox, after consulting the Earls of Salisbury and Dunbar, told him that the King

'étoit infiniment marri de la facilité dont la Reine sa femme s'étoit laissé engager envers ledit Ambassadeur, & avoit fort bien pris les raisons qu'il lui en avoit dites de ma part; mais qu'il n'y avoit plus de remède, & qu'au lieu, ledit Roi me vouloit donner à diner. Tout sur l'heure je dis . . . que tant s'en faut que ce fût pour guérir le mal, c'étoit pour l'accroître davantage; qu'il n'y avoit point de proportion entre un diner que me donneroit le Roi & l'honneur que recevroit ledit Ambas-

¹ See pp. 447-8.

sadeur par l'intervention audit ballet; que l'un étoit une action privée, & l'autre un spectacle & une solemnité publique.' (Ibid. p. 14.)

La Boderie resisted all further overtures, and was told by Lord Salisbury's secretary

'que le Roi étoit extrêmement marri de la légereté de la Reine, mais qu'elle prenoit ceci si haut, que pas un d'eux, ni le Roi même ne lui en osoient parler; que chacun sçavoit assez combien elle étoit Espagnole, & le pouvoir qu'elle avoit sur son mari.'

On 17 January (Venetian style) Zorzi Giustiniani reported that the Queen, who had privately signified her intention of inviting him, had dropped the proposal, in order to remove from the French ambassador's mind the suspicion that this further invitation would add to the honour of Spain. But on 24 January he wrote triumphantly to the Doge that he 'overcame all obstacles' and went to the masque: 'the King and Queen decided to place their regard for you above every other consideration.' A short description of the masque follows in the ambassador's next dispatch:

'I must just touch on the splendour of the spectacle, which was worthy of her Majesty's greatness. The apparatus and the cunning of the stage machinery was a miracle, the abundance and beauty of the lights immense, the music and the dance most sumptuous. But what beggared all else and possibly exceeded the public expectation was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies, so abundant and splendid that in everyone's opinion no other court could have displayed such pomp and riches. So well composed and ordered was it all that it is evident the mind of her Majesty, the authoress of the whole, is gifted no less highly than her person. She reaped universal applause, and the King constantly showed his approval. At the close of the ceremony he said to me that he intended this function to consecrate the birth of the Great Hall which his predecessors had left him built merely in wood, but which he had converted into stone.' (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, xi, 1607-10, p. 86.)

The fiction that the Queen was 'authoress of the whole' masque was well kept up; one wonders what Ben and Inigo thought of it.

The account of Lord Treasurer Stanhope for January 1608 (A.O. 1, roll 45, bundle 388) includes 'for making ready the Banqueting house and the Lord Threaſs lodginge for the Maske for the king and Queene and Ladies by the space of six daies'. The account of Andrew Kerwyn, paymaster of the Works, 1608-9 (A.O. 1, roll 40, bundle 2419) includes, 'making a stage three foote highe from the Grounde vpon the Trestles all the length and breadth of the hall, setting vp degrees and bourding them in the greate chamber for the Queenes dauncing chamber, making a great number of degrees on

either syde of the Banquetting house both belowe and in the galleries above'. There is a docquet dated 11 December 1607: 'A warrant to y^e Excheq^r to pay so^mes of money and to such p^{ersons} as shalbe certified by anie three of the p^{ri}: Councell vnd^r ther handes whilest y^e Lo. Chamblen to be one, To be bestowed vpon certin workes & devises wth a Stage for a maske to be made this X^mas by the Queene.'

In the Pell Order Book, E. 403/2727, f. 103^b, is an entry of 22 February 1608, 'M^r Bethell in full paiement of y^e charges of y^e maske': 'By order xxj^o ffebruarij 1607. To zacharie Bethell in prest the summe of one hundred and fifteene pounde five shillings fower pence to be by him issued and expended for necessaries required and vsed in her Mat^{ies} late Maske. p^{re} bre dat X^o Decembris 1607.'

An interesting comment is made by La Boderie on the personnel of this masque. Writing to de Puisieux on 20 December 1607, he notes in England a milder feeling about Catholics, and 'on a commence à attaquer les Puritains'.

'Un autre indice que je prens encore, qu'on tâche de fair paroître moins de mauvaise volonté envers lesdits Catholiques, est que le Roi en partant pour sa chasse, ayant ordonné à la Reine de préparer un bal pour ces fêtes de Noël, & s'étant chargé de la dépense, laquelle on dit devoir être de plus de six ou sept mille écus, (car on ne sçauroit rien faire ici pour peu) on remarque que presque toutes les Dames que la Reine a appellées pour en être sont Catholiques.' (*Ambassades*, ii, p. 490.)

The recognizable Catholics are the four daughters of the Earl of Worcester, Lady E. Guilford, Lady K. Petre, Lady A. Winter, Lady Windsor, and Lady Knollys, who was frequently in trouble with the authorities on this question. Perhaps the Countess of Arundel was, or was regarded as, a Catholic because of her husband, who was a Howard, but in 1615 he publicly professed himself a Protestant.

La Boderie, writing to de Villeroy on 5 February 1608, records a sequel to the masque:

'Ce n'est pas merueille que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne obtienne ici tout ce qu'il veut, il en coute tous les ans trente mille écus à son maître, sans l'extraordinaire; aussi a-t-il presque chacun à sa devotion. Il fait Jeudi un grand festin, où par permission de la Reine, il a conuié toutes les Dames du ballet avec autant de Cavaliers & d'autres Dames qu'elles y voudront mener. Il prépare un beau présent pour chacune de celles qu'il a vu danser.' (*Ibid.* iii, pp. 81-2.)

Though the performance of the masque had to be put off till 10 January 1608, the preparations for it were in full swing in the previous December.

In the Talbot Papers at the College of Arms, L, ff. 134-5, is a letter of Viscount Lisle to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 29 January 1608:

'I will not bee weary of pleasing of y^{ow} and to begin wth what your Lo^p desires about the Maske. Truly it was as well performed as euer any wer: and for the deuise of it wth all the speeches and verses I had sent it to your Lo: ere this if I could haue gotten y^m of Ben: Johnson. but no sooner had hee made an end of thos, but that hee vndertooke a new charge, for the maske that is to bee at the Vicount Hadingtons marriage on Shroue Tuesday at night, so as till that has past I cannot haue the first: but thē for the interest and principal debt I will send your Lo: both.'

He goes on to talk of the difficulties with the ambassadors.¹

9. *apted*. *Poet.* 1. ii. 101.

10. *induc'd*. *Blackness*, 55.

13-17. From Ripa's description (op. cit., p. 527), 'Huomo horrido, con la barba, i capelli, & le ali tutte piene de neue, & con li piedi come code di serpi; cosi viene dipinto da Pausanio, & Ouidio nel 6. lib. delle Metamorfosi, di lui cosi dice'. The note is from Cartari, op. cit., f. 48 (of Boreas). The passage in Pausanias is v. xix: 'e questo scribe Pausania che era scolpito da un lato dell' arce de Cipsello nel tempio di Giunone appresso degli Elei in Grecia, che rapiua Orithia, come fingono le fauole, ne dice come ei fosse fatto se non che in uece de piedi haueua code di serpenti.'

16. *with wyres*. So Zephyrus in *Campion's Maske in honour of the Lord Hayes*, 1607 (ed. Vivian, p. 64), 'in a white loose robe of sky coloured Taffatie, with a mantle of white silke, prop't with wyre, stil wauing behind him as he moued'. And the Zephyrus of Jonson's *Chloridia* is so represented in the *Designs of Inigo Jones*, no. 84.

20. *Ianuarie*. Varied from Ripa (p. 343), 'Lo dipingemo con il vestimento bianco, perche in questo mese, per l'ordinario la terre è coperta di neue, che si veggono le campagne tutte d'vn colore. Tien con ambe le mani il segno d'acquario, perche si faccia noto questo mese per il corso del Sole, it qual è dett' acquario, perche abondano le neui, e pioggie in questo tempo.'

23. *Anademe*. *Hym.* 752.

24. *Character*, the appropriate astrological symbol.

38. *more with loue* . . . *Disc.* 1190-1.

44. *ore-hil'd*, covered over (Old English *oferhelian*).

47-8. *Ianus*. *K. Ent.* 388-92. *Shutting vp warres*. Ibid. 409-10, and Jonson's note on line 591.

66. *other Rites*. Jonson's *Hymenaei*, 1606; and *Campion's masque* for Lord Hayes, 1607.

¹ A letter of Lady Pembroke in Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, appendix, p. 121 (Talbot MS. M, f. 409), merely says she is asking for a description of the masque to send to her father.

81. *an Æthiope*. *Blackness*, 255.

87 (and n.). *That floated*. For the island in Loch Lomond see *Conv. Drum*. xvi. 403 n. Cf. Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, ed. de Sélincourt, p. 38: 'there occasionally appears above the surface of Derwent-water, and always in the same place', viz. at the south-east corner near Lodore, 'a considerable tract of spongy ground covered with aquatic plants, which is called the Floating, but with more propriety might be called the Buoyant, Island; and, on one of the pools near the lake of Esthwaite, may sometimes be seen a mossy Islet, with trees upon it, shifting before the wind, a *lusus naturae* frequent on the great rivers of America, and not unknown in other parts of the world.' 'This phenomenon is caused by the permeation of the sunken mass by marsh-gas during hot weather, the upward motion being assisted by the growth of buoyant water-plants on its surface. On piercing the soil with a boat-hook, there is a plentiful escape of gas.' (*The Lake District*, Ward Lock's Guide, p. 115.)

101. *Ōrithyia*. Jonson pronounced 'Orithya', which Gifford prints.

108. *neuer yet*. A reference to the proverb 'It's an ill wind that blows nobody good': cf. *G.M.* 779.

110 n. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 690-2.

111. *Vulturnus*. Ripa's 'Euro' (p. 527), 'Si dipinge di color nero, per similitudine de gl'Ethiopi, che sono in Leuante donde egli viene, & cosi è stato dipinto da gl'antichi. . . . Si rappresenta con il Sole russo in cimo del capo, perche se il Sole quãdo tramonta è rosso, & infocato, mostra che questo uento ha da soffiare il di che vien dietro, come mostra Vergilio libro primo della Georgica scriuendo li segni, che ha il Sole delle stagioni, dicendo

Cæruleus pluuiam denunciat igneus Euris.'

139. *Linus, Orpheus*. Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 55-7:

Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus
Nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

Linus was the son of Apollo and Terpsichore, the instructor of Orpheus and Hercules, the latter of whom killed him by a blow with the lyre.

140 n. Terence, *Phormio*, prol. 17; *Hecyra*, prol. 46.

165. *throne of beautie*. Mr. Gordon illustrates from the car of Venus which Gualterotti designed for the Medici-Capello wedding festivities in Florence in 1579. This is reproduced in his article.

177. *females . . . the Corinthian order*. Vitruvius, i, § 15, 'Veneri, Florae, Proserpinae, fontium nymphis, (aedes) Corinthio genere constitutae aptas videbuntur habere proprietates quod his diis propter teneritatem graciliora et florida foliisque et volutis ornata opera facta augere videbuntur iustum decorem'.

179. *Splendor*. Partly from Ripa's 'Belleza' (p. 46), 'Donna che habbia ascosa la testa fra le nuuole, & il resto sia poco visibile, por la splendore, che la circonda, porga vna mano fuor dello splendore'.

185. *Serenitas*, i.e. the brightness of the sky. Ripa, 'Serenità del

Giorno' (p. 379), 'Vna giovanetta in habita di Ninfa, di colore giallo, con bionde, & longe treccie ornate di perle, & di veli di più colori, sopra alle chioma poserà vn Sole chiaro & bellissimo, à piè del quale penderà vn velo d'oro, & con bella gratia caderà sopra le spalle di detta figura. Il colore del vestimento sarà torchino.'

183 n. Achilles Tatius, II. i, ῥόδον γὰρ ἐπήει τὸ ἄσμα . . . γῆς ἐστὶ κόσμος, φυτῶν ἀγλαῖσμα, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνθεων, λειμῶνος ἐρύθημα, κάλλος ἀστράπτον.

190 n. *the daughter of Electra*. See Jonson's notes on *K. Ent.* 708, 710. As Mr. Gordon points out, the note in the text is very clumsy.

193. *Germinatio*, crowned with myrtle. Cf. Ripa's *Primavera* (pp. 500-1), 'Vna Fanciulla coronata di mortella, & che habbia piene le mani de varij fiori. . . . Gli si dà la ghirlanda di mortella, percioche Horatio nel libro primo ode 4. cosi dice, . . .'

200 n. Cf. Ripa, 'Allegrezza', p. 13: 'Vna giouanetta con ghirlanda di fiori in capo, perchi li fanciulli stanno sempre allegri: & perche nelle feste publiche antiche tutti si coronanano, e loro, e le porte delle loro case, e tempij, & animali.'

203. *Temperies*. Ripa, 'Temperanza', p. 510: (1) 'Bella giouane, vestita di tela d'argento, con Clamideta d'oro'; (2) 'nella destra mano terrà vna tenaglia con vn ferro infocato, & nella sinistra vn vaso di acqua, nel quale tempera quel ferro ardente, & sarà vestita di veluto rosso, con lacci d'oro.'

211. *Venustas*. For the pearls see Pierio, f. 307, 'Vniones tamen, cum ad ornatum præcipue comparentur, venustatis significatum sibi ante alias vsurparunt . . . in vnione nitor & læuor tantum expetitur.'

213. *Lillies*. Ibid., f. 402b, 'Est & pulchritudinis signum lilium, siue formam, siue colores eius contemplêre, Susasque mollem delicatamque Persarum urbem, ubi Regum erant hyberna, ob mitissimam cœli plagam, & amœnitates alias, inde cognominatam tradunt, quod Susa Persarum lingua lilium sit.'

214. *Dignitas*, royally dressed, appears to be Jonson's own conception. Mr. Gordon compares Spenser's Sapience in the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, 183-96:

There in his bosome *Sapience* doth sit,
The soueraine dearling of the *Deity*,
Clad like a Queene in royall robes, most fit
For so great powre and peereless maiesty.
And all with gemmes and iewels gorgeously
Adornd, that brighter then the starres appeare,
And make her natie brightnesse seem more cleare.
And on her head a crowne of purest gold
Is set, in signe of highest soueraignty,
And in her hand a scepter she doth hold,
With which she rules the house of God on hy,
And menageth the euer-mouing sky,
And in the same these lower creatures all,
Subiected to her powre imperiall.

219. *Perfectio*. Ripa's 'Perfettione', pp. 416-17, a design 'Di Pier Leone Casella': 'Donna uestita d'oro . . . statà dentro al cerchio del Zodiaco, disignando col compasso nella sinistra mano vn circolo, ilquale si scolpisca quasi finito. . . . Il compasso, onde ella descriue il cerchio, è perfetta figura fra le Mathematiche, & il cerchio del Zodiaco è simbolo della ragione, & è debita, & conueneuole misura dell' attioni perfette.'

225. *Harmonia*. Ripa, p. 28, from a painting in the Grand Duke Ferdinand's palace at Florence. But only the detail of the jewels is taken, 'in capo hauerà vna corona con sette gioie tutte vguali', without the explanation Jonson gives. Cf. 374 below.

233 n. *Cupids*. The points from Philostratus' *Icones* are (1) the number: εἰ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, μὴ θαυμάσης. Νυμφῶν γὰρ δὴ παῖδες οὗτοι γιγνόνται, τὸ θνητὸν ἅπαν διακυβερνῶντες; (2) the garden with golden fruit: ἀπ' ἄκρων δὲ τῶν ὄζων μῆλα χρυσᾶ καὶ πυρσὰ καὶ ἡλιώδη προσάγονται τὸν ἑσμὸν ὅλον τῶν Ἑρώτων γεωργεῖν αὐτά; (3) the contest: ὁ μὲν τοξεύει τὸν ἕτερον, ὁ δὲ ἀντιτοξεύει; (4) the hares: τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον ὑποκαθήμενον ταῖς μηλέαις καὶ σιτούμενον τὰ πίπτοντα εἰς γῆν μῆλα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡμίβρωτα καταλείπον διαθηρῶσιν οὗτοι. The 'many Cupids' are defended again in *Hym.* 370 n. So Giraldi, p. 559, 'Sed in Imaginibus pulcherrimè à Philostrato describuntur. Ecce, inquit, ἔρωτες, id est Cupidines mala colligunt. quòd uero multi sint, ac innumerabiles, ne admireris. Nympharum enim filij sunt, mortalium genus moderantes: multique ideo, quòd multa sunt ea quorum mortales amore ducantur.'

258, 262. *Motum mundi . . . motum Planetarum*. The seven circles of the Ptolemaic heaven, sun, moon, and planets, moved from west to east, while the eighth sphere, the firmament with the fixed stars, moved in the opposite direction. Spondanus' commentary on the *Iliad*, xii. 237-40, discusses the question fully.

259. *Hom. Iliad*, xii. 239-40: the passage refers to augury.

268. *Scorpio*. Cancer is the House of the Moon in the old astrology; Scorpio appears to be a mistake.

272. *the Kings Master Carpenter*. William Portington, 'an officer of the Board of Works, of whom a curious portrait is preserved at Carpenters' Hall' (F. Cunningham, *Life of Inigo Jones*, p. 8). In the Pells Issue Rolls for 19 May 1610 his salary is given as one shilling a day.

282 n. Giraldi, p. 562, 'Phanes etiam dictus est Amor, quòd ex Chao primus apparuerit, quod Orpheus & Lactantius aiunt'. *Phanes* was a mystic divinity in the Orphic system, representing the first principle in the world, πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνθη (*Orph. Arg.* 15). Giraldi identifies him with Eros because of Hesiod's statement (*Theogonia*, 116, 120) that Eros was the first being to arise out of Chaos. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 178, b, c, τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν τίμιον, . . . γονῆς γὰρ Ἑρωτος οὔτ' εἰσὶν οὔτε λέγονται ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἰδιώτου οὔτε ποιητοῦ, ἀλλ' Ἑσίοδος πρῶτον μὲν Χάος φησὶ γενέσθαι—

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

ἡδ' Ἑρος.

Ἡσιόδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλεως σύμφησιν μετὰ τὸ χάος δύο τούτῳ γενέσθαι, Γῆν τε καὶ Ἔρωτα, Παρμενίδης δὲ τὴν γένεσιν λέγει—

πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων
οὕτω δὲ πολλαχόθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατος εἶναι. πρεσβύτατος
δὲ ὧν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν αἰτιός ἐστιν.

283. *out of Chaos*. So *Love Freed*, 27–30; *Ch. at Tilt*, 164; *Callipolis*, 155–8; Spenser, *An Hymne of Love*, 50 foll., especially

For ere this worlds still mouing mightie masse,
Out of great *Chaos* vgly prison crept,
In which his goodly face long hidden was
From heauens view, and in deepe darknesse kept,
Loue, that had now long time securely slept
In *Venus* lap, vnarmed then and naked,
Gan reare his head, by *Clotho* being waked. . . .

The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,
Then gan to raunge them selues in huge array,
And with contrary forces to conspyre
Each against other, by all meanes they may,
Threatning their owne confusion and decay:
Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
Till Loue relented their rebellious yre.

He then them tooke, and tempering goodly well
Their contrary dislikes with loued meanes,
Did place them all in order, and compell
To keepe them selues within their sundrie raines,
Together linkt with Adamantine chaines;
Yet so, as that in euery liuing wight
They mixe themselues, and shew their kindly might.

awakened by Clotho. So Spenser: cf. the false etymology 'evocatio' noted by Jonson in *K. Ent.* 289, note *f*.

290 n. Giraldi, p. 558, 'Hesiodus Erotā & Himerum, quo utroque nomine Amor significatur, Veneris sectatores facit' (*Theogonia*, 201). 'quo loco Scholiastes philosophatur, differentiamque inter eos ponit. Erotā enim, id est Cupidinem, ex aspectu amare: ἱμερον uero, id est desiderium, post aspectum desiderare facere ait.'

297. *Thomas Giles* is also acknowledged in *Hym.* (a cancelled note in the Quarto after 678), *Hadd.* 349, and *Queens*, 756. He 'was, in 1610, a servant to Prince Henry under the title of "Teacher to dance", with an annual salary of £50' (Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, ii, p. 23 n.). He 'may be identical with the Thomas Giles who became Master of the Paul's boys in 1584' (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, i, p. 202).

306. *siluer feete*. Homer's ἀργυρόπεζα (silver-sandalled) of Thetis.

311. *Their persons*. Almost the same band of ladies played in Daniel's *Tethys Festival* at Whitehall on 5 June 1610.

329. *a motion*. Lucian, *De Saltatione*, 7, οὐ νεώτερον τὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτό ἐστιν οὐδὲ χθὲς καὶ πρῶην ἀρξάμενον, . . . ἀλλ' οἱ γε τὰληθέστατα ὀρχήσεως πέρι γενεαλογοῦντες ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ὅλων φαῖεν ἂν σοι καὶ ὀρχησιν ἀναφῦναι τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκείνῳ Ἐρωτι συναναφανεῖσαν ἢ γοῦν χορεία τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς τῶν πλανήτων συμπλοκὴ καὶ εὐρυθμος αὐτῶν κοινωνία καὶ εὐτακτος ἀρμονία τῆς πρωτογόνου ὀρχήσεως δείγματα ἐστί.

332. *loue is elder then his birth*. Spenser, *An Hymne of Love*, 50:

Or who aliue can perfectly declare,
The wondrous cradle of thine infancie?
When thy great mother *Venus* first thee bare,
Begot of Plentie and of Penurie,
Though elder then thine owne natiuitie;
And yet a chyld, renewing still thy yeares;
And yet the eldest of the heauenly Peares.

Ficino has a chapter on the *Symposium* (*Opera*, 1576, ii, p. 1340), '*Amor cæteris dijs & antiquior est, & iunior*'.

350. *Albee*'. S.S. II. i. 12.

364. *galliards*, quick dances in triple time: C.R. II. iii. 112. *coranto's*: characterized by a running or gliding step. Morley, *Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597, the volte is danced 'rising and leaping, the courante trausing and running'. *Blackness*, 301; *Hym.* 342; *Queens*, 757.

370. *that women haue no soule*. The 'profane *paradoxe*', *Mulieres Homines non esse*, appeared at Leipzig in 1595; Simon Gedik answered it in the same year. The argument on which the paradox was based is given in Donne's verse-letter 'To the Countess of Huntingdon' (*Works*, ed. Grierson, i, p. 201):

Man to Gods image; *Eve*, to mans was made,
Nor finde wee that God breath'd a soule in her.

The dispute started from a passage in the spurious Ambrose ('Ambrosiaster') Commentaries on St. Paul, 1 Corinthians xi. 7 and xiv. 54; Donne, dealing with this in his *LXXX Sermons*, 1640, pp. 242-3, knew, probably from Erasmus, that the commentary was not genuine.

The earliest English reference is in *Mary Magdalene*, 1567, E iii, where Infidelity argues with Mary:

He speaketh of men, but no women at all,
Women haue no souls.

In Rawlinson MS. D. no. 421 is a French translation of the tract by Paul Lorrain dedicated to Pepys; he says he had heard Pepys say that women were not human beings or capable of salvation, but, till he found the tract, he had thought this paradox to be 'la production de votre belle humeur'.

374, note a. *The Platonicks opinion*. Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*, II. ii. 1, 19: 'Hinc Plato postquam et Pythagoricæ successionē

doctrinæ et ingenii proprii divina profunditate cognovit nullam esse posse sine his numeris iugabilem competentiam, in Timæo suo mundi animam per istorum numerorum contextionem ineffabili prouidentia Dei fabricatoris instituit. . . . Ergo mundi anima, quæ ad motum hoc quod videmus universitatis corpus impellit, contexta numeris musicam de se creantibus concinentiam necesse est ut sonos musicos de motu quem proprio impulsu præstat efficiat, quorum originem in fabrica suæ contextionis inuenit.'

383. *stray'ing*. An extreme example of the punctuation we discussed in volume ix, p. 50—the use of a metrical apostrophe to indicate that two unelided but lightly sounded syllables are technically equivalent to one syllable in the scansion.

HYMENAÏ

THIS masque was performed on 5 January 1606 in the old Banqueting House at Whitehall. The accounts of Lord Treasurer Stanhope, 1607 (A.O. 1, roll 43, bundle 388), include 'cxviij^s for makeinge readie at whitehall against the Maske Baryers and Playes'.

The marriage was arranged to heal a political feud. Nicolò Molini, the Venetian ambassador, in a dispatch of 6 January 1606, writes (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, x, p. 308):

'By the custom of the country these days'—the Epiphany—'will be passed in fêtes and banquets, more especially as the marriage of a daughter of the Chamberlain to the Earl of Essex is to be celebrated on New Year's Day; and his Majesty intends to be present. Six months later another daughter of the Chamberlain is to marry a son of Lord Salisbury. The object is to reconcile the young Earl of Essex to Lord Salisbury if possible. Essex is but little the friend of Salisbury, who was the sole and governing cause of the late Earl's execution. Nothing is more earnestly desired by Salisbury than not to leave this legacy of hatred to his son, for though Essex is not rich nor in enjoyment of the power Lord Salisbury wields, yet if the latter were to die his son would not succeed to the influence and authority which his father possesses, whereas Essex has an infinite number of friends all devoted to the memory of his father, all of whom are ready to attempt anything to avenge the death of so noble a gentleman; and there is no doubt but that, when the Earl of Essex is a little older, suggestions and persuasions to revenge will not be wanting. Lord Salisbury hopes by creating ties of relationship to cancel the memory of these ancient enmities; many, however, are of opinion that this is too feeble a medicine for so great an ill.'

A very interesting letter by John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton on 7 January is preserved in Cotton MS. Julius C. iii, ff. 301-2:

'Euer since your departure I haue been very vnfitt to learn any thing;

because my hearing (w^{ch} Aristotle calls Sensus eruditionis) hath by an accidental could bene almost taken from me; w^{ch} makes me very vnsociable, and to keep wthin dores. Yet not in such a retired fashion, but that I haue seen both the mask on Sunday and the barriers on Munday night. The bridegroom carried himself as grauely and gracefully, as if he were of his fathers age.¹ He had greater guiftes giuen him then my lord of Mountgomery² had: his plate being valued at 3000.^{li} and his jewels, mony, and other guifts at 1000.^{li} more. But to returne to the maske; Both Inigo, Ben, and the actors men and weomen did their partes wth great cōmendation. The conceit or soule of the mask was Hymen bringing in a bride and Juno pronubas priest a bridegroome, proclaiming that those two should be sacrificed to Nuptial vnion, and here the poet made an apostrophe to the vnion of the kingdomes.³ But before the Sacrifice could be performed Ben Jonson turned the globe of the earth standing behind the altar,⁴ and wthin the Concaue sate the 8. men-maskers representing the 4. humours and the fower affections which leapt forth to disturb the sacrifice to vnion: but amidst their fury reason that sate aboue them all crowned wth (burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight)⁵ together wth Reason their moderatress mounted aboue their heades, sate somewhat like the ladies in the Scallop-shell the last year. Aboue the globe of erth houered a midle region of cloudes in the center whereof stood a grand consort of musicians, and vpō the Cantons or hornes sate the ladies, 4. at one corner, and 4. at another, who descended vpon the stage, not after the stale downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well; but came gently sloping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the 8. nuptial powers of Juno pronuba who came downe to confirme the Vnion. The men were clad in Crimzon, and the women in white. They had euery one a white plume of the richest Herons fethers, and were so rich in jewels vpon their heades as was most glorious. I think the(y) hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and ropes of perle both in court or citty. The Spanish ambassador seemed but poore to the meanest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both seuerally and promiscuè; and then the weomē took in men, as namely the Prince (who danced wth as great perfectiō and as settled a Maty as could be deuised) the Spanish ambassado^r, the Archidukes ambassado^r, the duke, etct. And the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride, and the greatest

¹ He was fourteen, the bride thirteen.

² Sir Philip Herbert, as he then was, married Lady Susan de Vere at Court on 27 December 1604.

³ See ll. 424–30.

⁴ Sir E. K. Chambers comments: 'I do not know that the statement that "Ben Jonson turned the globe of the earth standing behind the altar . . ." necessarily implies Jonson's personal presence on the stage, actor though he had been, for in fact the globe seems to have been moved by unseen machinery, without even the apparent assistance of a presenter' (*Elizabethan Stage*, i, p. 201).

⁵ This line at the foot of 301 is badly frayed; the text is taken from Goodman's *Court of King James I*, ii, p. 124, which printed the MS. in 1839.

of the ladies. The second night the Barriers were as well performed by 15. against 15. the Duke of Lennox being chieftain on the one side, and my lord of Sussex on the other.'

The Chatsworth designs for this masque include two tracings of drawings not in the collection for two of the Powers of Juno, a head-dress inscribed 'Lady Blanch', i.e. Lady Blanche Somerset, and a whole-length figure (*Designs*, nos. 5 and 6). There is a beautiful drawing of Iris (ibid. 7, reproduced in pl. III). She stands on clouds; her hair is dressed with jewelled bands; a long buff veil falls from the curled horn of her head-dress; she has small blue wings on her shoulders; she wears a low-breasted gown of shot blue and pink, with a full skirt reaching to the ankles; her bodice is of white patterned with gold, with puffs of green and purple over the shoulders; her buskins are white and gold. The dress reproduces the colours of the rainbow. The design of the chief masquing dress is shown in the picture at Welbeck Abbey reproduced before the text in volume vii and described there on pages xv-xviii.

If, as we have conjectured, this picture represents the Countess of Rutland, the household accounts at Belvoir printed in *The Rutland Papers*, vol. iv, pp. 457-8, give some items of the cost of her masquing: on 20 September 1605 there was 'paied to Holmeade, silkeman, for maskinge ware, iiijli. viijs.'; on 20 December £50 was 'delivered for my Lady to Mr. Bethell, the gentleman huisher for the maske'; on 5 January 1606 a further payment of £30 to Mr. Bethel; on 4 March £10 for 'cutworkes bought for my Lady, at the maske'; on 18 May, £6 'to the tyre woman for a coronet', £4 for 'a payer of embrodred silke hose', 30s. for a ruff, 13s. for a pair of shoes, in all £12. 3s. 'for the maske'.

There was also a bill of £8 for her stopping with her attendants at Whitehall from 16 December 1605 to 8 January 1606, which shows when the rehearsals began; wine, bread, and beer cost £4. 6s.

Six drawings of Knights Masquers tentatively assigned to the Barriers of 1606 are also catalogued in *Designs*, nos. 8-13. They are a group in Inigo Jones's early manner, and they may be alternative designs, or they may be for more than one set of barriers.

In November 1774 there was performed at Covent Garden 'A Pastoral Masque and Pantomime' called *The Druids*. The lyrics in it were taken from *Hymenaei* and *The Haddington Masque*. A full description of the piece was given in *The Public Advertiser* of 21 November 1774.

Jonson's Latin notes to this masque are a running commentary on Roman marriage customs. His chief authority was Giraldi, *De*

Deis Gentium Historia, Syntagma tertium De Iunone, Hymenaeo, et Talassio, 1548; he also used Barnabé Brisson, *De Ritu Nuptiarum*, 1564, and Antoine Hotman, *De Veteri Ritu Nuptiarum*, 1585; Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genialium Dierum Libri Sex*, ed. Tiraquell, 1594. The bride wore a veil of bright yellow (*flammeum*) and yellow shoes (180, 482). Her dress was bound round the waist with a girdle (*corona, cingulum, zona*) (60, 192). Her hair was divided with the point of a spear (288 n.). She was taken with a show of violence from the arms of her mother or of the kinsman who had to give her away (463-4). She was accompanied by three boys: one (the *camillus*) carried before her a torch of white-thorn (*spina*) or, according to others, of pine wood, and a box in a covered vase containing the so-called utensils of the bride (186); two walked by her side, supporting her by the arm and carrying a distaff and a spindle (53 n.). The use of the 'five waxen lights' (196) is uncertain, whether they were carried in the procession which took place at night, or whether they were lit in the house of the bride.

On reaching her new home the bride was lifted over the threshold by men who had only once been married (*pronubi*), that she might avoid the evil omen of knocking her foot against it (482). Before she entered, she wound wool around the doorposts and anointed them with lard (*adepts suillius*) or wolf's fat (*adepts lupinus*) (289 n.). Her husband received her with fire and water, which she had to touch, a symbolic expression of partnership in domestic life and worship (176). After she entered the house, she was placed upon a sheepskin and received the keys.

She was conducted by matrons who had had only one husband (*pronubae*) to the *lectus genialis* in the *atrium*, which was adorned with flowers (493-5, 168, 375, 487-9). The light was snatched away from the bridal chamber by the matrons.

1. *subiected*, 'attributed to, inhering in'. *O.E.D.*, comparing the use of 'subject' in *S. of N.* Interm. II. 32, 'subiect to exception'.

2. *obiected*, exposed. *K. Ent.* 241; *M.Q.*, letter to Queen Anne, 3.

6, 7. *bodies . . . soules*. An antithesis on which Jonson strongly insisted in works of art. In *Blackness*, 90, 91, 'the bodily part' was Inigo Jones's, and in the *Expostulation* (*U.V.* xxxiv. 50) he pointed a sneer at Inigo, 'Painting and carpentry are the Soul of masque'. Jonson was thinking of Spenser's

For of the soule the bodie forme doth take:
For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make.

(*An Hymne of Beautie*, 132-3.)

14, 15. *high, and heartie inuentions*. Chapman, *Ouids Banquet of*

Sense, 1595, A2, 'high and hearty inuention exprest in most significant, and vnaffected phrase': *Luminalia*, 1637, A, 'the Queene commanded *Inigo Iones* . . . to make a new subject of a Masque for her selfe, that with high and hearty invention, might give occasion for variety of Scenes, strange aparitions, Songs, Musick and dancing of severall Kinds.'

19. *some*, e.g. Daniel.

26. *Italian herbs*. As Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, to Dymock's translation of which Daniel had contributed a sonnet in 1602.

a sallade. Massinger, *The Great Duke of Florence*, II. ii (1636, D3^v), of Italians:

That think when they have sup'd upon an Olive,
A Root, or bunch of Raysins, 'tis a Feast.

31. *Metheglin*. C.R. I. iv. 10, 11.

32-4. *Vaticana* . . . Adapted from Martial, x. xlv. 5, 6:

Vaticana bibas, si delectaris aceto:
non facit ad stomachum nostra lagona tuum.

'Vatican' is spoken of by Martial as the worst kind of wine.

36. *the Masques*, sets of masquers. C.R. v. x (margin), '*The Maskes ioyne, and they dance*'; Bacon, essay *Of Masques*, 'Double Masques, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety'.

40. *Ioni*. So all the texts, but probably we should read 'Iunoni'.

Oimæ Mimæ, *Optimæ Maximæ*. With the note cf. 290 n.

40, note *. Giraldi, p. 160, 'Iugae Iunonis ara fuit Romae in vico qui ideo Iugarius dictus erat, ut Festus ait. Scribunt alii quod ad hanc aram veteri ritu nubentes vinculis iungebantur in omen futurae concordiae.'

45, note (c). A. Hotman, xvii, p. 546, 'Ornatus autem sponsi in eo praecipue notabatur quod tonderetur', quoting Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 26. The passage from Lucan, ii. 370-6, is also in Hotman.

49. *saffron-coloured robe*. Ovid, *Met.* x. 1, 2, 'Croceo velatus amictu Hymenaeus'; Milton, *L'Allegro*, 125-8:

There let *Hymen* oft appear
In Saffron robe, with Taper clear,
And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
With mask, and antique Pageantry.

52 n. *pine tree*. *Pineam* is in the manuscripts of Catullus, lxi. 15, and is corroborated, as Jonson notes, by the *Ciris*, 439, Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 558, and by Seneca, *Medea*, 111, which Jonson does not quote. The pine-torch is properly given to Hymen. The torch of white thorn (*spinea*) was carried in front of the bride by a boy (*puer patrimus et matrimus*); see note (e). The early commentators discussed these variant readings, Jonson followed Alexander, p. 137, note e; Brisson, pp. 33-4, favours *spineam*.

57. *her hayre flowing*. An English, not a Roman custom; there is no reference to it in Pompeius Festus, Brisson, or Hotman. *Und.* ii. 6, 8-11:

. . . the Bride (allow'd a Maid)
Look'd not halfe so fresh, and faire,
With th'advantage of her haire,
And her Jewels, . . .

where Gifford quotes Henry Peacham's description of the Princess Elizabeth at her marriage with the Palsgrave: 'the bride came into the chapell in white, with a Coronet on her head of Pearle, and her haire discheueled, and hanging downe ouer her shoulders' (*Nuptiall Hymnes*, 1613, H2). *sprinckled with grey*. Mentioned only here and line 184; its object was to ensure that the bride looked mature and matron-like.

59. *a weathers fleece hanging downe*. The 'snowie fleece' of line 188. Chapman in the Roman marriage ceremonies which he introduces into *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad V (1598, M), wrongly speaks of a matron, not the bride herself,

that did spinning beare
A huswives rock and spindle, and did weare
A weathers skin, with all the snowy fleece,
To intimate that euen the daintiest peece,
And noblest borne dame should industrious bee.

61. *Herculean knot*. See Jonson's note on 194.

62-3. *the water . . . the fire*. Jonson has not explained the use of this. See Varro quoted by Servius on *Aeneid*, iv. 167, 'Aqua et igni mariti uxores accipiebant. Vnde hodieque et faces praelucent et aqua petita de puro fonte per felicissimum puerum aliquem aut puellam interest nuptiis.' It was a symbolic purification; the bride had to touch it on entering her new home.

67. *Bid all profane away*. A formula at the beginning of the ancient mysteries, warning the uninitiated to leave. Cf. Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 2, ἐκάς, ἐκάς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός, and Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 258, 'Procul, o procul este, profani'.

92. *priest of peace*. James's love of peace is constantly alluded to: cf. *K. Ent.* 523-32; *Hadd.* 220.

100. *the fighting seedes of things*. Ovid, *Met.* i. 9, 'Non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum'.

109. *Globe*. Like the silver sphere in the *Haddington Masque*.

112. *the foure Humors, and foure Affections*. Plutarch, *Morals*, transl. Holland, 1603, pp. 834-5: 'PYTHAGORAS and PLATO, according to a more generall and remote division, hold, that the Soule hath two parts, that is to say, the Reasonable & the unreasonable; but to goe more neare and exactly to worke, they say, it hath three; for they subdivided the unreasonable part into Concupissible and Irascible.' This is Jonson's division here.

112 n. With the 'Grammaticall exception' and the poet's justification compare Dekker's defence of his making the Genius of the City of

London a woman (quoted in *King's Ent.* 69 n.), and the criticism of Jonson's violation of chronology in *The Masque of Queens*, 670-9. So Daniel in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* justifies his bringing in sleep walking and talking by quoting Ovid and Ariosto. These passages are interesting as showing the kind of criticism which passed for literary at Court.

125. *little world of Man*. Raleigh, *The History of the World*, 1614, I, ch. ii, § 5, 'That Man is (as it were) a little world': 'Man, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall.' 'God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; . . . he vouchsafed vnto man, both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man; and therefore (saith GREGORIE NAZIANZENE:) *Homo est vtriusque naturæ vinculum*, Man is the bond and chaine which tieth together both natures: and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little world.' Cf. *Love Freed*, 185-6:

. . . each creature

Humane, is a world in feature. .

126. *numerous, harmonious*. Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, 1. iii (Holland's version, 1603, pp. 806-7): Pythagoras 'held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that is to say, the proportions that they have in their correspondency one vnto another; which hee calleth otherwise Harmonies: & these elements that be composed of them both, are tearmed by him Geometricall'. Our soul 'doth consist of the quaternary number; for there is in it, understanding, science, opinion, and sense; from whence proceedeth all manner of art and knowledge'.

129. *Reason*. The conception is Jonson's own, but he borrowed from Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 451-2, the 'white bend, fill'd with Arithmetically figures': 'Le note di Arithmetica sono poste, perche con queste si fanno le ragioni in detta arte, che prouano le cose reali, come con la ragione, che stà nell' anima, si proua, & si conosce tutto quello, che appartiene al ben nostro.' She carries a sword, 'per mantener netto il campo delle uirtù da uitij predatori de' beni dell' anima'.

132. *Semined*. *K. Ent.* 431.

140. *orgies*. In this good sense Jonson uses the word in *Oberon*, 53, *Pan's Ann.* 207, but he has 'druncken Orgies' (*P.R.* 98) and 'Orgies of drinke' (*Und.* lxx. 104).

162. *side*, are together side by side.

168. *Geniall bed*. *N.I.* v. iv. 34.

172. *Tead*, a torch of pine-wood (Lat. *taeda*). So Spenser, *F.Q.* 1. xii. 37 (of Roman marriage rites):

His owne two hands, . . .

The housling fire did kindle and provide,

And holy water thereon sprinckled wide;

At which the bushy Teade a groome did light,
And sacred lampe in secret chamber hide,
Where it should not be quenched day nor night,
For feare of euill fates, but burnen euer bright.

173. *In token of encrease.* Torches were carried at weddings in honour of Ceres (the 'taedifera dea' of Ovid, *Heroides*, ii. 42); and the idea that she was the producer of the earth's fertility was extended to fertility in general; Servius on *Aeneid*, iv. 58, speaks of her as the goddess of marriage.

174, note (b). Brisson, p. 34, 'Spinae albae ad maleficia depellenda vim inesse antiquitas credidit'. Throughout this speech Jonson follows Brisson, who is acknowledged only in note (e).

176 n. Plutarch asks the question *Διὰ τί τὴν γαμουμένην ἄπτεσθαι πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος κελεύουσι*; and suggests as one explanation *ὅτι κάθαπερ τὸ πῦρ χωρὶς ὑγρότητος ἄτροφόν ἐστι καὶ ξηρόν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἄνευ θερμότητος ἄγονον καὶ ἀργόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν ἀδρανὲς καὶ τὸ θῆλυ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἡ δὲ σύνοδος ἀμφοῖν ἐπιτελεῖ τοῖς γήμασι τὴν συμβίωσιν.* (*Quaest. Rom.* i.)

186. *útensíls.* For the accent cf. *The Tempest*, III. ii. 92, 'He has brave utensils, for so he calls them'. So Wordsworth and Cowper accent the word.

189. *rocke.* S.S. II. iii. 46.

198. *fiue the special number.* From Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* ii, *ὁ γὰρ ἄρτιος διάστασιν τε δέχεται καὶ τὸ ἴσον αὐτοῦ μάχιμόν ἐστι καὶ ἀντίπαλον, ὃ δὲ περιττὸς οὐ δύναται διασχισθῆναι παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπολείπει τι κοινὸν ἀεὶ μεριζόμενος. τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ μάλιστα γαμήλιος ἢ πεντάς ἐστι· τὰ γὰρ τρία πρῶτος περιττὸς καὶ τὰ δύο πρῶτος ἄρτιος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος ἡ πεντὰς μέμικται.* The point is elaborately worked out by Chapman in *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad v. 317-40 (1598, L3-M):

Next before her went
Fiue louely children deckt with ornament
Of her sweet colours, bearing Torches by,
For light was held a happie Augurie
Of generation, whose efficient right
Is nothing else but to produce to light.
The od disparent number they did chuse
To shew the vnion married loues should vse,
Since in two equall parts it will not seuer,
But the midst holds one to reioyne it euer,
As common to both parts: men therefore deeme,
That equall number Gods doe not esteeme,
Being authors of sweet peace and unitie,
But pleasing to th'infernall Emperie,
Vnder whose ensignes Wars and Discords fight,
Since an euen number you may disunite
In two parts equall, nought in middle left,
To reunite each part from other reft:

And fwe they hold in most especiall prise,
 Since t'is the first od number that doth rise
 From the two formost numbers vnitie
 That od and euen are; which are two and three,
 For one no number is: but thence doth flow
 The powerfull race of number.

209. *loue the oddes*. Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 76, 'Numero deus impare gaudet', with Servius' note.

212 following. The picture of Juno as queen of the air is carefully annotated by Jonson, who also drew on Ripa's *Chariot of the Air*, p. 65: 'Fu dipinta da Martiano Cappella Giunone per l'aria, per vna matrona a sedere sopra di vna sedia nobilmente ornata, con vn velo bianco, che gli cuopre il capo, il quale è circondato da vna fascia a vso di corona antica, e reale, piena di gioie verde, rosse, & azurre, il colore della faccia risplendente. . . . Nella destra mano tiene vn fulmine, & nella sinistra ci hauerà vn tamburino. Il carro è tirato da due bellissimi pauoni, vcelli consecrati a questa Dea, & Ouidio nel primo de arte amandi così dice.

Laudatas ostendit auis Iunonia pennas . . .

'I varij colori, & l'altre cose sopradette significano le mutationi dell' aria, per gl' accidenti ch'appaiono in essa, come pioggia, serenità, impeto de' venti, nebbia, tempesta, neue, ruggiada, folgori, tuoni, & questo significa il tamburino, che tiene in mano, oltre ciò comete, iride, vapori, infiammati baleni, & nuuoli.' The Ovid reference, which Jonson copies from Ripa, is wrong. It fuses two passages, *Medicamina Faciei Femineae*, 33-4,

*Laudatas homini volucris Iunonia pennas
 Explicat,*

and *Amores*, II. vi. 55,

Explicat ipsa suas ales Iunonia pennas.

215 n. From Giraldi, pp. 157-8, 'Quin & Græci ἡραν ipsum aera interpretantur, unde & Iunonis templum ἡραιον vocatur. & Macrobius, Iunonem aeriam dictam scribit, quòd ipsa aer putaretur, vel quòd in eo regnaret, ut ait Martianus.'

216 n. Conti, *Mythologia*, p. 138, says of the peacock, 'vt pote aereo temperamento'.

216, 220. Giraldi, p. 158, 'Apuleius in x ita effinxit: Mulierem honesta forma, habentem in capite candidum diadema, & sceptrum manu gestantem.'

219. Cartari, *Le Imagini*, 1571, p. 190: 'A Giunone fecero gli antichi ghirlande di bianchi gigli, le quale chiamanano le rose di Giunone.'

219 (and note s). *Lillies and Roses*. Giraldi, p. 158, 'Coronabatur interdum lilio: Iunonis enim flos lilium. & rosa Iunonia vocabatur: id quod a fabulis infantis Herculis ab Iunone ablactati deductum, in nostro Hercule scripsimus.' Mr. Gordon points out that Jonson has misunderstood this passage; the lily was 'Juno's rose'.

221. *her golden feete.* Ibid., 'Calceos in pedes Iunonis aureos, cum Hesiodo'—*Ἡρην χρυσοπέδιλον*, *Theog.* 454—'cæteri poetæ educunt.'

the hide of a lyon (and note *a*). Ibid., 'Pulchre etiam Iuno Argis efficta legitur. vite autem, ut Callimachus ait, ornata, qua de re in li. de Corona Tertullianus: Argis, inquit, Iunonis signum palmite redimitum, subiecto pedibus eius corio leonino, insultantem ostentans novercum de exuviis utriusque privigni, Bacchi scilicet, & Herculis.'

226. *Beneath her the rainebowe.* So Conti, *Mythologia*, 1605, p. 901, 'Sapienter sanè dictum est ab antiquis quod Iris sedeat sub throno Iunonis, quia gignatur in parte æeris inferiore, hoc est infra nubes, nam illius arcus cælestis quæ Iris nuncupatur, radius solis cauæ nubi immisus causa est: qui in ipsum Solem acie repulsa refringitur.'

233. *in the anagram.* Jonson, who affected to despise anagrams (*Conv. Drum.* xvii. 437), quoted one in *P. Henry's Barriers*, 20, and *Hon. Wales*, 373, 377.

272. *Order*, cosmos (κόσμος) as opposed to chaos. Cf. Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, vii. vii. 4, 'Natures Sergeant (that is Order).'

280 foll. Robert Baron in 'Fortunes Tennis-Ball' (*Pocula Castalia*, 1640, pp. 58-66), copies the details of *Hymenæi* in describing the marriage of Princess Rosella with Ulorus.

288. *Curis.* More correctly 'Curitis': in his note Jonson has the genitive '*Matronæ Iunonis Curitis*'. The notes on the attributes of Juno are all taken from Giraldi; this of 'Curis' is on page 167: 'Curis Iuno à Sabinis nuncupata, & deinde à Romanis. nam hastam curin Sabini appellabant. Cato in Originibus . . . Quirinalis, inquit, collis à Iunone Sabinorum dea, quam illi Curitim, id est hastatam Iunonem uocant. . . . Idem & Festus scribit. Hinc etiam à priscis institutum legimus, ut nubentium caput hasta comeretur, quam Cœlibarem uocabant, quòd essent in Iunonis tutela nubentes constitutæ. . . . De Cœlibari etiam Plut. in quæstionibus Romanis, & in Fast. Ouid. Festus: Cœlibari, inquit, hasta caput nubentis comabatur, quæ in corpore gladiatoris stetisset abiecti, occisiq, ut quemadmodum illa coniuncta fuerit cum corpore gladiatoris, sic ipsa cum viro sit.'

289. *Vnxia.* Ibid., p. 162: 'Vnxia Iuno cognominata, teste Martiano, ea uerò causa uidetur, quòd uetus Romanorum mos fuit, ut nouæ nuptæ mariti domum intrantes, axungia postes ungerent. ea enim religione tenebatur, ut axungia putarent pleraque mala arceri. Seruius grammaticus libro quarto Aeneid. morem fuisse ait, ut nubentes puellæ simul cum uenisse(n)t ad mariti limen, postes antequam ingrederentur, ornarent laneis uittis, et oleo ungerent. et inde sunt uxores dictæ. Sed Plin. & Massurius, non oleo, aut axungia, sed lupino adipe postes inungere moris fuisse, prodiderunt: ne scilicet malum aliquod medicamentum inferretur.'

290. Giraldi, p. 160: 'Iuga Iuno appellata, vel quod Iuges, ut ait Pompeius, sunt eiusdem iugi pares, unde & coniuges. vel ut scribit Servius in quarto Aen. super ea Didonis verba, Ne cui me vinclo vellem

sociare iugali: iugali, Inquit, propter iugum quod imponebatur matrimonio coniungendis, unde etiam Iuno Iugalis dicitur.'

290 n. *the Altar (to which I have declared before) sacred to Iuno*. Did Jonson write originally 'the altar to Iuno (which . . .)' and then rearrange the words, leaving 'to' in by mistake? 'Declare to' in this use is a solecism; it is hardly supported by 'What do you say to it?' or 'Will you swear to it?'

291. *Gamelia*, Giraldi, p. 160: 'Interpres quoque Pindari in Neme. ubi fit mentio de τέλεια Iunone, ita scribit: Iuno enim ipsa est γαμηλία, καὶ ζυγία . . . γαμηλία ἦρα, hoc est Nuptialis Iuno, in nuptijs colebatur. Plutarchus in praeceptis connubialibus ait, Iunoni Gameliae rem sacram facientes, cum reliquis sacris fel non consecrant, sed eximentes post aram proijciunt. id scilicet significante legislatore, neque quid bilis, neque iracundiae in nuptijs esse oportere.'

291 n. *somewhere following*, viz. at line 328.

292. *Iterduca*. Giraldi, p. 162: 'Iterduca, & Domiduca Iuno, vocabatur à Romanis, quòd ad sponsi aedes sponsa(s) comitabatur, uel earum iter protegeret. meminit Martianus, ut ostendimus.' 'Iterduca' in Martianus Capella, ii, § 149, but there is a variant 'Interduca'. Herrick, 'Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 54), stanza 5:

On, on devoutly, make no stay;
While *Domiduca* leads the way.

293. *Cinxia*. Ibid., p. 164: 'Cinxia Iuno, ut idem scribit Martianus, quod cingulum puellae ponentes in thalamis, à Iunone protegantur. At Festus: Cinxiae, inquit, Iunonis nomen sanctum habebatur in nuptijs, quod initio coniugij solutio erat cinguli, quo noua nupta erat cincta. Vnctionibus, inquit Arnobius in tertio, superest Vnxia, cingulorum Cinxia replicationi.'

294. *Telia . . . perfects all*. Ibid., p. 161: 'Τέλεια ἦρα, hoc est perfecta Iuno, uel ut Poggius uertit apud Diodorum, Perfectrix, uel potius Nuptialis: nam Iul. Pollux in tertio ait, & matrimonium uocari τέλειος, & τέλειοι qui matrimonium ineunt. quin & ipsa coniunctionis actio ἡρατέλεια, ab Iunone praeside nuptiarum, quam in primis uirgines ante nuptias sacrificijs placabant. Pindarus in Nem. in hymno ad Thiaëum Vliæ filium Argium, de Hebe Herculis uxore loquens, τέλειαν, id est Iunonem Hebes matrem uocat. ubi græcus enarrator inter cætera & hoc ponit: τέλειος δὲ ὁ γάμος, διὰ τὸ τελειότητα βίου κατασκευάζειν. hoc est, τέλειος autem nuptiæ, propterea quòd perfectionem uitæ præparant. Citat et hoc Æschyli, ἦρα τέλεια ζηνὸς εὐναῖα δάμαρ. id est Iuno Telea Iouis uxor cubiculi.'

The idea of perfection is echoed in lines 472-6, 531-2, *Hadd.* 379 foll. Cf. Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, 1598, B4, sestiad i. 266-9:

Base bullion for the stamps sake we allow,
Euen so for mens impression doe we you.
By which alone, our reuerend fathers say;
Women receiue perfection euery way.

And the refrain of Donne's *Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne* (*Poems*, ed. Grierson, i, pp. 141-4) is 'To day put on perfection, and a womans name'.

Herrick in his 'Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 55) has borrowed a number of classical suggestions from Jonson: in stanza 9:

You, you that be of her neerest kin,
Now o're the threshold force her in.
But to avert the worst;
Let her, her fillets first
Knit to the posts: this point
Remembring, to anoint
The sides: for 'tis a charme
Strong against future harme:
And the evil deads, the which
There was hidden by the Witch.

295, note (h). *Iuno παρθένος*. She was so called at her temple in Samos, and at one of her three temples at Stymphalus in Arcadia; there her attributes were *παρθένος* (or *παῖς*), *τελεία*, and *χήρα*; Pindar, alluding to the first of these, calls her *Ἥρα Παρθενία* (*Olymp.* vi. 88). Pausanias (ii. xxxviii. 2) says of the lake Canathos in Nauplia that she recovered her virginity by bathing in it every year. Giraldi, p. 162, explains the three attributes of Hera, 'maiden' before her marriage, 'perfect' when she married, and 'widow' 'cum demum cum Ioue dissideret'.

298. *prouok'd*. Cf. the MS. reading of *Blackness*, 302.

316. *formed into Letters*. So in *M. of Queens*, 750-2, the name of Prince Charles; and in Robert White's masque, *Cupid's Banishment, a Masque presented to Her Majesty, by younge Gentlewomen of the Ladies' Hall at Deptford* on 4 May 1617 (printed in Nichols's *Progresses*, iii, pp. 283-96), in the final dances Fortune and twelve Nymphs 'pace with majesty towards the Presence, and after the first strayne of the violins they daunce ANNA REGINA in letters; their second masking-daunce JACOBVS REX; their departing daunce is CAROLVS P.; with many excelent figures fallinge off, by Mr. Ounslo, Tutor to the Ladies' Hall'.

320. *the Golden Chaine*. Explained in Jonson's note: he has the image again in *G.A.R.* 11, 12; *Forest*, xi. 47-8. Bacon, *Of the Advancement of Learning*, i. i. 3, says that 'according to the allegory of the poets' 'the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair'.

334-9. From the address to Hymen in Catullus lxi. 61-70: 'Nil potest sine te Venus, | fama quod bona comprobet, | commodi capere: at potest | te volente. Quis huic deo | compararier ausit? | Nulla quit sine te domus | liberos dare, nec parens | stirpe nitier: at potest | te volente. Quis huic deo | compararier ausit?'

352. *make*. *T. of T.* i. i. 8.

356. *Idalian starre*. 'Idalium astrum' (Propertius, iv. vi. 59) of Venus, from Idalium in Cyprus, which was sacred to her. Cicero, *De*

Nat. Deorum, II. xx, 'Infima est quinque errantium terraeque proxima stella Veneris quae Φωσφόρος Graece, Latine dicitur Lucifer cum antegreditur solem, cum subsequitur autem Έσπερος'.

362. *the bated torch*. Herrick, 'Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell', stanza 6 (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 54):

See, see the Bride-grooms Torch
Halfe wasted in the porch.

388. *A minutes losse . . .* So *E.M.I.* IV. viii. 122-3.

404. *perfect'st figure*. *Hadd.* 279, *Ep.* cxxviii. 8: cf. 'circular, eternall' in *N.I.* III. ii. 107. The circle was used to symbolize eternity and perfection.

407. *Ceston*, 'the strange poetick girdle' of *Volp.* v. ii. 102.

416. *of dignitie*. Aelius Spartianus in his *Life of Aelius Verus* (*Historiae Augustae*, ed. Gruter, 1611, p. 255), 'Vxor dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis'. Cf. Jonson's note on *Hadd.* 420.

427-8. *realmes . . . streames*. See *E.M.I.* v. v. 21 n. for 'realm' pronounced 'ream'.

442. *nemo doctus . . .* Adapted from Martial, I. xxxv. 6, 7:

Quid si me iubeas thalassionem
verbis dicere non thalassionis?

463. *rap*, seize (Lat. *rapere*).

477-506. Suggested by Catullus, lxi. 152-201: 'En tibi domus ut potens | et beata viri tui, | quae tibi sine serviat | . . . Transfer omine cum bono | limen aureolos pedes, | rasilemque subi forem. | . . . Mitte brachiolum teres, | praetextate, puellulae: | iam cubile adeat viri. | Vos bonae senibus viris | cognitae bene feminae, | collocate puellulam. | Iam licet venias, marite: | uxor in thalamo tibist. | . . . Bona te Venus | iuverit, quoniam palam | quod cupis cupis et bonum | non abscondis amorem.'

482, note *d*. *Christ. Landus* should be Constantius Landus (Costanzo Landi), Count of Campiano, whose text and commentary on the Epithalamium of Catullus were published at Pavia in 1550.

487-90. Cf. Claudian, *Carm. min.* xxv (Epithalamium dictum Paladio, 116-19):

Ut thalami tetigere fores, tum vere rubentes
desuper invertunt calathos largosque rosarum
imbres, et violas plenis sparsere pharetris
collectas Veneris prato.

496-500. *And snatch away . . .* Festus, § 404 (Teubner): '*Rapi* simulatur virgo ex gremio matris, aut, si ea non est, ex proxima necessitudine, cum ad virum traditur, quod videlicet ea res feliciter Romulo cessit. *Rapi* solet fax, qua praelucente nova nupta deducta est, ab utriusque amicis, ne aut uxor eam sub lecto viri ea nocte ponat, aut vir in sepulcro comburendam curet; quo utroque mors propinqua alterius utrius captari putatur.'

512. *lips may mingle soules*. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 79:

Haesimus calentes
et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
errantes animas.

526. *cockles*. C.R. v. iv. 534 n.

527, note *. Cypris is, of course, 'the Lady of Cyprus'—Horace's 'diva potens Cypri'. The absurd etymology ἡ τὸ κύειν παρέχουσα is given by the Scholiast Venetus B on Homer, *Iliad*, v. 458, though he gives an alternative ἡ ὅτε ἐν Κύπρῳ τιμᾶται. Another scholium on *Iliad*, v. 422, says Κύπρις is κατὰ συγκοπὴν εἰρημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ κύω, κυτόρις. Phornutus was really Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, the teacher of Lucan and Persius. In his *De Natura Deorum Gentilium*, 1543, he has a wild suggestion κρύψις. Jonson's note is from Giraldi, p. 553: 'Cypris Venus frequenti cognomine dicta, ut ait Theophilus, quòd parere faciat, ἡ τὸ κύειν παρέχουσα: quòd & Phurnutus innuit. idemq; ferè in Homerum grammatici dicunt. hoc est, ueluti κύειν πορίζουσα, vel quod in Cypro colebatur, unde & Cypria interdum dicta.'

528. *iuy*. Catullus, lxi. 33-5: 'Mentem amore revinciens, | ut tenax edera huc et huc | arborem implicat errans.'

540-2. *with timely seed . . . Informe*. Spenser, *Epithalamion*, 385-7, to Cynthia:

Encline thy will t'effect our wishfull vow,
And the chaste wombe informe with timely seed,
That may our comfort breed.

540 n. *Iliad*, v. 429; Lucretius, i. 1, 2; but *Georgic*, ii. 329, is hardly apposite.

543-64. Whalley and Gifford quote the exquisite close of Catullus' *Epithalamium*, but the immediate model was Statius' *Silvae*, i. ii. 268-77, the last lines of the epithalamium to Stella and Violentilla:

Acceleret partu decimum bona Cynthia mensem . . .
cumque tuos tacito natura recessu
formabit vultus, multum de patre decoris,
plus de matre feras. . . .
Longe virides sic flore iuventae
perdurent vultus, tardeque haec forma senescat.

With the closing prayer *Their formes grow slowly old* cf. *U.V.* xviii. 24 (the lines on Somerset's marriage), and *G.M.* 477-8.

545. *ten moones*. Copying Statius, but 'nine moones' in *Hadd.* 438.

596. *Labels*, small bands or strips over the 'bases' or kilts.

599. *watchet*, light blue.

605. *Oo's*, 'metal eyelets tacked or clinched to the material in such designs as "squares", "esses", "wheate eares", etc., or powdered over the whole surface' (M. C. Linthicum, *R.E.S.* vii, pp. 198-200).

607. *compasse*, circularly.

623. *carelessly . . . yet with more art.* S.W. i. i. 97-102.

649. *the three Regions of Ayre.* Bartholomaeus Keckermann, *Opera*, 1614, i, col. 1446: 'Aristoteles atque adeò veteres Physici locum aeris dividunt in πρότερον & δεύτερον, id est, primum & secundum, sive superiorem & inferiorem. . . . Recentiores autem accuratius paulò totum illud spacium aereum partiti sunt in tres regiones, nempe in Supremum, Medium & Infimum.' He specially refers to Albertus Magnus' *Meteora*, tractatus I, caput viii. The top region is fiery: 'ibi aer fervens disgregans partes vaporis et consumens vaporem et convertens in aerem siccum aestuosum. Et propter has causas nihil omnino ex nubibus humidis remanet in loco illo. . . . Est autem in medio duarum regionum, scilicet superioris aestuosae & inferioris calidae & humidae tertia aeris zona sive regio . . . quae est valde frigida et excellentis frigiditatis': vapours gather there, condense, and form clouds, so that this region is a gathering place for rain. (From A. W. Verity's edition of *Paradise Lost*, appendix D, pp. 674-6, explaining 'the middle air' (i. 516), and

in mid air

To Council summons all his mighty Peers,
Within thick Clouds and dark ten-fold involved.

Paradise Regained, i. 39-41.)

660. *Nimbi.* The nimbus was a bright cloud: 'Est fulgidum lumen quo deorum capita cinguntur: sic etiam pingi solet'—Servius on *Aeneid*, ii. 616. Apollo appears εἰμένος ὥμοιῖν νεφέλῃν (*Iliad*, xv. 308).

After 678 n., l. 7. *Alphonso Ferabosco.* See *Ep.* cxxx.

l. 16. *Thomas Giles. Beauty*, 297.

l. 21. *Mutare . . . Martial*, i. lxvi. 9.

681. *a Mist.* Cf. *Alch.* ii. ii. 48-9.

684. *Truth . . . Opinion.* See Mr. Gordon's discussion in his essay on *Hymenaei*, pp. 134-40. Middleton's pageant for the Lord Mayor's show, 1613, *The Triumphs of Truth*, who is delivered from Error, owes something to Jonson.

688. *a Palm-bough.* Cf. Ripa, whose figure of Truth carries one: 'Il ramo della palma, ne può significare la sua forza, percioche si come è noto, che la palma non cede al peso, così la Verità non cede alle cose contrarie, & ben molti la impugnano, nondimeno si solleva, & cresce in alto' (p. 530).

691. *the one expostulated the other.* This transitive use with a personal object is rare.

696. *time.* Aulus Gellius, xii. xi. 7: 'Alius quidam veterum poetarum, cuius nomen nunc memoriae non est, veritatem temporis filiam esse dixit.' The note is from Giraldi, p. 37: 'Veritas Temporis filia, & Virtutis mater dicta. Plutarch. in Quæst. ait, Veritatis parentem ac deum Romanos Saturnum habuisse. Subdit causam: An, inquit, quòd ut plerique philosophi putant, Κρόνον χρόνον, hoc est, Saturnum tempus esse: ueritas uerò tempore inuenitur.'

712. *insociate.* The only example of the word in the *O.E.D.*

718 n. Giraldi, p. 37, of Truth: 'Hippocrates uero in quadam ad Philopœmonem epistola hoc modo describit: Mulierem pulchram, magnam, simpliciter ornatam, illustrem ac splendidam, cuius oculorum orbes puro lumine nitebant, ut astrorum ac stellarum fulgorem imitari uiderentur. Idem ibidem & Opinionem, seu Opinationem mauis dicere, decebit hoc pacto: Mulierem, quæ non mala uideatur sed audacior aspectu & concitator.' The reference is to the (spurious) 15th *Epistle* of Hippocrates, which Giraldi here translates.

727. *marriage*. A trisyllable: *Merchant of Venice*, II. ix. 13, 'To woo a maid in way of marriage'.

737. *at whose bright eyes*. C.R. v. iv. 441.

766. *where*, whereas.

770. *Euripus*. C. Stephanus, *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum*, 1553: 'Euripus, fretum angustum inter Aulidem Bœotiæ portum, & Eubœam insulam, quod vnus diei & noctis spatio septies recurrit eo impetu, vt nauigia repugnantibus ventis secum rapiat.' Pomponius Mela, whom Jonson cites, says (II. vii. 9) 'alternò cursu septies die ac septies nocte fluctibus inuicem versis' (E. W. Talbert).

781. *monopólies*. S. of N. III. iv. 69.

811. *the whole heau'n mistake*. E.M.O. Appendix X. 5, 'it was not so great a part of the Heauen awry'.

812-21, 825-39. From the alternate songs of maidens and youths in Catullus, lxii. 39-58:

Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro,
quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber,
multi illum pueri, multæ optavere puellæ:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullæ optauere puellæ:
sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
nec pueris iucunda manet nec cara puellis. . . .

Ut vidua in nudo vitis quæ nascitur arvo
nunquam se extollit, nunquam mitem educat uvam,
sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus
iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum;
hanc nulli agricolæ, nulli coluere iuveni:
at si forte eademst ulmo coniuncta marito,
multi illum agricolæ, multi coluere iuveni:
sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit;
cum par conubium maturo tempore adeptast,
cara viro magis et minus est inuisa parenti.

814. *stroke*. Cf. P.R. 304-5:

As gentle as the stroaking wind
runs ore the gentler flowres.

816-17. *wither'd* and *desir'd* are faulty rhyme, and would hardly be cured by lengthening the last syllables to -ed.

827. *extolls*. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, VII. vii. 37, of Astraea, 'She left th'vnrighteous world and was to heauen extold'.

829. *sproote*. A seventeenth-century form of 'sprout'.

829-30. R. Ellis on Catullus quotes *1 Henry VI*, II. v. 11, 12:

And pithless arms, like to a wither'd vine
That droops his sapless branches to the ground.

And *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, v. i (1654, 13):

My heart is of the nature of the Palm,
Not to be broken, till the highest Bud
Be bent and ti'd unto the lowest Root.

833. *th'elme her husband*. The Romans trained the vine on elm-trees: 'amicta vitibus ulmo' (Horace, *Ep.* I. xvi. 3).

836. *vnmanur'd* ('inculta') means no more than 'uncultivated', but, in such a context, Jonson might have avoided the word.

885 foll. Cf. Zeal's description of Truth in T. Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth*, 1613, sig. B3: 'in a close garment of white Sattin, which makes her appeare thin and naked, figuring thereby her simplicity and neerenesse of heart to those that embrace her; a roabe of white silke cast ouer it, fill'd with the eies of Eagles, shewing her deep insight, and height of wisdom, ouer her thrice sanctified head a milke-white Doue, and on each shoulder one, the sacred Emblemes of Purity, Meekenesse, and Innocency, vnder her Feete, Serpents, in that she treads downe all Subtelty and Fraud, her Fore-head empal'd with a Diadem of Stars, the Witnesse of her Eternall descent; on her Breast a pure round Cristall, showing the brightnesse of her thoughts and actions; a Sun in her Right-hand, then which, nothing is truer, a fan fild all with Starres in her left, with which she parts Darkenesse, and strikes away the vapours of Ignorance'.

886. *orient*, lustrous. Starting from 'pearl of orient', the word is 'often a vague poetic epithet' (O.E.D.).

892-3. *doue . . . serpents*. A symbolism derived from the biblical 'wise as serpents, harmless as doves' (Matthew x. 16). *Witty*, wise.

897. *kayes*. Spelt 'keyes', line 940, *G.M.* 681, *N.T.* 343, *F.I.* 460, *Ep.* xcii. 26, but the rhyme is similar. 'This was evidently the standard pronunciation down to the close of the 17th century; Dryden has the rime with *way* more than once in his latest works (1700).' The modern pronunciation is northern, 'but it is difficult to know how it came into general use' (O.E.D.).

898. *displayes*, opens up to view.

911-12. *now . . . you*. For the rhyme see Gill on the double pronunciation of 'you': 'Obserua, *primò* you] *sic scribi solere, & ab aliquibus pronunciari; at a plerisque yü*' (*Logonomia*, 1621, p. 46).

920. *valure*. *Alch.* II. i. 51.

927. *prease*. A form in use from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

941. *ported*, having ports or gates. A rare epithet.

947. *Viuite* . . . Claudian, *Carmina Minora*, xxv. 130.

THE HADDINGTON MASQUE

THIS masque was performed at Court on the night of 9 February 1608. It is a fine tribute to Jonson's powers that, fresh from the performance of *The Masque of Beauty* on 10 January, he composed another masque varying the theme of *Hymenaei*. Rowland Whyte wrote to Lord Salisbury on 29 January: 'The Masque', i.e. of *Beauty*, 'was as well performed as ever any was; and for the device of it, with the Speeches and Verses, I had sent it your Lordship ere this, if I could have gotten those of Ben Jonson. But no sooner had he made an end of those, but that he undertook a new charge for the Masque that is to be at the Viscount Haddington's Marriage' (Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, p. 175). Whyte has previously told Lord Shrewsbury on 26 January, 'The great maske intended for my L. Haddington's marriage is now the only thing thought upon at Court by 5 English; L. Arundel, L. Pemb. L. Montgomery, L. Theoph. Haward, and Sir Rob^t Rich; and by 7 Scottes; D. Lenox, 'D'Aubigny, Hay, M^r of Mar, yong Erskine, Sankier, and Kenede; Yt will cost them about 300^{li} a man' (Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, pp. 223-4).

In the accounts of Lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, 1608 (A.O. 1/45/388), is an entry 'for making ready the Bride chamber at Whitehall by the space of two daies mense febr' suprad xxxix^s iij^d and for making ready the banqueting house at Whitehall for the Maske and the Lord Threārs Chamber for the Maskers to attire themselves by the space of fower daies mens' ffebruar 1607 lxxvij^s viij^d'.

Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 11 February:

'I can send you no perfect relation of the marriage nor maske on tuesday, only they say, all, but specially the motions were well performed, as *Venus* wth her chariot drawne by swannes comming in a cloude to seeke her sonne, who wth his companions *Lusus risus* and *Jocus*, and foure or fve waggis more, were dauncing a matachina¹ and acted yt very antiquely, before the twelue signes (who were the master-maskers) descended from the zodiake, and plaide theyre parts more grauely beeing very gracefully attired. The bride dined in state accompanied by the Prince, the younge Duke, the lady Elisabeth, the countesse

¹ A sword-dance: Harington, *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, vi, st. 61, 'Like masking Machachinas all disguised'. See Reyher, *Les Masques anglais*, pp. 457-8.

of Oxford, the dukes of Saxonie and other states to furnish the table. in the middest of dinner, the K. dranke a carouse in a cup of gold, w^{ch} he sent to the bride, together wth a bason and ewer, two liuery pots and three standing cuppes all very fayre and massie, of siluer and guilt, and wth all a patent for a pension of 600^{li} a yeare out of the exchequer to the longer liuer of them, wth this message that he wisht them as much ioy and comfort all theyre life, as he receued that day he deliuered him from the daunger of Gowry. many other great presents there were of plate sent from all sides, but Dunbarres went beyond all beeing valued between fowre and fwe hundred pound' (S.P. 14, vol. 31, no. 26).

A shortened version of the masque confined to the Hue and Cry after Cupid was played by the Mermaid Society in June and July 1902 as an evening performance at Thorpe Lodge, Airlie Gardens, Campden Hill, and in the garden of the Royal Botanical Society; the latter performance was by moonlight aided by torches and a few artificial lights screened in the bushes. It was given as an afterpiece to *Comus*. Miss Ada Potter was Venus, Miss Geraldine Wilson, Cupid; Mr. Wegg, Hymen; Miss Mary Marbin, Aglaia; Miss Hilda Fletcher, Thalia; and Miss Taylor, Euphrosyne.

There have been three performances of this masque at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the May festivals held there with a wide variety of dances, pageantry, and old plays. It was performed on 1 May 1906, together with *The Masque of Queens*; no record of it has survived. On 1 May 1910 the chief players were Helen Barber, Venus; Agnes Murray, Vulcan; Anita Boggs, Cupid; Margaret Montgomery, Hymen. On 7 and 8 May 1920 Elizabeth Taylor was Venus; Margaret Ballou, Vulcan; Helen Tuttle, Cupid; Elizabeth Titcomb, Hymen. The Priests of Hymen were Priestesses; and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac were added to the other characters.

The central theme of the masque has been fully elucidated by D. J. Gordon in *M.L.R.* xlii (1947), pp. 180-7, 'Ben Jonson's 'Haddington Masque': the Story and the Fable'. The two authorities on which Jonson drew were Vincenzo Cartari's *Le Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi* and Natale Conti's *Mythologia*. The key to the device is the conjunction of Vulcan and Venus in presiding over marriage. It is a Vulcan of a higher type than Jonson depicts elsewhere. He is described under two aspects—Vulcan the great artificer, and Vulcan, the 'purest beam' of light and the source of natural heat, 'calor naturae' (249 n.). As Cartari symbolizes him (ed. 1571, p. 388):

'Dicono Volcano essere la virtù, & il potere del fuoco, e gli fanno vna statoa informa di huomo con vn capello in capo di colore cilestre

per segno del riuolgimento de cieli, appresso de quali si troua il vero fuoco, puro, e sincero: che non si puo dire di questo che habbiamo noi, perche non si mantiene da se, ma de continuo ha bisogno di nuoua materia, che lo nudrisca, & sostenti. E fu finto Volcano zoppo, perche tale pare essere la fiamma, conciosia che ardendo non va su per lo dritto, ma si torce, & si dibatte di qua, e di là, perche non è pura, e leggiera, come le farebbe di bisogno per ascendere dritta al luoco suo.'

Jonson takes a pictorial touch like the blue hat (256), but not Cartari's explanation; nor does he accept the fantastic idea that Vulcan's lameness is an image of the flame wavering as it mounts upwards. The 'god of fire and light' supplies the natural heat which makes procreation possible, and he meets with a corresponding desire in Venus whose

lampe shall burne
With pure and chastest fire. (312-13.)

With this the conception of Vulcan as a master-craftsman is blended to 'giue these graced Nuptials greater light' (253). Jonson's note (249) is from Cartari, p. 391:

'perche ogni volta che i Dei haueuano bisogno di qual si fossi sorte d'arme o per loro stessi, o per altri, andauano à lui, quasi al fabro loro, come vi andò Thetide per le arme di Achille suo figliuolo, e così fu fatto su l'arca di Cipselo, seconda che racconta Pausania, il quale non da altro segno, che colui che daua le arme à Thetide fosse Volcano, se non ch'egli era zoppo, & haueua dietro vn de suoi con vna gran tenaglia in mano, e Venere parimente hebbe da lui le arme, ch'ella diede poscia ad Enea. E quando vogliono i Poeti descriuere qualche gran cosa fatta con molta arte, e con industria grande, la dicono fatta o da Volcano, o da Ciclopi alla fucina di Volcano.'

The transition to the silver sphere in which the masquers sit, proportioned to the sphere of heaven and typifying the heaven of marriage (277-80) was made, as Mr. Gordon shows, through Homer and the account of the twenty moving tripods in Jean de Sponde's edition (*Homeri quae extant omnia*, 1606, p. 340). He compares the automatic movement of the tripods mentioned in 327 n. to the sphere of heaven. Achilles' shield, he says (p. 344), is 'an image of the Universal Orb'. Commenting on the opening lines of the description (*Iliad*, xviii. 478-82), he says:

'Quod autem ἀντιγα τρίπλακα μαρμαρέην appellat, ait (Eustathius) intelligi Zodiacum, qui triplex dicatur propter eius latitudinem, per quem duodecim mouentur signa: et splendens, propter Solis perpetuum in illo circulo iter. Per ἀργύρεον τελαμῶνα axem intelligit, circa quem coelum voluitur. Per quinque plicas, quinque circulos parallelos vel aequi-

distantes: nimirum Septentrionalem, Solstitialem, Aequatorem, Brumalem, Antarticum, &c.'

The Zodiac thus introduced, Jonson fits it into the framework of his device by interpreting the twelve signs as powers of marriage; this is his original contribution.

To placate La Boderie, who was still smarting under the rebuff he had received over the invitations to *The Masque of Beauty*, he was specially invited to this masque. He wrote to Villeroy on 14 February 1608:

'Suivant cela, celui qui fait ici l'office que fait chez nous M. de Gondy, & qui est aussi bon Espagnol qu'il est Anglois, me vint hier au soir trouver, & me dit qu'il étoit envoyé du Roi son maître pour me faire sçavoir que Mardi prochain se faisoient les noces de M. le Vicomte d'Adinton avec la fille de M. le Comte de Sussex; & qu'étant ledit sieur d'Adinton un des serviteurs qu'eût sa Majesté qu'il aimoit autant, & à qui il estimoit devoir le plus, comme à celui à qui il étoit obligé de la vie, il desiroit non seulement lui faire tout l'honneur qu'il lui seroit possible en cette occasion, mais y convier avec lui les Ministres des Princes qu'il estimoit s'être le plus réjoui de sa conservation; & que comme il s'assuroit que le Roi mon maître avoit été l'un de ceux qui en avoient reçu plus de contentement, il me prioit de vouloir assister au festin public qui se feroit Mardi au soir pour les noces, en la compagnie de M. le Prince, & au partir delà à un ballet qui se préparoit par M. le Duc de Lenox, & autres principaux Seigneurs de cette Cour: qu'il y en avoit eu d'autres, qui par la recherche qu'ils en avoient faite, avoient assisté à un autre ballet, dont il sçavoit que j'avois reçu quelque déplaisir, mais que ç'avoit été par leur importunité, & contre sa volonté, & sans y être rien intervenu du sien; & que comme il me prioit de le croire, il me prioit aussi de ne différer pour cela de me trouver audit festin; m'assurant qu'il m'y feroit traiter de telle sorte, que chacun reconnoîtroit le respect & l'amitié particuliere qu'il portoit au Roi mon maître. Je lui fis réponse que S.M. faisoit beaucoup de faveur à mon maître de l'appeller en part à l'honneur qu'il vouloit rendre à un serviteur si digne & si nécessaire, comme lui avoit été M. d'Adinton; qu'à la verité le Roi mon maître étoit le Prince de monde qui s'y sentoit le plus tenu, comme celui qui aimoit davantage la personne de S.M., & qui avoit toujours témoigné avoir plus d'intérêt en sa conservation & prospérité: que sans autre considération je me trouverois audit festin; m'assurant que par la déclaration qu'il avoit plu à S.M. me faire faire de la recherche & importunité de l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, & du regret qu'elle avoit eu en la faveur qu'il avoit reçue, elle reconnoissoit assez le tort qui m'avoit été fait; & que par me convier à un festin public & si cher à S.M., & en la compagnie de M. le Prince & des principaux Seigneurs de ce Royaume, elle sçavoit faire la différence qu'il y avoit

de l'Ambassadeur de France à celui d'Espagne, & me donnoit espérance qu'elle seroit mieux pratiquée à l'avenir en mon endroit, qu'elle n'avoit été par le passé; que sous cette assurance je m'y trouverois & en remerciérois S.M.' (*Ambassades*, iii. 94-6.)

La Boderie had asked for a present of a ring to the bride, but Henri refused this, and sanctioned his acceptance of the invitation only on condition that the Flemish ambassador was not admitted 'avec vous, & comme vous' (*ibid.*, pp. 113-14). But the letter arrived too late, greatly to Henri's annoyance, though the French ambassador was singled out for special honours. He thought the masque poor, but he wrote a rhapsody about himself.

'Après que ce bal fut achevé, (assez maigre à la vérité, sinon que la Reine le mena) il fallut parler d'aller souper; & lors je fus mené par le Comte de Northampton, & l'Ambassadeur de l'Archiduc, qui étoit arrivé un peu devant, avec moi en la sale où le festin se faisoit, & où nous attendoient Monsieur le Prince, & fort bonne compagnie avec lui, lequel nous reçut courtoisement. Durant le souper le Roi m'envoya le Grand Chambellan de la Reine, pour me dire, qu'il étoit marri que la coutume d'Angleterre n'avoit pu permettre qu'il eût mangé à cette table, pour le plaisir qu'il eût eu de m'y voir & me faire bonne chère; mais qu'il avoit commandé à Monsieur le Prince de faire son office pour lui; qu'il buvoit à ma santé, et qu'il me prioit de lui faire raison.¹ Après souper nous retournâmes en son antichambre, d'où il sortit au bout de quelque temps, & nos mena où se devoit danser le ballet; continuant toujours, & durant icelui & après, à me faire toutes les démonstrations de bonne chère & de privauté qu'il étoit possible. Il voulut même que ma petite fille prende à danser Monsieur le Duc d'Yorck, qui s'en acquiterent si bien tous deux, qu'ils ne firent moins rire la compagnie qu'avoit fait l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, mais de façon toute diverse.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 124-5.)

The bridegroom, John Ramsey, was born about 1580. He came into prominence over the Gowrie 'conspiracy' on 5 August 1600, when he killed the Earl of Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven (see l. 229). He was knighted on 13 November, and on 11 June 1606 created Viscount Haddington and Lord Ramsey of Barns in the peerage of Scotland. The Pell Order Book for 3 March 1609 (E. 403/2728, f. 108) records a gift to him from the King of £7,300. On 22 January 1621 he was created an English peer, Baron of Kingston-on-Thames and Earl of Holderness. He died in February 1626, and was buried at Westminster.

¹ James used the drinking phrase 'do me right' (*S.W.* iv. ii. 102), or 'do me reason', meaning, 'pledge me in return'; it is not clear that La Boderie understood him.

The bride, Elizabeth Radcliffe, was the daughter of Robert, fifth Earl of Sussex, who tilted in the Barriers of 1606. Arthur Wilson describes her as 'one of the prime *Beauties* of the Kingdom' (*King James the First*, 1653, p. 12). She died of the small-pox in December 1618, and Corbet wrote an elegy to her memory. Her three children, Charles, James, and Bridget, all died young.

10. *preposed* ('præposed', Q), placed in front (Lat. *praepositus*).

28. *out of M. Cambden*. Camden gives the etymology 'a rubro cliuo' for the Thames-side village of Ratcliffe near London (*Britannia*, 1600, p. 382), but not in his mention of the Radcliffes as Earls of Sussex (p. 279). Jonson quoted from memory.

34. *rocks*. S.S. II. iii. 46.

44, note *. 'Met. 11' is a mistake. The references are to *Met.* x. 708, 717-20; xv. 386. So Conti, *Mythologia*, 1581, p. 381.

47. *Aglaia*, 'splendour' (Greek ἀγλαΐα); *Thalia*, 'bloom' (Greek θάλεια); *Euphrosyne*, 'mirth' (Greek εὐφροσύνη).

48. *their antique figures*. Only in the older classical art; later (as in the poems of Horace) they are represented as naked.

60. *whom long absent*. The objective case is suggested by the Latin idiom of the ablative. So Milton, *P.L.* vii. 142, 'us dispossess'; *Samson Agonistes*, 462-3:

Dagon hath presum'd,
Me overthrown, to enter lists with God.

71. *tract*, track.

75. *in their bosoms* . . . Catullus, lv. 11, 12, of a strayed lover:

Quaedam inquit, nudum reducta pectus,
'En hic in roseis latet papillis.'

85-156. Expanded from the *Idyll* of Moschus, Ἔρως δραπέτης ('Love the Runaway'), where Aphrodite raises the hue and cry:

Ἄ Κύπρις τὸν Ἔρωτα τὸν νῖέα μακρὸν ἐβώστει·
"ὅστις ἐνὶ τριόδοισι πλανώμενον εἶδεν Ἔρωτα,
δραπετίδας ἐμός ἐστιν· ὁ μανύσας γέρας ἔξει·
μισθὸν τοι τὸ φίλημα τὸ Κύπριδος· ἦν δ' ἀγάγη νιν,
οὐ γυμνὸν τὸ φίλημα, τὸ δ' ὦ ξένε καὶ πλέον ἔξεις.
ἔστι δ' ὁ παῖς περίσαμος· ἐν εἴκοσι πᾶσι μάθοις νιν.
χρῶτα μὲν οὐ λευκός, πυρὶ δ' εἵκελος· ὄμματα δ' αὐτῷ
δριμύλα καὶ φλογόεντα· κακαὶ φρένες, ἀδὺ λάλημα·
οὐ γὰρ ἴσον νοέει καὶ φθέγγεται· ὥς μέλι φωνά,
ὥς δὲ χολὰ νόος ἐστίν, ἀνάμερος, ἡπεροπευτάς,
οὐδὲν ἀλαθεύων, δόλιον βρέφος, ἄγρια παίδων. . . .
τόξον ἔχει μάλα βαιόν, ὑπὲρ τόξῳ δὲ βέλεμνον,
τυτθὸν μὲν τὸ βέλεμνον, ἐς αἰθέρα δ' ἄχρι φορεῖται.
καὶ χρύσειον περὶ νῶτα φαρέτριον, ἔνδοθι δ' ἐντί
τοῖ πικροὶ κάλαμοι, τοῖς πολλάκι καμὲ τιτρώσκει.

πάντα μὲν ἄγρια ταῦτα, πολὺ πλεόν ἂ δ' αἰὲ αὐτῶ
 βαιὰ λαμπὰς εἰοῖσα τὸν Ἄλιον αὐτὸν ἀναίθει.
 ἦν τις ἔλῃ τήνον, δῆσας ἄγε μὴδ' ἐλεήσης.
 κῆν ποτίδης κλαίοντα, φυλάσσεο μή σε πλανήσῃ.
 κῆν γελάῃ, τύ νιν ἔλκε, καὶ ἦν ἐθέλῃ σε φιλήσαι
 φεύγε· κακὸν τὸ φίλημα, τὰ χεῖλεα φάρμακον ἐντι."

Barnabe Barnes in *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, 1593, made the first English translation of this poem. Crashaw followed the Greek in his 'Cupid's Crye' (*The Delights of the Muses*, 1646); Shirley caught up suggestions from it in *The Witty Fair One*, 1632, III. ii:

In Love's name you are charged hereby
 To make a speedy hue and cry.

J. A. Symonds (*Shakspeare's Predecessors*, ch. xiii. 9) traces a further borrowing from Lyly's *Gallathea*, iv. ii, Diana's proclamation to the Nymphs who have suffered at the hands of Cupid; the second verse is:

Eurota. O yes, O yes, has any lost
 A Heart, which many a sigh has cost;
 Is any cozened of a teare,
 Which (as a Pearle) disdaine does weare?
All. 3 (Nymphs). Here stands the Thiefe, let her but come
 Hither, and lay on him her doome.

In B.M. Add. MS. 22603, f. 2 is a reply to Jonson:

I have met this amorous toy

107-12. 'Simply magnificent' is Swinburne's comment, but the next stanza with its disfiguring anatomy exhibits Jonson's 'grotesque if not gross deformity of detail. No other poet, except possibly one of his spiritual sons, too surely "sealed of the tribe of Ben", would have introduced "liver and lights" into a sweet and graceful effusion of lyric fancy, good alike in form and sound' (*A Study*, p. 49). For *liver* as the seat of love see *N.I.* v. ii. 47.

107. *the sunne.* Lucian, *Dial. Deorum*, xii. 1, Aphrodite reproaches EROS: τὸν Ἥλιον δὲ παρὰ τῇ Κλυμένη βραδύνειν ἐνίοτε ἀναγκάζεις ἐπιλελησμένον τῆς ἵππαςίας.

107-8. In P. Pithou's *Epigrammata et Poemata vetera*, 1590, p. 2, an epigram marked in Jonson's copy 'Subscriptum Statuae Cupidinis': 'Sol caluit igne meo: flagrat Neptunus in undis.'

109 n. Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, i. 224-8, Jupiter to Venus:

Cur ultima regna quiescunt?
 Nulla est immunis regio nullumque sub umbris
 pectus inaccessum Veneri. Iam tristis Erinys
 sentiat ardores; Acheron Ditisque severi
 ferrea lascivis mollescant corda sagittis.

112, note b. *Phil. Poë.* Philippus of Thessalonica, in the *Greek Anthology*, xvi. 215, quoted by Conti, pp. 401-2:

Συλήσαντες "Ολυμπον ἴδ' ὥς ὀπλοισιν Ἔρωτες
κοσμοῦντ' ἀθανάτων, σκῦλα φρυασσόμενοι.
Φοίβου τόξα φέρουσι, Διὸς δὲ κέρανον, Ἄρης
ὄπλον καὶ κυνέην, Ἡρακλέους ῥόπαλον,
εἰναλίου τε θεοῦ τριβελὲς δόρυ, θύρσα τε Βάκχου,
πτηνὰ πέδιλ' Ἑρμοῦ, λάμπαδας Ἀρτέμιδος.
οὐκ ἄχθος θνητοῖς εἴκειν βελέεσσιν Ἑρώτων,
δαίμονες οἷς ὀπλων κόσμον ἔδωκαν ἔχειν.

137-8. For the rhyme of *deceit* and *bait* cf. *Hym.* 324-5.

155. *falsev*. The intensive use, as in *Blackness*, 345, and 'chaster' in 309 *infra*.

161 n. Conti, p. 380, 'hæc eadem, quia ridens, vt ait Hesiodus nata est', [φιλομηδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη, *Theog.* 200] 'lætitiæ omnis & risus amica, quibus amor conciliatur & delectatur, credita fuit, vt innuit in his Horatius:

Siue tu mauis Erycina ridens,
Quam Iocus circumuolat, & Cupido'.

189-96. Cf. Claudian, *Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii*, 111-15, Venus addressing Cupid:

'Quid tantum gavisus?' ait, 'quæ proelia sudas,
improbe? quis iacuit telis? Iterumne Tonantem
inter Sidonias cogis mugire iuencas?
An Titana domas? an pastoralia Lunam
rursus in antra vocas?'

191. *Ops*, the Greek Rhea, the mother of the gods. Jonson refers to Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*, xii, Aphrodite and Eros, ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ τολμηρότατε, καὶ τὴν Ῥέαν αὐτὴν γραῦν ἤδη καὶ μητέρα τοσούτων θεῶν οὔσαν ἀνέπεισας παιδεραστεῖν καὶ τὸ Φρύγιον μεϊράκιον ποθεῖν, and she is described as ὀλολύζουσα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄττῃ. *Dialogue* xi tells of Aphrodite and the Moon, who blames Cupid. In *Dialogue* xix Eros explains that he is powerless against Athena (or Minerva).

195. *to spinne*. As the servant of Omphale.

208 n. Conti, p. 380: 'Numeratur hæc eadem', i.e. Venus, 'inter Deos nuptiis præfectos, vt ait Pausanias in *Messeniacis* [iv. xxx. 5], & Plutarchus in *problematis*, qui præfectos esse nuptiis Iouem adultum inquit, Iunonem adultam, Venerem, & Suadelam, & Dianam.'

217. *By' example*. *Panegyre*, 125-6.

221. *To spare his subiects* . . . *Aeneid*, vi. 853, quoted in Jonson's note: *word* there means 'motto' (*E.M.O.* III. iv. 86). So Drummond, in *Forth Feasting*, 163-4, of James:

To know the Weight and *Atlas* of a Crowne,
To spare the Humble, Prowdlings pester downe.

As Mr. Gordon points out, the Virgilian 'Parcere subiectis' is the last line in King James's *Basilikon Doron*, 1603, p. 154.

225. *Their whitest wooll.* A sign of lucky fate: *Blackfriars*, 245; *Bolsover*, 166-7; Juvenal, *Sat.* xii. 64-6:

postquam Parcae meliora benigna
pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
lanificae.

Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, iv. 5, 6, of Lachesis:

Candida de niveo subtemina vellere sumit
felici moderanda manu.

For the black of ill luck see Martial, vi. lviii. 7, 8:

Si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores
stamina.

226 and n. *Treason.* On 5 August 1600: cf. *G.M.* 1271-6. The traditional account of the Gowry conspiracy is given fully in *The Sidney Papers*, ii, p. 211.

229 n. Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, ii. 317-18. Already used in *Sej.* III. 84-5.

238. *I renowne him.* *Tw. Night*, III. iii. 23-4, 'the things of fame That do renown this city'.

249. *uxorious*, because Venus persuaded him to make armour for Aeneas, the offspring of her adultery (Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 369-406). Cf. line 261.

Orph(eus) in *Hym.* Conti, p. 147: 'Atque Orpheus in hymnis Vulcanum, Solem, & Lunam, & astra, & lumen purissimum atque aethera ipsum nominavit', quoting *Hym.* lxvi. 6:

αἰθήρ, ἥλιος, ἄστρον, σελήνη, φῶς ἀμίαντον.'

Facifer in nuptiis. Conti, p. 145: 'Hunc Deum facem ferre in nuptiis inquit Euripides in Troadibus, cum faces accensae ad nuptias afferri solerent', quoting *Troades*, 344, Ἡφαιστε, δαδουχεῖς μὲν ἐν γάμοις βροτῶν.

Plato in Cratylus, 407 c, of Hephaestus, ΣΩ. ἡ τὸν γενναῖον τὸν φάεος ἱστορα ἐρωτᾷς; The name is etymologized as παντὶ δῆλος, "Φαῖστος".

251. *Cyclopes.* So Jonson pronounced because of the Greek accent Κύκλωπες. See *C.R.* v. xi. 60 n.

254-8. Cartari's description of Vulcan's image, p. 392: 'che era di huomo zoppo, negro nel viso, brutto, & affumicato, come appunto sono i Fabri.' So Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1611, p. 64: 'Volcano dalli antichi era posto per il fuoco, & si costumava dipingerlo nudo, brutto, affumicato, zoppo, con vn cappello di color celeste in capo, & che con vna mano tenesse vn martello, & con la sinistra vna tenaglia.'

264. *a lowd . . . musique* helped to mask a change of scene: cf. *M. of Q.* 355.

268. *Coluri*, the circles intersecting each other at right angles at the poles. Jonson transliterates κόλouroι; the ordinary English form was 'colure'.

279. *perfect'st forme*. *Hym.* 404. In *Beauty*, 221, the figure of Perfection is encompassed with a zodiack.

313. *pure and chastest*, i.e. purest and chastest. *Alch.* II. ii. 60.

317-19. *Vir. Æneid*, VIII. 424-5. *Brontes* from βροντή, 'thunder'; *Steropes* from στεροπή, 'lightning'; and *Pyracmon* from πῦρ, 'fire', and ἄκμων, 'anvil'.

327, note c. *Merc. Vind.* 128-30.

336. *square*, the portion of the hall in front of the stage.

349. *Tho. Giles. Beauty*, 297.

Hie. Herne, or Heron. In 1610 'one of Prince Henry's musicians, with a salary of £20' (Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, p. 185). He played in *The Masque of Queens* and *Oberon*. See *Queens*, 352.

331. *Alphonso Ferrabosco*. See *Ep.* cxxx.

Ynigo Iones. Blackness, 91.

354-5. *Assertor*, a restorer of liberty; *plagiario*, lit. a kidnapper. Adapted from Martial, i. lii.

369. *Mr. Ersskins*. The plural, though 'Mr.' is ambiguous, seems to cover two members of the Erskine family, the Master of Mar and the 'young Erskine' mentioned in Rowland Whyte's letter quoted on p. 482. They were sons of the Earl of Mar. As Jonson gives the list, there are only eleven masquers. Mr. H. A. Evans proposed to insert in the list the name of the Master of Mar.

377 foll. 'The variations in the burden of "Hymen's war" are singularly delicate and happy' (Swinburne, *A Study*, p. 49).

420 (and note). *Hym.* 415-16.

430-1. *let your lights*. From the Emperor Gallienus' 'Adlocutio ad Sponsos' (Lemaire's *Bibliotheca Classica*, Poet. Lat. Min., vol. iii):

Ludite, sed vigiles nolite extinguere lychnos:
omnia nocte vident, nil cras meminere lucernae.

437. *rosy-fingered morne*. *Cat.* I. 194.

THE MASQUE OF QUEENS

ORIGINALLY planned for the Christmas season of 1608, this masque was performed on 2 February 1609. Donne wrote to Sir Henry Goodyere on 14 November 1608 that the King, who had gone to Royston, 'hath left with the Queen a commandment to meditate upon a Masque for Christmas, so that they grow serious about that already' (*Letters*, 1651, p. 143). It was to cost not more than £1,000, but on 27 November Sir Thomas Lake, the King's secretary, wrote to Lord Salisbury that whereas the King 'had by my former Ire sent your lo: a warrant for y^e maske wth a blanck but limited the same to a thousand pounds. he was pleased if it were not already settled your lo: wth opinion of y^e rest of the lords mentioned in y^e

warrant might enlarge it to some reasonable encrease as you should thinke meet. I moued his ma^e thereuppon that if it pleased him there might be a new warrant made wth out limitation of a somme but left to such bylz as by your llo. should be signed and allowed. His ma^e seemed to like it well, and if it please your lo. to think yt a fitt way it may be don' (S.P. 14, xxxvii. 96). The new warrant is in S.P. 40/2, privy seal accounts 1603-11, dated 1 December 1608, folio 54:

Earles of Suffolke
and Worcestr for
the queenes maske

JAMES by the grace of God king of England Scotland
ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith &c. to the
Treñ and vndertreñ of o^r Excheq^r greeting. Whereas
the Queene o^r deerest wife hath resolved for our
greater honor and contentment to make vs a Maske
this Christmas attended by most of the greatest ladies
of the kingdome fforasmuch as shee is pleased that
the Earle of Suffolk Chamberlen of o^r house, and the
Earle of Worcester M^r of o^r horse shall take some
paines to looke into the Emptions and Provision of
all thinge necessary for the same Wee doe hereby
require and authorize yo^w to issue so much of our
Treasure from time to time within the Receipt of o^r
Exchequer at such times and by such porçons as they
shall require vnder their hande, and to such psons as
they shall assigne to receive the same ffor doing
whereof this shall bee yo^r sufficient warrant. Giuen
vnder o^r priuie seale at o^r Pallace of Westm^o the first
daie of December in the sixt yeare of o^r Raigne of
England ffrence and Ireland And of Scotland the two
and fortieth.

There are six payments for this masque to Henry Reynolds in the Pell Order Books. On 6 December 1608 (E 403/2728, f. 49): 'By order tertio die Decembris 1608: To Henrie Reignols authorised for Receipt therof the summe of three hundred pounde to be imprested to such persons as are to be vsed in his Ma:^{ties} intended Maske, according to direction of the lo: Chamblaine of his Ma:^{ties} house, and the Earle of Worcester M^r of his horse. p bre dat primo die Decembris 1608: ccc^{li}. Egioke.'¹

On 21 December 1608, f. 63^b: 'M^r Reynolds for the Maske': 'By order Decembris 1608: To Henry Reinolds gent authorised for receipt therof the summe of one hundred pounde to be delivered by him to such psons for pvision of empçons, and such other thinge as are to be vsed in his Ma:^{ties} intended maske p bre dat primo die Decembris 1608: c^{li}', checked by 'Cary'. Again on f. 70^b is an

¹ Sir Francis Egioke, a teller of the exchequer, who verifies the entry.

entry in the same form to Reynolds of £100, checked by 'Carie'; on 23 January 1609 is a further order dated 23 January (f. 81) for £200, checked by 'Watson'; on 16 February 1609 (f. 93) £300 to him for the 'late Maske' 'p lre dat xiiij^o ffebruarij 1608', checked by 'Egioke'. On 4 March 1609 (f. 101^b) is a final order of £300 for 'pvision of thinges vsed in his Ma:^{ties} late Maske', checked by 'Cary'. The last entry on 17 February (E 403/2729, f. 101^b) is rather startling:

'By order dated xvij die Februarij 1609: To Hen. Reignolde gent. the summe of one thowsand nine hundred fowerscore fower pounde eight shillings and twoe pence to be by him paid over to Thomas Henshawe. his Ma:^{ties} Silkman for wares by him delivered for the Queenes Maske at xpems 1608 appearing by his bill of particulars signed by the Earl of Suff lo: Chamberlain and the Earle of worcest^r M^r of (his) Ma:^{ties} horse & the lo: knivet p lre dat primo die Decembris 1608.'

The margin records the total £1,984. 8s. 2d. as paid in two instalments: '536^{li}. 4.^s Bow' and '1448. 4. 2^d Eg'. Is this enormous bill explained by the possibility that the Queen furnished some of the lady masquers' dresses?

Finally Lansdowne MS. 164 of the British Museum has on f. 487 a list of 'Debtes extraordinary yet vnsatisfied', including 'M^r Reynoldes for the Maske m^lm^lvijc li', £2,751. In 'Extraordinary paiements made since Mic^l 1608 vntill this p^sent xijth of September 1609' on f. 489^b there is 'M^r Reynoldes for the Maske 1300 0 0', and on f. 493 'Debtes owing by his Ma:^{tie} vltimo Septem^r not yet assigned to anie certaine time for paiement' the clerk repeats 'M^r Reynoldes for the Maske—2700'. We will hope that Mr. Reynolds and the people whom he engaged did not have to wait much longer.

On the back of design 15 in the Chatsworth *Designs of Inigo Jones* are the details of 'the Account of Inigo Iones for y^e workes don att my L^o Tressarers 1608':

for Collores	3	15	0	[Four items about Dolfin and Daniell are struck out.]	
for sise	0	4	6		
for Goulde	4	12	0		
for silluer	0	13	4		
for wiere	0	18	6		
for Callico	0	3	0	<div> Dolfin 2 10 0 his man 0 12 6 Daniell fife dayes 2 2 0 his Boye fife 0 7 0 foier 1 0 0 Y^e talle mā 0 12 6 his mā 0 7 6 y^e littell fellow 0 12 6 y^e Blac fellow 0 12 6 </div>	
for whipcord Pacthred thred	0	4	0		
for ^{to} Boyers for y ^e sume	0	2	6		
for Cotton to gilld	0	1	0		
for Pastbourdes	0	8	0		
for Glue	0	1	6		
for Paper	0	7	6		
for Pottes Birshes and Pensels	0	14	4		
for glasses for y ^e Rocke	0	3	8		
for Porters going by watter	0	4	0		
	12	12	10		
				8	16 6

The Audit Office accounts of Lord Treasurer Stanhope for 1609 (A.O. 1/46/389) include 'for makeinge readie the banquettinge house at whitehall for the Maskè by the space of fower daies mens' Ianuarij 1608 lxxviij^s viij^d'. The Declared Accounts of the Audit Office (A.O. 1/2419/40) also have 'The Declaration of Thacompte of Andrew Kerwyn' for his work at Whitehall in 1609:

'making a stage three foote highe from the grounde vpon the Trestles all the length and breadth of the hall, making a haullpace¹ railed aboute vnder the kinge state being all made ready for plaies in the hall, setting vp degrees and bourding them in the greate chamber for the Queenes dauncing chamber, making a greate number of degrees on either syde of the Banquetting house both belowe and in the galleries above, making of a greate Stage fower foote highe from the grounde vpon Trestles, making a great hall vnder the kinge state and making a greate Throne of cantes borne in the midst by a greate pillar with diverse wheelles and devices for the moving rounde thereof, framing and setting vp of a great stage iiij^{or} foote highe whereon the same frame was placed'.

There is a further description of the House of Fame when it was set up in the Banqueting House:

'fitting and setting vp of diverse running scaffoldes fframing and setting vp a greate stage for a maske all the height of the Banquettinghouse wth a floore in the midle of the same being made wth sondry devices with greate gates and turning doores belowe and a globe and sondry seates above for the Quene and Ladies to sitt on and to be turned rounde aboute, framing and setting vp a halfepace vnder the kinge state and a greate number of degrees on bothe sides of thesaid house with railles before the same and taking downe thereof after the maske was ended.'

In view of the complicated structure of the House of Fame it is interesting to find the Venetian ambassador reporting on 22 January 1609 that the Queen 'held daily rehearsals and trials of the machinery.'

The design for the House of Fame survives in the Chatsworth drawings (*Design* 14, pl. IV), drawn as Jonson describes it with the masquers arranged in a pyramid under an arch in the upper story. It is the only drawing we have of the '*machina versatilis*' (446-7), and we have dealt with these 'turning machines' in the general introduction to the Masques. Inigo's design for the statue of Homer (*Design* 16), one of the lower figures of the House (683-6), is interesting as being modelled on Raphael's figure in the fresco of Parnassus in the Stanza della Signatura of the Vatican.

¹ Half-pace, platform.

There are eight beautiful whole-length figures of the masquers with the names of the performers attached to them and notes on the colours of the dresses.¹ Inigo varies his designs with much richness of detail, but he makes no attempt at historical accuracy of costume, and even his knowledge of mythology is defective. The Countess of Bedford was the Amazon Penthesilea, wearing a classical helmet and a close-fitting lorica and resting her left hand on a sword-hilt; the colours of her dress were deep pink, mulberry ('deep murrey'), and sky-blue (*Design 18*). Lady Catherine Windsor was Camilla, queen of the Volscians: there was no suggestion of her warrior equipment—'proelia virgo dura pati'; she wore a double crown, the two circles joined by ogival arches, and a mass of plumes at the back; a low-necked embroidered bodice with short puffed sleeves; a long scarf round her waist; bases falling below the knees with scallops of acanthus leaf, cut open in front; and a skirt falling to the calves of her legs. The colours were willow, carnation, and white (*Design 19*). There was an attempt at barbaric richness of ornament in the dress of the Scythian Tomyris, played by the Countess of Montgomery. Her hair, elaborately curled, was over-arched by a long aigrette and plume; her bodice was tight-fitting with long sleeves; her oversleeves and bases were hanging labels joined by horizontal laces; she had a full skirt to the calves of her legs. In her right hand she held a baton which rested on her hip—a faint suggestion of her military activities. The colours of her dress were peach, light blue, and carnation (*Design 21*). Lady Guildford was Artemisia, described as Queen of Caria; she wore a diadem with an upstanding peak on her brow, a crown of spikes and ogival arches from which a long veil fell covering the back; a close-fitting bodice with long sleeves pleated at the shoulder; a full pleated skirt tucked below the hips and reaching to the calves of the legs. The colours were orange tawny, ash colour, and yellow (*Design 22*). Lady Ann Clifford was Berenice; she wore a mitre-shaped crown with an aigrette on the right side; a lorica bodice with short pleated oversleeves; a long scarf fastened to the shoulders and passing round the body and upheld by an embroidered baldric; an overskirt falling to the knees and a petticoat nearly to the ankles. The colours were green, carnation, and white (*Design 24*). Lady Winter was Candace, the Ethiopian Queen: she wore a crown of spikes with three upright horns from which a large veil fell; a lorica bodice with upper sleeves and bases hanging from a fringe of acanthus leaves, the under sleeves and bases striped horizontally; a full skirt reaching to the calves of the legs. The colours were deep flame-colour, peach,

¹ Reproduced in *Shakespeare's England*, ii, article on the Masque.

and light blue (*Design 26*). The Countess of Derby was Zenobia: she wore a diadem of interlacing crescents surrounding a soft cap topped with a long hanging tassel; a loose jacket reaching to the knees with short embroidered sleeves; a long-sleeved gown falling below the knees with horizontal lines of braid across the front and a border embroidered with animals; a petticoat reaching to the ankles. The colours are more definitely marked: 'Watchet the middle, carnation the petticoat, white the upper bodice' (*Design 27*). The last of this identified group is Atalanta, played by the Countess of Arundel. This character was in the original scheme,¹ but was cancelled. She wore a crown of spikes surrounding a cap with a volute-shaped peak at the back, from which a long veil hangs; a close-fitting bodice with sleeves puffed on the shoulders and above the elbows; bases with acanthus-leaf scallops and long labels; a full skirt falling to the ankles; a long scarf crosses the body from the left shoulder. The colours were crimson, yellow, and white (*Design 29*). This figure and another of an unnamed queen (*Design 31*) were probably used for two of the four queens not included in the above group—Hypsicratea, Boadicea, Amalasunta, and Valasca. There are also three unidentified heads of queens (32-4).

All the designs for this masque are reproduced in the King's Printers' edition, 1930, which has also a facsimile of the autograph manuscript.

The Masque was performed at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, on 1 May 1906. It was a May-day festival celebration and included the *Haddington Masque*, Robin Hood scenes, and a group of old plays. It was given in the courtyard of a cloister with a royal party looking down from a balcony on the performance. There is a brief notice in *M.L.N.* xxi (1906), 6, June.

The history of the original production is a long tangle of diplomatic difficulties and evasions. Spain had sent an ambassador extraordinary, Don Fernandez de Girone, to thank James for his help over a truce in the Netherlands. He was entitled to precede ambassadors in ordinary, and he took advantage of his position to press for an invitation to the masque, not only for himself, but for the ambassadors of Spain and the Archdukes of the Netherlands. These ambassadors—the Venetian ambassador, Marc' Antonio Correr, reported on 9 January 1609—declared that it would be a slight to the embassy extraordinary if they were left out. Correr also threw a sidelight on Spanish official methods in England: 'Seventy thousand crowns have been sent to Flanders at the disposal

¹ See the 'Argument' of the masque, vol. vii, p. 319.

of the Spanish Ambassador here. . . . Almost all this, I am told by those who are in a position to know, after deducting the Ambassador's salary and expenses, will go in large pensions to many of the more important personages of the Court, including some prominent ministers (*compreso anco qualche signore principale*); a part, perhaps, will go to Holland' (*Venetian State Papers*, xi, p. 212).

On 10 January Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, summed up the situation which is described in elaborate detail in the dispatches of the French and Venetian ambassadors: 'The masque at Court', which had been planned for 6 January, 'is put off till Candlemas, as it is thought the Spaniard may be gone, for the French ambassador hath been so long and so much neglected, that it is doubted more would not be well endured' (Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, i, p. 87). In fact, Henri IV had instructed La Boderie on 23 December 1608 that, if the slight of the previous year was likely to be repeated, he was to leave a secretary in charge of the embassy and quit London; he could intimate this 'doucement', 'afin de les intimider & convier d'être plus circonspects à me rendre ce qui me convient' (*Ambassades*, iv, p. 123). In a letter of interminable length (*ibid.*, pp. 144-55) La Boderie reported fully to de Villeroy the lecture he gave Lord Salisbury on the point and Lord Salisbury's attempts to pacify him. The King was anxious to get rid of de Girone and told the Queen so: this time she was submissive, 'but the Ambassador neither asks to take leave nor shows any signs of going' (*Venetian State Papers*, xi, p. 219, dispatch of 15 January). At last, on 1 February, he left for Flanders, and the masque was promptly given on the following day; they were prepared, according to La Boderie, to put it off till Shrove Tuesday if necessary. The only ambassador invited was La Boderie, to the annoyance of the Venetian ambassador, who entered a protest: the explanation given was that it was to return the courtesy of the French Court in similarly inviting Lord Cranborne, the English ambassador, alone to a dance at the Queen's.

La Boderie was in fine feather: he tells us little about the masque, but much about himself and his appearance at it.

'Hier la nuit il fut dansé, & le jour de devant Don Fernandez de Girone avoit fait voile, après avoir reçu l'arrêt que s'il ne se hâtoit de partir, il auroit l'affront que j'y serois appelé à sa barbe. Comme il partoit, on m'y vint convier & ma femme aussi, tant de la part du Roi de la Grande Bretagne que de celle de la Reine, sans nous parler du souper; & néanmoins comme nous y fûmes, ledit Roi me fit souper avec lui en compagnie des Princes ses deux fils, & ma femme soupa avec Madame la Princesse. Durant le souper, il me fit une brinde à la santé de S.M, & voulut que je la portasse à M. le Prince de Galles, & qu'il

y fît raison. Au ballet il me fit seoir auprès de lui, et ma femme au banc préparé proche de-là, où étoient aussi Messieurs du Conseil, n'ayant pu demeurer près de Madame la Princesse pour la grande presse qui y étoit. Durant que ledit ballet se dansa, il me fit toujours l'honneur de m'entretenir; & dans un des intermèdes, comme il n'y en eut que trop & d'assez tristes, la Reine s'approcha aussitôt de ma femme, & lui fit la même faveur, s'appuyant sur elle, & lui faisant mille démonstrations de privauté. Ma petite fille même eut part en ces caresses: car le Duc d'Yorck ayant été pris à danser par une des Dames du ballet, il vint aussitôt chercher madite fille où elle étoit, & l'y mena. La Reine avoit délibéré d'en faire le même de moi; mais comme c'est un métier auquel je n'entens guère & que je ne voulois faire rire la compagnie, comme fit l'an passé l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, je la fis prier dès le matin par une Dame de mes amies qui devoit danser avec elle, de ne m'y point obliger. Du ballet, nous fûmes à la collation; & en tout cela & au departir fûmes traités avec tant de démonstrations de bonne volonté, & avec un applaudissement si général de tous, que S.M. a grande occasion d'en être satisfaite, & moi, si je ne sçavois l'histoire de l'Ane qui portoit les Reliques, d'en devenir bien glorieux' (*Ambassades*, iv, pp. 233-5).

In a letter, also written on 13 February, La Boderie gave his opinion of the masque: 'Ledit ballet fut fort riche, & s'il m'est loisible de le dire, plus superbe qu'ingenieux' (*ibid.*, p. 229). What interested him was not the masque but the fact that he could regard himself as the central figure of the occasion: 'ledit Roi & le Comte de Salisbury ont déclaré & rendu comme public que cette fête ne se faisoit principalement que pour l'amour de moi' (*ibid.*, p. 235).

Marc' Antonio Correr, the Venetian ambassador, after noting on 7 January that the Queen was preparing a climax to the Christmas festivities at Court and 'sparing no expense to make it as fine as possible' (*Venetian S.P.* xi, p. 212), gives a quieter account of the diplomatic manoeuvres. In the end the Flemish and French ambassadors were invited, and Correr, 'to the general surprise' and his own surprise in particular, was left out. He saw Lord Salisbury and 'lodged a vigorous protest against giving fresh opening to the pretensions of the Flemish Ambassador': 'so far from imagining that the English Court would be the only one to admit such unfounded pretensions, I was justified, in view of the affection which his Majesty bears to the Republic, in expecting that, if all others should put her claims in doubt, he at all events would support them' (*ibid.*, p. 231, 13 February). On 20 February, when the King had gone to Royston for his hunting, Correr renewed the protest with the Duke of Lennox, 'High Admiral of Scotland, a relation and councillor of the King, and always near his person', explaining to him, 'as a personage of high importance at Court, the injury to the Most

Serene Republic which is caused by throwing a doubt upon her precedence over the Most Serene Archdukes. I begged him, should the occasion offer, to advise his Majesty to come to a decision in accordance with the universal usage of other Courts and with right reason. The Duke thanked me for this confidence, and he too told me—as Lord Salisbury had done previously—that the King had taken this step the more to honour the Ambassador of France, and that when he comes back from Royston he will show me such favours that I shall be intirely satisfied. I have heard the same from other quarters, and I have endeavoured and am indeavoring to impress upon them that any demonstration must be directed to the solution of this question of precedence. . . . The Queen let it be understood that she would be pleased if I came *incognito* to the Masque, and Lady Arabella invited my suite and offered them a place apart. But, while expressing thanks for the honour, I pleaded the inconvenience of the night and the distance to be traversed. The Queen let me know that she regretted I had not been invited and pleaded that, as the King paid the bill, he desired to be the host. She says she is resolved to trouble herself no more with Masques, and that she would rather have had your Serenity's Ambassador invited than the representative of any other Prince' (ibid., p. 233).

With the motto on the title-page of manuscript and quarto, cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 380, 'Et memorem famam, quod bene cessit, habet'.

Letter to Queen Anne

13. *a hearty desire to please* . . . From Martial, also quoted *K. Ent.* 644.

Dedication to Prince Henry

4, 5. *that doctrine of some great Inquisitors in Nature*. Spenser, *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie* (*Foure Hymnes*, 1596, pp. 17–18), especially ll. 120 foll.:

Therof it comes, that these faire soules, which haue
The most resemblance of that heauenly light,
Frame to themselues most beautifull and braue
Their fleshly bowre, most fit for their delight,
And the grosse matter by a soueraine might
Tempers so trim, that it may well be seene,
A pallace fit for such a virgin Queene.
So euery spirit, as it is most pure,
And hath in it the more of heauenly light,
So it the fairer bodie doth procure
To habit in, and it more fairely dight
With chearefull grace and amiable sight.
For of the soule the bodie forme doth take:
For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make.

Therefore, where euer that thou doest behold
 A comely corpse, with beautie faire endewed,
 Know this for certaine, that the same doth hold
 A beauteous soule, with faire conditions thewed,
 Fit to receiue the seede of vertue strewed.
 For all that faire is, is by nature good;
 That is a sign to know the gentle blood.

Webster in *A Monumental Columnne* (to Prince Henry), 1613, A1^v, borrows from Jonson:

Some great inquisitors in nature say,
 Royall and Generous formes, sweetly display
 Much of the heauenly vertue, as proceeding
 From a pure essence, and elected breeding.
 How ere, truth for him thus much doth importune,
 His forme, and vertue, both deseru'd his fortune:
 For 'tis a question, not decided yet,
 Whether his *Mind*, or *Fortune* were more great.

The phrase 'Inquisitors in Nature' is from Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vi. xiii. 2, 'rerum naturae inquisitor'.

15. *Necessitie . . . the Mother of the Fates.* Plato, *Republic*, x. 617, θυγατέρας τῆς Ἀνάγκης . . . Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Κλωθῶ καὶ Ἄτροπον.

28. *not borne wth euery man . . .* Cf. *E.M.I.* v. v. 38-9 n.

29. *my minute*, the fitting moment for me.

42. *only Delicacy of mankind.* Suetonius, *Titus*, 1, calls that emperor 'amor ac deliciae generis humani'. Cf. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, p. 213, 'How were wee affected here in *England* for our *Titus*, *delitiæ humani generis*, Prince *Henries* immature death, as if all our liues had exhaled with his?'

The Masque

8, 9. *the rule of the best Artist.* *E.M.O.* Ind. 202 n.

13. *a foyle, or false-Masque*, 16. *Anti-Masque.* The first use of the term: see the discussion in vol. ii, pp. 275-7.

14. *carefull to decline*, afraid of varying.

30. *hollow and infernall musique.* A low muttering of thunder in contrast to the 'loud Musique' scattered the witches, line 355. So the masquers in *The Tempest*, iv. i. 138, 'to a strange, hollow, and confused noise, . . . heavily vanish'.

35. *veneficall*, used in malignant sorcery (Lat. *veneficus*).

67, note *h.* *remembers*, recalls.

76. *Cat-à-Mountaine.* According to Topsell (1607) an English name for the leopard, and so the *O.E.D.* takes it. But in a reference to English witches it seems more reasonable to interpret it 'the wild cat'. N. Bailey (1730-6), s.v. 'Catamount', explains 'the wild cat'.

83, note *l*, 3. *viuely.* *N.I.*, Argument, 73.

Note *l*, 17. *neare Islington.* Bodin, *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, 1580, sig. é iij 2^v, and II. 8, ff. 116^v-117^r, records that 'vn Prestre Sorcier

curé d'Iscincton (*sic*) demye lieuë pres de Londres, a esté trouvé saisi 1578 de trois images de cire coniurées, pour faire mourir la Royne d'Angleterre, & deux autres proches de sa personne'; they were found in a dunghill. The Spanish ambassador Mendoza, writing to Zayas 8 September 1578 (*Spanish State Papers*, 1568-79, p. 611) says the centre figure had 'Elizabeth' written on the forehead and the side figures were dressed like privy councillors, their left sides being transfixed with a large quantity of pig's bristles. The Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London sent the images to the Privy Council, which acknowledged the receipt on 22 August. Reginald Scot in *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, xvi, ch. iii (ed. Nicholson, pp. 399, 400), says an old cozener fooled a young man for forty pounds to obtain the love of three women; the young man revealed the trick later when the conjuring failed to work. See G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, 1929, pp. 87-8.

89. *Merely, merrily.*

90. *a thorne in's tayle.* Cf. Herrick, 'The Hag' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 225):

A Thorn or a Burre
She takes for a Spurre:
With the lash of a Bramble she rides now.

100-1. *if it had bene done . . . otherwise.* Probably a hit at Daniel, who had adopted the method of preliminary description in *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses*, 1604, A7: a temple of Peace with Sibylla for priestess is pointed out; 'which done, *Iris*, . . . descends from the top of a Mountaine raised at the lower end of the Hall, and marching vp to the Temple of Peace, giues notice to the *Sibylla* of the comming of the Goddesses & withall deliuers her a Prospective',—i.e. a telescope—'wherin she might behold the Figures of their Deities, and thereby describe them'. The object was to carry through the action 'without any interruption', and also—a passage which may be alluded to by Jonson in lines 107-10—'that the Eyes of the Spectators might not beguile their Eares, as in such cases it euer happens, whiles the pompe and splendor of the sight takes vp all the intention without regard (to) what is spoken, and therefore was it thought fit their descriptions should bee deliuered by the *Sybilla*'. So Sibylla describes them one by one, beginning—

First, here Imperiall *Iuno* in her Chayre,
With Scepter of command for Kingdomes large:
Descends all clad in colours of the Ayre,
Crown'd with bright Starres, to signifie her charge.

116, note o, l. 12. *Sola tenes.* Adapted from Claudian in *Ruf.* i. 111, 'Solus habet quidquid . . .'.

1. 37. *the absolute*—i.e. the perfect, the consummate—*Claudian*. Jonson's tribute to this master of historical and mythological epic is interesting. The best appreciation of him is in J. W. Mackail's *Latin Literature*, pp. 267-70.

118. *scaly vesture*. From Pierio, *Hieroglyphica*, 1556, f. 223: 'IGNORANTIA. Squamatum quidem & pinnulatum piscium genus . . . Illud addendum ex Hesychio, squamas ignorantiae hieroglyphicum esse, quæ quidem opera beneficioque scientiæ excuti amouerique possunt.'

132, note *p*. *Moratio* . . . *orbem*, marking time. Modelled on Horace's 'si non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem' (*A.P.* 131-2).

155. *after* rhyming with *Quarter*. So in Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, v, stanza 34. This pronunciation survives in dialect.

155, note 1, l. 17. *minutes*, *minutiae*.

157. *to y^e South*. Christopher Brooke, *The Ghost of Richard the Third*, 1614, B3^v, of the portents seen at Richard's birth:

And as a *Rauens* Beake, pointed to the *South*
Crokes following Ill, from sharpe and rau'nous maw;
Such cry *Yorkes* Bird sent from a fatall mouth;
Boading confusion to each wight I saw.

159. *Wolues hayres*. Horace, *Sat.* 1. viii. 42.

161. *spurging*, exuding impure matter.

163 n. *the roote Baaras*. Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum*, vii, ch. iii. 180-4: αὕτη φλογὶ μὲν τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑσπέρας σέλας ἀπαστράπτουσα τοῖς τ' ἐπιούσι καὶ βουλομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχέρωτος, ἀλλ' ὑποφεύγει . . . ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ἀκινδύνως ὅς ἐστι τοιόσδε. κυκλῶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν περιορύττουσιν, ὥς εἶναι τὸ κρυπτόμενον τῆς ῥίζης βραχύτατον, εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποδοῦσι κύνα, καὶ κεῖνου τῷ δήσαντι συνακολουθεῖν ὁρμήσαντος ἥ μὲν ἀνασπᾶται ῥαδίως, θνήσκει δ' εὐθὺς ὁ κύων ὥσπερ ἀντιδοθεὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος τὴν βοτάνην ἀναιρήσεσθαι· φόβος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα λαμβάνουσιν.

164. *the Mandrake*. Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, iv. 76, and Pliny, *Nat. History*, xxv. 147, call the mandragora the Circe-plant (*Κίρκαια*, *Circaeon*); it was a love-potion. They know nothing of the dog. In Germany from the thirteenth century mandragora was identified with the *alrûna*, a devilish spirit and a magic root in human form (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iii. 1202-4, iv. 1673). The dog first appears in a miniature of a fifth-century manuscript of Dioscorides written for the emperor's daughter Julia Anicia; it depicts 'Invention', a personified figure, with one hand holding out the root to Dioscorides, and with the other dragging on a rope a strangled dog which has uprooted the plant. (From L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, iv, pp. 76-7, appendix by A. B. Gough.)

176. *to haue his fat*. With Jonson's reference to Sprenger, cf. *A Strange Report of Sixe most notorious Witches, who by their diuelish practises muredred aboue the number of foure hundred small Children: besides the great hurtes they committed vpon diuers other people: Who for the same, and many other like offences, were executed in the princely Cittie of Munchen in high Germanie the .29. of Iuly, 1600. Printed at Nuremberge by Lucas Mayr Ingrauer, dwelling in Kramergesle: and now translated out of Dutch, according to the same Coppy there imprinted. At London, Printed by W. W. for T. Pauier, dwelling at the signe of the Cat and Parrets neare*

the Exchange. 1601.; and T. Potts, *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, 1613, L2: Grace Sowerbutts deposes that Jennet and Ellen Bierley killed a child, and 'the next night after the buriall thereof, the said *Iennet Bierley & Ellen Bierley*, taking this Examine with them, went to Salmesburie Church, and there did take vp the said child, and the said *Iennet* did carrie it out of the Churchyard in her armes, and then did put it in her lap and carryed it home to her owne house, and hauing it there did boile some therof in a Pot, and some did broile on the coales, of both which the said *Iennet* and *Ellen* did eate. . . . And afterwards the said *Iennet & Ellen* did seethe the bones of the said child in a pot, & with the Fat that came out of the said bones, they said they would annoint themselues, that thereby they might sometimes change themselues into other shapes.'

177. *Church-ale*. Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, p. 150: 'In certaine Townes where drunken *Bacchus* beares all the sway, against a *Christmas*, an *Easter*, *Whit-sonday*, or some other time, the Church-wardens (for so they call them) of euery parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, prouide half a score or twenty quarters of malt, wherof some they buy of the Church-stock, and some is giuen them of the Parishioners them selues, euery one conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; which malt, beeing made into very strong ale or beere, it is set to sale, either in the Church, or some other place assigned to that purpose.' Attempts to suppress the church-ales—for instance, an order of James I for Easter, 1607—failed.

179 n., l. 17. *the diuine Lucan*. Contrast the shrewd criticism in the *Drummond Conversations*, 66–7, that Lucan was good only in parts.

181. *a sinew*. So Hecate in Middleton's *The Witch*, ed. Bullen, I. ii. 167–8, makes use of

A privy gristle of a man that hangs
After sunset.

183. *Scrich-owles*. *Cat.* IV. 508.

186. *S' Cranion*, the spider. *B.F.* I. v. 100.

189. *Libbards-bane*, leopard's bane, *Doronicum* in Jonson's note. W. Turner, *A new Herball*, 1551, i, Bij, 'Leopardes bayne layd to a scorpione maketh hyr vtterly amased and Num.'

194. *black Cat*. Middleton, *The Witch*, ed. Bullen, II. ii. 27–9, 'The whorson old hellcat would have given me the brain of a cat once in my handkercher; I bade her make sauce with 't, with a vengeance!'

195, n. 11. *Iuuenal*, i. 70, vi. 659, of the use of the toad in poisoning. For its use in magic Jonson does not quote Propertius III. vi. 27–8.

199 n., l. 22. *Ciniphei* should be *Cinyphei*, from *Κίνυψ* or *Κίνυφος*, the modern Cinifo or Wady Khahan, a river in North Africa flowing between the two Syrtes.

200. *Horned poppie*, 'any plant of the genus *Glaucium*, distinguished by its long horn-like capsules' (*O.E.D.*).

203. *Basiliskes*. *E.M.O.* I. ii. 220 n.

210. *Virgil* . . . in his, i.e. in his 'Pharmaceutria', *Eclogue* viii.

225-6. *Sea . . . Wind*. Seneca, *Medea*, 765-6:

Sonuere fluctus, tumult insanum mare
tacente vento.

227. *Ioue . . . why*. Lucan, vi. 467, 'Et tonat ignaro caelum Iove'.

260. *Drake*, dragon. For the colour cf. the slang survival 'blue devil'.

265-71 and n. *Cast them up*. Cf. R. Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft*, 1584, iii, ch. xiii (ed. Nicholson, p. 47), of witches' absurd confessions: 'she being but an old doting woman, casteth a flint stone ouer hir left shoulder, towards the west, or hurleth a little sea sand vp into the element, or wetteth a broome sprig in water, and sprinkleth the same in the aire; or diggeth a pit in the earth, and putting water therein, stirreth it about with hir finger; or boileth hogs bristles, or laieth sticks acrossse vpon a banke, where neuer a drop of water is; or burieth sage till it be rotten'; these are 'affirmed by writers to be the meanes that witches vse to mooue estraordinarie tempests and raine, &c.'. Ibid. *eggshells . . . Augur-holes*. So Scot, i. iv. (ed. Nicholson, p. 8), 'they can go in and out at awger-holes, & saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and under the tempestuous seas'.

275. *it kind*. *S.W.* II. v. 110.

277. *Rouncy . . . Robble*, a clap of thunder. From Stanyhurst's attempt at onomatopoeia in the 'poetical devises' appended to his rendering of the *Aeneid* i-iv:

A clapping fyerbolt (such as oft, with rounce robel hobble,
Ioue to the ground clattreth).

Nashe professing to quote Stanyhurst's 'hexameter furie' turns the passage,

Then did he make heauens vault to rebound
with rounce robble hobble
Of ruffe raffe roaring
with thwicke thwacke thurlerie bouncing.

(*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 320, Preface to *Menaphon*.)

337. *àround*. . . . Accented much on the same principle as in contemporary Latin writing ('quòd', 'quàm', 'tantùm', and 'modò), to show at a glance that they were not relative pronouns, adjectives, and nouns; so here not 'a round'.

340 n., l. 9. *Syrbenæan Quires*. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, ed. Dale-champ, Lyons, 1612, of which Jonson had a copy: xv, p. 697 F, ὁ Συρβηναίων χόρος ὧν ἕκαστον τὸ δοκεῖν ἑαυτῷ κατᾶσαι δεῖ, προσέχοντα οὐδὲν τῷ παρακαθημένῳ καὶ διδάσκοντι τὸν χόρον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πολὺ τούτων ἀτακτότερός ἐστι θεατής. There is a note on 669 D, 'Vide proverbium apud Erasmus, σύρβη subulci vox sues ducentis dissono grunnitu vociferantes'.

345. *præposterous*, in inverted or reversed order (Lat. *praeposterus*).

352. *Hierome Herne*. *Hadd.* 349.

364. *furniture*, equipment.

365. *heroïcall . . . Vertue*. Cf. Harington on the allegory of Perseus

in *A Brief Apology for Poetry* (Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. Gregory Smith, ii, pp. 202-3). Jonson's conception is adopted by Webster in *The White Diuel*, 1612, E4, (III. ii) where Vittoria defends herself:

Humbly thus.

Thus low, to the most worthy and respected
Leigier Embassadors, my modesty
And womanhood I tender; but withall
So intangled in a cursed accusation
That my defence of force like Perseus
Must personate masculine vertue.

(First pointed out by W. R. Arrowsmith in *Shakespeare's Editors and Commentators*, 1865, pp. 20-3.) In the preface to the play Webster paid a tribute to 'the labor'd and vnderstanding workes of Maister Iohnson'.

370, note *q*. *Perseus*. One of Ripa's figures of 'Virtù. Nella Medaglia di Lucio Vero' is Perseus on Pegasus killing the Chimaera (*Icon.*, p. 539).

373. *avers'd*. The verb 'averse' is rare.

388. *Renowme*. In Palsgrave, 1530.

448-52. From Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 154-5: 'FAMA BVONA. Donna con vna tromba nella mane dritta, & nella sinistra con vn ramo d'oliua, hauerà al collo vna collana d'oro, alla quale sia perpendente vn cuore, & hauerà l'ali bianche à gl'homeri. La tromba significa il grido vniuersale sparso per gl'orecchi degl'huomini. Il ramo d'oliua mostra la bontà della fama. . . . Il cuore pendente al collo, significa, come narra Oro Apolline ne i suoi Ieroglifica, la fama d'un huomo da bene. L'ali di color bianco, notano la candidezza, & la velocità della fama buona.'

450. *Orus Apollo*, Horapollo. A reference to the 'Ωρου Ἀπόλλωνος Νειλώου ἱερογλυφικά, first printed by Aldus in 1505, a Greek translation by Philippus of a work attributed to a grammarian of Phaenebythis in Egypt, who taught in the reign of Theodosius. The passage Jonson quotes is in the Paris ed. of 1521, p. 21: ἀνθρώπου καρδία φάρυγγος ἡρτημένη, ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου στόμα σημαίνει.

453. *as Virgil describes her*. Jonson translates the passage in *Poetaster*, v. ii. 73-97.

483-4. *She was Queene . . .* C. Estienne, *Dictionarium*, 'Penthesilea, Amazonum regina, quae, teste Iustino lib. 2 (4, 31-2) Otteræ, siue (vt alij), Orythiæ successit in regno'.

493-4. Propertius, III. xi. 15-16.

518. *her only sonne*, Spargapises. *had slayne him*. He was captured when drunk; he killed himself when sober (Herodotus, i. 207-8).

522-5. Justin, i. viii. 11, 'Ducenta milia Persarum cum ipso rege trucidavit. In qua victoria etiam illud memorabile fuit quod ne nuntius quidem tantae cladis superfuit.'

533-6. Herodotus, vii. 99, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ <παραμένημαι>, τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης, γυναικός· ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὕτη τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηΐης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμῆς εἰούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης.

537. *beholding her fight at the battle of Salamis*.

538. *Viri quidem* . . . Herodotus, viii. 88, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες. But the facts are that Artemisia was in flight, closely pursued by a Greek ship; a Persian ship was in front of her, and either intentionally or accidentally she rammed and sank it. The Greek captain stopped pursuit, thinking she was on his side.

540. Jonson has hopelessly confused two Artemisias. The heroine of Salamis was a queen of Halicarnassus and a vassal of Xerxes. She was a daughter of Lygdamis, and on the death of her husband she succeeded him as queen. The sister, wife and successor of Mausolus of Caria, was the daughter of Hecatomnus; she reigned from 352 B.C. to 350 B.C.

548. *her brother*. More probably her cousin; see Ellis on Catullus, lxvi, introductory note and note on l. 22.

560. *more elegantly*. Callimachus' elegy is lost; Catullus' translation is difficult and obscure.

570. *in a masculine habit*. Plutarch relates (*Pompeius*, 32) that Mithridates used to call her Hypsicrates.

571-6. Valerius Maximus, iv. vi, 'Hypsicratea quoque regina Mithridatem coniugem suum effusis caritatis habenis amavit, propter quem praecipuum formae suae decorem in habitum virilem convertere voluptatis loco habuit: tonsis enim capillis . . . interesset. Quin etiam victum a Cn. Pompeio . . . fugientem animo pariter ac corpore infatigabili secuta est.'

593-4. *Voadicea* . . . *Bunduca*. 'Boudicca' is the best form of a name variously read in the MSS. of Tacitus; it is in the Medicean text of *Annals*, xiv. 37, § 5 (see Furneaux's note, xiv. 31, § 3). It is explained to mean 'Victorina' (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 282). The popular form 'Boadicea' is a mere error and has no Celtic meaning. Dion Cassius has Βουνδουίκα and Βουδουίκα. 'Bunduca' in Spenser. *The Faerie Queene*, II. x. 56, has a reference which Jonson does not quote:

O famous moniment of womens prayse,
Matchable either to *Semiramis*,
Whom antique history so high doth raise,
Or to *Hypsiphil*', or to *Thomiris*.

Similarly III. iv. 1, 2, introducing Britomart:

Where is the Antique glory now become,
That whylome wont in women to appeare?
Where be the braue atchieuements doen by some?
Where be the battels, where the shield & speare,
And all the conquests, which them high did reare,
That matter made for famous Poets verse?

In the second stanza he instances 'bold Penthesilee', Deborah, and Camilla. It is possible that these various references first suggested the theme to Jonson; Spenser was to be read 'for his matter' (*Disc.* 1807). Or a possible source is Boccaccio, *de Claris Mulieribus*: he includes Penthesilea, Thomyris, Artemisia, Berenice, Hypsicratea, and Zenobia.

608. *honest*. S.W. I. iv. 3. Jonson translates Xiphilinus' *Dionis Epitome*, 1551, p. 159: ἡ γὰρ μάλιστα αὐθις ἐρεθίσασα, καὶ ἐναντία 'Ρωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἀναπείσασα, τῆς τε προστατείας αὐτῶν ἀξιωθείσα καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς στραηγήσασα Βουνδουίκα ἦν γυνὴ Βρεττανίς, γένους τοῦ βασιλείου, μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα φρόνημα ἔχουσα . . . ἦν καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη, τό τε βλέμμα δριμυτάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε.

617. In *Trebellius Pollio*. *Triginta Tyranni*, 30. Gibbon tells her story in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xi, and comments on her character that 'if we except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia'.

632. *Amalasunta*. Her history down to her exile and death is fully given by Gibbon in his 41st chapter. His early authorities are Procopius and Cassiodorus. She died in 535.

638, note *n*. The reference is to his *Rhapsodiae Historiarum ab orbe condito*, Enneadis viii (not vii), liber ii (*Opera*, Basle, 1560, ii. 458).

643. *Valasca*. A legendary queen of Bohemia in the fifth century. Primitive Bohemian women served in the army and fought on the battlefield. Æneas Sylvius describes Valasca in his *Historia Bohemica*, 1475, chs. vii, viii. She won her victory by the aid of magic. Men whom she spared lost their thumbs and right eyes, so as to be incapable of military service. Premislaus killed her after she had reigned seven years. If Jonson had known Silvius' history, would he have included her amongst his heroines? R. Estienne's account in his *Dictionarium* is: 'Valasca Bohemorum regina fuit, quæ facta cum cæteris mulieribus coniuratione de excutiendo virorum principatu, copiarum ductrix bellum mouit, interfectisque viris fœminas omnes asseruit in libertatem, ita vt instar Amazonum multos annos imperarint sine viris. Volateranus in Geographia.'

651-2. *Raphael Volaterranus*. Raphael Maffei of Volterra (1450-1521), who wrote in Rome *Commentarii Urbani Libri xlv* and translated Xenophon, Procopius, &c.

653. *Philalethes*, one of the pseudonyms of Ortensio Landi, of Milan. His *Forciana Quaestiones, in quibus varia Italorum ingenia explicantur* (Naples, 1536) named, along with Valasca, Berenice, Penthesilea, Thomyris, Zenobia, Hypsicratea, and others.

655. *Bel-Anna*. An ingenious coinage to match 'Bel-Phoebe' for Elizabeth (e.g. in the prelude to Book III of *The Faerie Queene*). Campion borrowed it in his *Maske at the Marriage of the Earle of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard*, 26 December 1613. Jonson had used it in the *Entertainment of the King and Queen at Theobalds*, 110.

666. *some may come forth*. Referred to in *The Forest*, xii. 71-82: it was a poem designed to celebrate the ladies of Great Britain, possibly a part of the 'Heroologia' which he described to Drummond (*Conv.* 1-4).

673. *Virgil's Mezentius. Aeneid*, viii. 485-8.

After 679 cr. n. *When I suffer'd it . . . with my right.* So *Cat.* 'To the Reader', 3, 4.

681. *the House of Fame*. Professedly based on Chaucer's poem of that name, which goes back to Ovid's House of Fame (*Metamorphoses*, xii. 39-63). But Inigo (or Jonson) has distinctly varied it. Chaucer's house is built of beryl (iii. 94), Inigo's 'all of sounding brasse' (l. 385): compare Ovid, 'Tota est ex aere sonanti'. Chaucer's house is full of windows, and in niches round it were seated minstrels such as Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and Glasgerion. Metal pillars were on either side the hall: on a pillar of lead and iron was Josephus; on an iron pillar Statius; on other iron pillars were Homer, Dares, Dictys, Guido, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. On a pillar of iron coated with tin was Virgil, and beside him Ovid and Lucan; on a pillar of sulphur Claudian. Fame herself bore on her shoulders the arms and names of Alexander and Hercules. These suggestions have been used, but they have been fruitfully developed.

693 cr. n. *sited. Sej.* iv. 48.

696. *seuerall-coloured Lights*. Cf. the 'Diaphonall glasses' of 2 *Theobalds*, 30.

727-8. From Virgil's description of Fame, *Aen.* iv. 176-7:

Mox sese attollit in auras,
ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.

Jonson translated it in *Poet.* v. ii. 77-9.

730. From Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 38. 6, 'Contemptu famae contemni virtutes'. Already in *Sej.* i. 502.

741. *Io. Allin*. He also sang in Campion's masque at Lord Somerset's wedding in 1613.

750-1. *graphically disposed. Hym.* 316-17.

756. *Tho. Giles. Beauty*, 297.

762. *Alfonso Ferrabosco. Haddington*, 351.

764-73. With this noble close compare *Pleasure Reconciled*, 339-48, and the last lines of *Comus*, 'Love vertue, she alone is free . . . '.

THE SPEECHES AT PRINCE HENRY'S BARRIERS

PRINCE HENRY'S sporting activities included everything but hunting. La Boderie wrote of him on 31 October 1606, when he was thirteen years old: 'C'est un fort gentil Prince, & tous ses plaisirs ne sentent plus l'enfant. Il aime uniquement les chevaux, & tout ce qui en dépend: la chasse, peu. . . . Il joue volontiers à la paume, & à un autre jeu d'Ecosse qui est quasi semblable au Pallemail. . . .

Il étude deux heures le jour; & le reste du temps, il emploie tout, ou à manier la pique, ou à sauter, ou à tirer de l'arc, ou à lancer la barre, ou à voltiger.' At the Dulwich Picture Gallery is a portrait of him by an unknown artist, which represents him bare-headed, lunging with a tilting-lance. The portrait by William Hole, prefixed to Drayton's *Polyolbion* in 1613, was probably engraved from this.

Royal tilting was an expensive amusement, as the various entries in the State Papers show. There is a payment to 'Thomas Lincolne for Charges of y^e Princes Barriers' on 17 November 1610 in Pell Order Book E 403/2730, f. 34b: 'By Order dated this daie. To Thom̃s Lincolne yeoman of his Ma:^{ties} Armory att Greenwiche the summe of fowerscore one poundē nine shillingē and sixe pence for Pikes Tiltstaues and other suche like necessaries delivered by him for the vse of the Princes Barriers att Christmas last 1609: according to a note of the particulars therof vnder the hand of S^r Thomas Challoner knight. p lre dat xj^o die Decembris: 1609:', checked by 'Watson'. In the Patent and Privy Seal papers, 403, no. 3, 12 February 1610, is this warrant for the Barriers:

'Iames &c. To the Treō and vndertres of our Exchequer greeting. Whereas diūse Pearles silks and other necessaries were prouided and taken vp of diūse Cittizens of our Cittie of London for the vse and seruice of our dearest sonne the Prince at the tyme of the Barriers, and other exercises of Armes pformed by him at Christmas last w^{ch} together wth the workmanshipp therof amount vnto the some of one thousand nyne hundred fowerscore six poundē nyne shillingē seauen pence appeareing by an accompt of the seūall pcells thereof and the sõmes due to eūie pticuler pson for the same vnder the hand of S^r Dauid Murray Knight w^{ch} we haue seene and allowed and whereof wee are pleased to make paym^t and satisfaccon to eūie pson pportionably according to the sõmes specified in the said Accompt Wherefore we doe will and comaund you of such our treasure as now is or hereafter shall remayne in the Receit of our Exchequer to cause paym^t to be made vnto the said S^r Dauid Murray knight or his assignes of the said sõme of one thousand nyne hundred fowerscore and six poundē nyne shillingē seauen pence to be by him paid ouer to eūie of the said psons their executo^{rs} administrators or assignes respectively according to their pticuler Bills distinguished in the said Accompte or other charge to be se(t) on him or anie of them for the sõme. And theis our Lrēs shalbe yo^r sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe Given vnder our privie Seale at our Pallace of Westm̃ the twelueth day of ffebruary in the seauenth yeare of our Raigne of England ffrance and Irland and of Scotland the three and fortith.

Reynoldes'

Dated 'xij^{mo} februarij Anno vij Ris Iacobi 1609'.

In the Pell Order Book, E 402/2729, f. 137, this account is again mentioned on 28 February 1610:

'By order dated vltimo die ffebruarij 1609. To S^r Daud Murray knight or his Assigne the summe of one thowsand nine hundred fower-score sixe pounde nine shillinge & seven pence for diverse sorts of perles, Silkes & other necessities p^{ro}vided & taken vp of diverse Citizens of London for the vse and service of the Prince att the time of the Barriers & other exercises of Armes p^{er}formed by him att Christm̄s last 1609: together wth the workmanshipp therof, the same to be by him paied over to the particular p^{er}sons to whom the same is due apear^{ing} by an Accompt of the particulars wthout Accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vpon the said S^r Daud Murray for the same. p^{er} bre dat xij^o ffebrij: 1609.'

Endorsed by 'watson'. A final payment to the city is recorded on f. 167, 7 May: 'Me^m that vpon an Order entred in the Pell of Exitus xiiij^o Martij: 1609 conteining the summe of m^l ix^c iiij^{xx} vj^{li} ix^s vij^d for wares p^{ro}vided of diverse Cittizens att the time of the Barriers &c there is this daie paid in full paiement therof the summe of Clⁱ-Cary Clⁱ Egioke.'

Inigo Jones superintended the arrangements. On f. 66 in E 402/2729, 9 December 1609, 'By order dated this daie. To Inigo Iones the summe of twoe hundred and fiftie pounde in prest towarde the defraying of the Charge of the workes intended for the Prince his Barriers. p^{er} bre dat xj^o die instantis Decembris 1609', endorsed by 'Bowier'. £100 was paid out at once, and £150 on 23 December. These sums proving insufficient there was a further payment of £150 on 29 December, f. 82b: 'By order dated of Ianuarie To Inigo Iones gent the summe of one hundred & fiftie pounde in prest to be by him imployed for certen p^{ro}visions to be made for the exercise of feate of Armes att the Barriers and other like noble & heroicall actions agreable to the Princes disposicoⁿ. p^{er} bre dat xj^o die Decembris 1609', endorsed 'Cary'. Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote to Lord Salisbury, the Lord High Treasurer, 'Moving the Lord Treasurer to order an additional payment of 150*l*. to be made to Mr. Jones, who has this afternoon asked for the said sum, for which he "hoopeth to discharge the residue of that worke, which apperteneth to the Shewe"'. With this is an autograph note from Sir Julius Caesar: 'Mr. Bingley,¹ let this money, videlicet, one hundred and fifty *li*. bee presently payed to Mr. Jones. Let an order bee forthwith made for the same, and brought or sent to me, and I will signe it and send it to my Lord Treasurer for his hand, for this busines must endure no delay. 1 January 1609—Your loving friend, Iul. Caesar.'

¹ One of the officers of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

The document is endorsed 'for provision of barriers' (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report X, MSS. of J. E. Hodgkin, App. ii, p. 276). Lastly, a belated payment to Jonson is included in the Pell Order Book, E 403/2730, 27 April 1611:

Benjamin Iohnson } By order, dated x^{mo} Aprilis 1611. To Beniamin
and Inigo Iones } Iohnson and Inigo Iones to eache of them, the
sum of ffortie pounde by way of rewarde having beene imployed amongst
others for the p̄paraçon of the Princes Barriers att Christmas 1609:
p̄ bre dat xj^o die Decembris 1609.

Checked by 'Bower'. Thus the total expenses amounted to £2,466. 9s. 7d.

The tilting took place on 6 January 1610. On 17 December 1609 Correr, the Venetian ambassador, wrote, 'The Prince of Wales has arrived in London to arrange for a tourney, which he intends to give in February. It will be the first time he has appeared in public in the lists. He found some difficulty in obtaining the King's consent, but his Majesty did not wish to cross him' (*Venetian S.P.* xi, p. 401). Correr wrote again on 24 December: 'The Prince is training *combatter una barriera* on Epiphany. He will be the challenger (*mantenitore*), backed by five¹ comrades, three English who are the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Thomas Somerset, and two Scotch the Duke of Lennox and Sir Richard Preston. The Venturers are to be about forty in number. The Council has issued orders to them all to be in readiness' (*ibid.*, p. 403). Nichols (*Progresses*, ii, p. 267) quotes one of these orders:

'To our verie loving good ffreind Sr Gilbert Houghton, Knight, geave theis wth speed:

After our hartie commendaçons vnto you. The Prince his Highnes hath commanded vs to signifie to you that whereas he doth intend to make a challenge in his owne person at the Barriers, wth sixe other Assistants, to bee performed some tyme this Christmas; and that he hath made choice of you for one of the Defendants (whereof we haue commandement to giue you knowledge) that thervppon you may so repaire hither to prepare yo^r selfe, as you may bee fitt to attend. Herevnto expecting yo^r speedie answer wee rest, from Whitehall this 25th of December, 1609,

Yo^r very loving Freindes,
Nottingham. T. Suffolke. E. Worcester.'

In a final letter of 8 January 1610 Correr described the Prince as busy practising and said 'The number of joustes is increased every day. They now amount to fifty-four' (*V.S.P.* xi 406).

¹ The number was six.

There is an account of the ceremony in *The Life and Death of our Late most Incomparable and Heroique Prince Henry, Prince of Wales*, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, the treasurer of his household, 1641, pp. 12-15:

'The 16. yeare of his Age, being to come to the time of his Investment in the Principalitie of *Wales* and *Cornewall*; He did advance his own Title and Right so farre, as with modestie he might: which presently was gently and lovingly entertained, and granted of his Majestie, with the consent of the Right Honourable, the High Court of Parliament: The fourth of *Iune* following,¹ being appointed for that solemne action, the *Christmas* before which, his Highnesse not onely for his owne Recreation, but also that the World might know, what a brave Prince they were likely to enjoy, under the Name of *Meliades*, Lord of the *Isles*, (an ancient Title due to the first borne of *Scotland*) did in his Name, by some appointed for the same of purpose, strangely attired, accompanied with Drummes and Trumpets in the Chamber of Presence, before the King and Queene, and in the presence of the whole Court, delivered a Challenge to all Knights of *Great Britaine*, in two Speeches; the relation whereof were out of purpose, but the summe was:

'That *Meliades*, their Noble Master, boyling with an earnest desire, to trie the Valour of his young yeares in foraigne Countrayes, and to know where Vertue triumphed most, had sent them abroad to espy the same, who after their long Travailes in all Countreyes, and returne; shewing, how no where in any Continent, save in the Fortunate Isle of *Great Britaine*, they had found his wishes; which ministring matter of exceeding joy to their young *Meliades*, who (as they said) could lineally deriue his Pedegree from the famous Knights of this Isle, was the cause that he had now sent to present the first fruits of his Chivalrie at his Majesties feete. Then after, returning with a short speech to her Majestie, next to the Earles, Lords, and Knights, excusing their Lord in this their so sudden & short warning: and lastly, to the Ladies; they after humble delivery of their Chartle, concerning time, place, conditions, number of weapons, and Assailants, tooke their leave, departing solemnly as they entred.

'Now began every where preparations to be made for this great fight, and happy did he thinke himselfe who should be admitted for a Defendant, much more Assailant: At last, to encounter his Highnesse, with his six Assailants, 58. Defendants consisting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, were appointed and chosen, eight Defendants to one Assailant, every Assailant being to fight by turnes, eight severall times fighting, two every time with push of Pike and Sword, twelve stroakes at a time; after which, the Barre for separation was to bee let downe untill a fresh onset.

'The great night of this Solemnity now approaching, his Highnesse in his owne lodging, in the Christmas, did Feast the Earles, Barons, and

¹ A wrong date, which we copied in vol. ii, p. 283. It should be January 6.

Knights assailants, and defendants, untill the great Twelfth appointed night, on which this great fight was to be performed; which being come, his Highnesse, to the great wonder of the beholders, did admirably fight his part, giving and receiving that night, 32. pushes of Pikes, and about 360. stroakes of Swords, which is scarce credible in so young yeares, enough to assure the World, that *Great Britaines* brave Henry aspired to immortality.

'Against the morrow, after the same said fight, was also prepared a Magnificke Feast at his Highnesse house at *Saint Iames*, at which his Majestie, his Highnesse, his Brother and Sister, with all the other Earles, Lords, and Knights of the Court were present; where after Supper (according as before they had been judged) his Highnesse gave three prizes, to the three best deserving, viz. to the Right Honourable the Earle of *Montgomery* one, and to Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Robert Gordon* Knights, the other two.'

Chamberlain writing briefly to Winwood on 13 February 1610, not seeing the Barriers himself, reports that they were well performed; that Sir Robert Gordon's prize was given him because he was a Scot, 'more in Favour of the Nation then for any due desart', and that 'Instead of a *Plaudite* they had an exceeding good Peal of Ordnance or Chambers, that graced the matter very much' (*Memorials of Affairs of State*, iii, p. 117).

Edmond Howes's continuation of Stow's *Annales*, 1615, p. 897, adds a few details to Cornwallis's account:

'The sixt of Ianuary, at the pallace of white-hall in the presence of the Kinge and Queene, and the Ambassadors of Spayne, and Venice, and of al the peeres & great Ladies of the land with a multitude of others: in the great banqueting-house all these were assembled, at the vpper end wherof was the kings Chaire of State, and on the right hand thereof, was a sumptuous paulion, for the prince and his associats, from whence with great brauery and ingenious deuices, they descended into the middell of the Roome, and there the Prince performed his first feats of armes, that is to say at Barriers, against all commers, being assisted onlie with six others, viz. the Duke of Lennox, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Southampton, the Lord Hay, Sir Thomas Somerset, and Sir Richard Preston, who was shortly after created Lord Dingwell. Against these Gallant Challengers came six and fiftie braue defendants, consisting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Esquiers, who in the lower end of the roome had erected a very delicat and pleasant place, where in priuate manner they and their traine remained, which was so very great that no man imagined that the place could haue conceald halfe so many, from whence in comly order they issued, and ascended into the middell of the roome, where then sate the King and the Queene and Ambassadors to behould the Barriers, with y^e seuerall showes and deuices of each combatant. Euery Challenger fought with eight seuerall

defendants two seuerall combats at two seuerall weapons, viz. at push of pike, and with single sword, the Prince performed this challenge with wonderous skill, and courage, to the great ioy and admiration of all the beholders, the Prince not being full sixteene yeeres of age vntill the 19. of February. These feates of armes with their triumphall shewes began before ten a clocke at night, and continewed there vntill the next morning, being Sunday: and that day the Prince feasted all the combattants, at Saint *Iames*, and then gaue rich prizes vnto three of the best deseruers defendants, viz. vnto the Earle of *Montgomerie*, M. *Thomas Darcie* sonne and heire to the Lord *Darcie* of Chich, and vnto Sir *Robert Gourdon*.

These *Speeches* are the only examples in Jonson's work of his making use of the Arthurian legend; he was aware of its literary possibilities (*Conv. Dr.* x. 148–50), and the incident here chosen for treatment is not unskilfully worked out, but as a rule his references to the literature of the subject are contemptuous: see *E.M.O.* II. iii. 67–8, 'a tedious chapter of courtship, after sir LANCELOT, and queene GYNEVER', *N.I.* I. vi. 124, and *Und.* xliii. 69, where 'The *Tristram's*, *Lanc'lots*, *Turpins*, and the *Peers*' are included in a list of writings which it would be good to burn.

2. *siluer feet*. *Beauty*, 306.

15. *preuent*, anticipate.

20. *claimes Arthurs seat*. In Camden, *Remaines*, 1605, p. 171, in the form 'Charles Iames Steuart' from 'Claimes Arthurs Seate'. Alluded to in *Hon. of Wales*, 372. Originally, no doubt, the anagram referred to Edinburgh; it was attributed to Dr. Walter Gwyn.

22. *o're-thirsty*, over-eager.

36. *Memphian heapes*, the Pyramids. *Memphian* = Egyptian, as in Milton's 'Busiris and his Memphian chivalry'.

39–40. *Shields . . . rusty*. Whalley quotes Bacchylides, fragm. 46, 6–9:

ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν
ἀραχνᾶν ἱστοὶ πέλονται.
ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεά τ' ἀμφάκεα δάμναται εὐρώς·
χαλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος.

50. *the Ephesian temple*, fired by Herostratus in 356 B.C. *Und.* xliii. 194.

57. *Nieces*, niches.

60. *Out-striding the Colossus of the sunne*, the bronze statue of Apollo at Rhodes, astride the entrance to the harbour and seventy cubits high. So Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 135–6:

Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus.

67. *Translated to a starre*. Arcturus, which in the Middle Ages became 'Arthurus': Gawin Douglas in his *Æneis*, III. viii. 21, calls Arcturus

'Arthuris hufe' (haunt). Properly Arcturus is the brightest star in the constellation Bootes, but the name was sometimes applied to the whole constellation, as Jonson uses it in line 68.

74. *deuolu'd*, passed down by the revolution of time into a state in which the prophecies are fulfilled. *O.E.D.* quotes G. Joye, *The exposition of Daniel*, 1545, xi (R.), 'Thus was the worlde 47 yeris before Crystis birthe deuolued into the fourthe monarchie called the Romane and last empyre'.

94. *this shield*. Suggested by the shield which Vulcan, at Venus' request, made for Aeneas (*Aeneid*, viii. 626-731):

Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos . . .
fecerat Ignipotens.

111. *surreption*, underhand proceeding.

116. *auile*, depreciate.

118-19. Cf. Glendower's boast (1 *Henry IV*, iii. i) that the earth shook when he was born and this and other portents showed he was not 'in the roll of common men'.

122. *Meliadus*, Prince Henry's self-chosen name. In William Drummond's poem on his death, *Teares on the Death of Meliades*, 1613, is a marginal note to the opening lines, 'The Name, which in these Verses is giuen Prince HENRIE, is that which he himselfe in y^e Challenges of his Martial Sports, & Mascarads, was wont to vse, *Mæliades Prince of the Isles*, which in *Anagramme* maketh Miles A DEO'. Daniel in *Tethys Festival*, 1610, E4, giving James a trident and Henry a sword and scarf, wrote

Beare Tethys message to the Ocean King, . . .
And tell Meliades,
The of-spring of his blood,
How she applaudes his good.

Henry is greeted as

the Lord
And Prince of th'Iles (the hope and the delight,
Of all the Northerne Nations).

Henry took the name from a chivalrous romance. Meliadus, a lover of the Lady of the Lake, had a son by her, also named Meliadus. As her favoured lover, he had access to the imprisoned Merlin, who used him as a messenger to convey his prophetic messages. See *Les Prophecies de Merlin*, 1498, and Jean Gaguin's translation of Rusticien de Pisa's romance *Meliadus de Leonnoys*, 1528 and 1532.

133. *in their tunes againe*. For this notion of restoring to mortal ears the music of the spheres cf. *S.S.* iii. ii. 32.

147. *the Python*, the huge serpent at Delphi, to which the oracle originally belonged before Apollo killed it.

154. Adapted to Prince Charles in *G.M.* 1405, 'Glorie of ours, and Grace of all the earthe'.

162. *decor'me*. An ugly and unwarranted elision.

182. *made Caesar flie*. Cf. the still greater exaggeration in *Cymbeline*, III. i. 22-9.

194. *The trade of clothing*. Early in 1332 Edward III settled Flemish weavers in England to teach the manufacture of fine cloth, and he renewed the wool trade between England and the Netherlands.

199. *what treasure*. By means of benevolences, exactions, and fines, he had accumulated a fortune of £1,800,000 at the time of his death.

204. *Built forts*. From 1537 to 1539 Henry VIII surveyed the eastern and southern coasts, and built forts or blockhouses; castles were built at Dover, Plymouth, and at the mouth of the Thames. The musters were kept in training within twenty miles of the coast.

231-3. *for humane respect* goes grammatically with *With too much scorne*: one of Jonson's clumsy inversions.

232. *deiect*, cast down (Lat. *deicere*).

247. *assassinate*. S.W. II. ii. 50.

250-2. A side-glance at the Gowry 'conspiracy'.

256. *The black Prince*. Cf. John Webster's tribute to Prince Henry, *A Monumental Columnne*, 1613, B:

For men thought his star
Had markt him for a iust and glorious war.
And sure his thoughts were ours, he could not reade
Edward the blacke Princes life, but it must breed
A vertuous emulation to haue his name
So lag behind him both in *Time* and *Fame*.
Hee that like lightning did his force aduance,
And shook toth' Center the whole Realme of *France*.

269-70. *sea . . . way*. For the rhyme cf. *Blackness*, 299, 300, 'they . . . sea'.

285. *thunder-bolt of warre*. Latin *fulmen belli* (Cicero, Lucretius, Virgil): cf. Fairfax, *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 1600, xvii, st. 31, 'And *Tisiphone*, that thunderbolt of warre'.

286. *in face*. The traditional portrait of Henry V is an oval face with a long straight nose, a ruddy complexion, dark smooth hair, and bright eyes. Of Prince Henry Cornwallis says (*Life and Death*, 1641, p. 22), 'In the 19. yeare of his Age, whether by his continuall toile of body, and minde, or some internall unknowne causes, . . . where before he was of somewhat a full round face, and very pleasant disposition, his Visage began to appeare somewhat paler, longer and thinner then before'. There had been a distinct resemblance. Gifford notes that the courtiers were said to have made the observation in order to please the Queen; he adds this was mere ill nature. The Prince's admirers liked to compare him with his namesake; Drayton, for instance, in *A Pæan Triumphall* (*Works*, ed. Hebel, i, p. 481) describes

the faire Prince, in whom appear'd in glory,
As in th'abridgement of some famous story,

Ev'ry rare vertue of each famous King
 Since *Norman Williams* happie conquering:
 Where might be seene in his fresh blooming hopes,
Henry the fifth leading his warlike troupes,
 When the proud French fell on that conquered land,
 As the full Corne before the labourers hand.

300. *eightie eight*. *Alch.* iv. iv. 29.

303. *As if whole Ilands*. From Virgil's picture of Actium, *Aen.* viii. 691-2:

Pelago credas innare revolsas
 Cycladas.

307-8. From Claudian, *De tertio Consulatu Honorii*, 96-8:

O nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris
 Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aether
 et coniurati veniunt ad classica venti.

312. *Howard*. The Earl of Nottingham: *Hym.* 851.

314. *A second*. Thomas Howard (1561-1626), created Earl of Suffolk on 21 July 1603; volunteered for the fleet in 1588 and was knighted for his valour shown off Calais. Along with Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and others, he was one of the Admiral's council of war in the great encounter with Spain. He was admiral of the third squadron in the fleet sent against Cadiz in 1596; knight of the garter, 1597, and vice-admiral of the fleet sent to the Azores.

317. *moone*, the crescent form of the Armada.

351. *He hath new built*. The Earl of Nottingham was Lord High Admiral till 1619 and was completely inefficient in his later years; corruption of all kinds flourished in the navy. But James took an interest in shipbuilding, and supported his able master shipwright, Phineas Pett, who built the *Prince Royal* in 1610.

364-5. *fixed fast The wheele of chance*. Perhaps Jonson learned later Louis XI's irony on this, quoted in *Disc.* 1317-22.

406. *use fortune reuerently*. *Sej.* II. 137.

414. *So Hercules . . .* A line by its weight and terseness peculiarly Roman, and a typical instance of Jonson's power of rounding off the expression of a thought.

419. *your other you*. *E. Highgate*, 166.

427. *that yong lord*, the future Charles I, then Duke of York.

431. *princely Maid*, the Princess Elizabeth.

OBERON, THE FAIRY PRINCE

THIS was performed on 1 January 1611, with Prince Henry as Oberon, but the names of the other masquers have not been preserved. According to Howes, there were two earls, three barons, five knights, and two esquires (Stow's *Annals*, 1631, p. 999). Marc' Antonio Correr, the Venetian ambassador, reported to his Court on 25 November 1610 that the King 'will leave for Royston on Saturday, and the Prince will go with him for a couple of weeks, as he must come back to arrange a Masque for Christmas. He would have liked to present this Masque on horseback could he have obtained the King's consent' (*Venetian State Papers*, xii, p. 79). The Prince had returned to St. James's by 3 December (Thomas Screven in the *Rutland Papers*, iv, p. 211). Correr further reports on 2 December that 'the King is pleased that at the approaching Christmas' the Queen 'should give another Masque of Ladies; it will precede the Prince's Masque, and neither will be so costly as last year's, which to say sooth were excessively costly' (*V.S.P.*, p. 86). The Queen's masque was *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, which followed *Oberon* on 3 February 1611; her previous masque was *Tethys' Festival* by Daniel, performed on 5 June 1610: did Correr refer to this? John More reported to Sir Ralph Winwood on 15 December 1610 that the Prince was to give one masque, and 'the Queen but two'—actually she gave one—'which doth cost her Majesty but 600*l*; neither do I see any likelihood of any further extraordinary expense that this *Christmas* will bring' (*Memorials*, 1725, iii. 239).

Before his assassination on 14 May 1610 Henri IV of France had been arranging a treaty with England, which was signed by his successor Louis XIII in September. The new king was a minor, and Marie de Médici, the Queen Regent, directed the policy of France. She reversed the anti-Austrian policy of Henri and cultivated friendly relations with Spain. The Marshal de Laverdin was appointed ambassador extraordinary to bring the treaty to England for signature. The English Court was anxious to invest his mission with special marks of favour, and Correr reported on 31 December that 'The Masques which the Queen and Prince are preparing are particularly directed to honour this mission, which has been sent on purpose at this Christmastide so as to admit of still greater favour being shown to the Marshal' (*Venetian State Papers*, xii, p. 101). But Marie de Médici was opposed to any special publicity being given to the treaty in this way, and delayed Laverdin's departure.

Correr finally reports on 14 January 1611, 'On Tuesday the Prince gave his Masque, which was very beautiful throughout, very decorative, but most remarkable for the grace of the Prince's every movement. The King was pleased that the Spanish Ambassador and I should be present. The Ambassador of the United Provinces was also invited', but declined to appear along with the Spanish ambassador. 'The Queen, next whom I sat, said that on Sunday next she intended to give her Masque, and she hoped the King would invite me to it. She then said some words in English to the Earl of Salisbury, from whom I gathered they are not pleased at M. de Laverdin's delay, which looked as though he had not understood the honour done him by the King and the Prince' (ibid., p. 106).

Any anticipations that the Court may have cherished that *Oberon* would be a cheap masque were not realized. There are numerous entries in the State Papers, and the King's warrant is in British Museum Additional MS. 24023 on f. 4:

'May it please your Honor to bee aduertised, that his Highnes being desirous to reward thoos that tooke peynes in the mask for him, hath giuen order to rase ther rewards according to the last mask of the Queene: After which direction: Mr Alfonso (Ferrabosco) Monsieur Confess, & Mr Ieremy Herne, are thought worthy to receiue by your allowance, 20:^l a peece. In respect of other peyns bestowed almost 6, weekes conti(nually) The others not yet payd, shalbe very shortly certified to your Honor: And I rest

Your Honors always to
Commande
Tho: Chaloner

St James
Aprill 27

'Mr Bingley; Let an order be made readie forthwth for my Lo^d Tre^r & me to signe for Q.^s allowance abouesaid according vnto the Priuie seale in y^t behalf. 29 April 1611
Jul. Cæsar.'

There are the usual entries in the Audit Office accounts, Lord Treasurer Stanhope's (A.O. 1/48/389) in January 1611 'for makinge readie the bankettinge house for the maske fower dayes', and Andrew Kerwyn's (A.O. 1/41/2419, 1610-11) 'for woorke and reparacons in p^rping & fytting the hall and banquetting house for a Maske'. In Additional MS. 12498, f. 33, 'The Charges of worke & reparacons don on sondry his ma^{te} houses in y^e moneth of November 1610' include 'Mask at whitehall vij^{li} xij^s j^d'. Similarly for December, f. 35: 'The Mask at whitehall—Clxiiij^{li} x^s j^d ob.' Similarly for January 1611, f. 37: 'Maske at whithall—Cxxxvj^{li} xv^s iij^d.'

In *S.P.* 39/1, no. 48, is a warrant of 26 November 1610 for *Oberon* and for the Queen's masque of *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*:

James R.

Jul. Cæsar'

JAMES by the grace of God &c. To the Tre^r and Vndertre^r of our Excheqr greeting. Whereas we are pleased to be at some charge aboute two Maskes, the one for the Queene our deere Wife, the other for the Prince our sonne. These shalbe to will and require yo^w to yssue out of our treasure such severall so^mes of money as shalbe demaunded of yo^w by Certificate vnder the handes of our Cosins the Earles of Suffolk and Worcester for the Queene, and Sr Thomas Challoner knight for the Prince. And theis our L^res &c. Given &c.

By order from the Lo. Tre^r

Windebank.

The above was repeated in *S.P.* 40/2, f. 180b, under date 26 November 1610.

There are preliminary payments of £250 to Inigo Jones in December 1610 in the Pell Order Book (E 403/2730, f. 53, 8 December), 'By Order dated tertio Dec: 1610 To Inigo Iones gent the summe of one hundred pounde towardē the Charges of the Princes Maske intended according to a Certificat therof vnder the hande of Sr Thomas Challoner knight. p^r bre dat xxvj^{to} die Novembris: 1610:', endorsed 'Cary'; and again on 18 December on f. 61b: 'To Inigo Iones gent the summe of One hundred and fiftie pounde in prest to be by him imployed for defraying the charges of the Princes Maske. p^r bre dat xxvj^{to} die Novembris 1610,' checked by 'Bowier'. Ibid., f. 69, 5 January 1611: 'By Order dated xxxj^{mo} Decemb^s 1610 To Inigo Iones gent the summe of One hundred pounde imprest to be by him imployed towardē the defraying of the charges of the Princes Maske. p^r bre dat xxvj^{to} die Novembris 1610, et p^r al(iam) Direction^u,' checked by 'Watson'.

The fees for the 'inventors' and the musicians follow on f. 154, 27 April 1611: 'By Order dated x^{mo} die Aprilis 1611 To Benjamin Iohnson & Inigo Iones to eache of them the summe of ffortie poundes in rewarde having bene imployed amongst manie others for the p^rparacon of the Princes Maske p^rformed att Christmas last paste 1611. p^r bre dat xxvj^{to} die Novembris 1610,' checked by 'Bowier'. On f. 168b, 4 May 1611, is an entry 'Alphonso fferabosco and others for the Maske': 'By order dated vltimo Aprilis 1611. To Alphonso fferabosco and Monsieur Confesse & Jeremy Herne to eache of them the summe of twentie pounde by waie of reward for their paines having bene imployed in the Princes late Mask by the space almost of sixe weekes. p^r bre dat xxvj^{to} Novembris 1610.'

The Pell Order Book (E 403/2730, f. 181b)¹ records the payment to the minor performers:

'Decimo die Maij 1611.

Thomas Bowker to be paid over for the Princes Maske & Barriers. By Order dated this daie. To Thomas Bowker the Summe of twoe hundred fortie seven poundes eight shillinge to be by him paied over vnto the particular psons hereafter specified, the seūall summes folowing by waie of reward having bene imploied in the late Princes Barriers & Maske viz.

To M. (Robert) Iohnson for making the Daunces	xx ^{li}	
Thomas Lupo for settinge them to the violins	c ^s	
Mr Giles for 3 dances	xl ^{li}	CCxlvij ^{li} viijs
Companie of violins	xxxij ^{li}	
Thomas Lupo thelder Alex. Chisan & Row-		
land Rubidge violins	x ^{li}	
xiiij ⁿ Holt boyes ²	x ^{li}	
x singers & 6 plaiers on the lute pvided by		
Alphonse (Ferrabosco)	xxxij ^{li}	
Twoe Cornetts	iiij ^{li}	
xx lutes pvided by M ^r Iohnson for the Princes		
Dance	xl ^{li}	
xvj other instrumente for the Satires & faeries	xxj ^{li}	
Players imploied in the Barriers	xv ^{li}	
for their Spanishe lether boote bought by		
themselves	xlvijs	
Players imploied in the Maske	xv ^{li}	
forheades & beards vsed in the maske	xl ^s	
Apearing by a liste therof suscribed by Sr. Thomas Chaloner Knight		
agreably. p bre. dat xxvj ^{to} die Novembris 1610.		Bowier'

'The Declaration of the Accompte of S^r David Murray, knighte keeper of the saide late Princes privie purse', 1610-12 (A.O. 1, Privy Purse/2021/2)³ gives some of the bills:

'Also allowed to the sayde Accomptante for money by him payde to sondrye psons for the chardges of a maske presented by the Prince before the kinges matie on Newyeres day at night beinge the first of Ianuarie 1610 viz. to mercers CCiiij^{li} viijs^s v^d, Sylkemen CCiiij^{li} xvij^{li} xv^s vj^d, Haberdashers lxxiiij^{li} viijs^s viij^d, Embroderers iij^{li} xvjs^s ix^d, Girdelers and others for skarfes beltes and gloues lxxiiij^{li} viijs^s, Hosyers for silke stockinges poyntes and rybbens xlix^{li} xvjs^s, Cutler vij^{li} iijs^s, Tyrewoman xlij^{li} vjs^s, Taylors Cxliij^{li} xiijs^s vi^d, Shoemaker vj^{li} xs^s, and

¹ Printed by Reyher, op. cit., p. 511.

² John Holt was Yeoman of the Revels from 1547 to 1571 (*Eliz. Stage*, i, p. 79); the boys would be Fairies.

³ Printed, very inaccurately, by P. Cunningham, *Revels Accounts*, p. viii.

to Inigoe Iones devysor for the same Maske xvj^{li}. In all as by a p^ticular booke of the chardges of the said maske w^{ch} is entered in the book of paym^{te} deliuerd vppon othe (exceptinge the xvj^{li} paid to Inigoe Iones) subscrybed by the said Accomptante, and herevppon examyned and remayninge may appeare the some of . . .'

The total in the margin is 'm^l iiii^xvii^{li}, vi^s, x^d', i.e. £1,087. 6s. 10d.

In the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 1938, vol. iii, 'Papers of William Trumbull the Elder 1611-12', pp. 1, 2,¹ there is a full and very interesting record of this masque, headed 'A Short Account of the Masque Made by the Prince of Wales':

'1611, Jan. 11.—The new hall of the palace was furnished as usual with its galleries round about, a green carpet on the floor, a dais at the top for the king and queen. At the bottom a very large curtain painted with the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, with the legend above *Separata locis concordia pace figantur*. When their Majesties entered accompanied by the princess and the ambassadors of Spain and Venice, flageolets played and the curtain was drawn discovering a great rock with the moon showing above through an aperture, so that its progress through the night could be observed. Old Silenus mounted on this with some dozen satyrs and fauns who had much to say about the coming of a great prince to be followed by a thousand benefits, in the hope of which the fauns danced about joyfully, exciting great laughter. They then danced a ballet, with appropriate music with a thousand strange gestures, affording great pleasure. This done the rock opened discovering a great throne with countless lights and colours all shifting, a lovely thing to see. In the midst stood the prince with thirteen other gentlemen chosen as famous dancers of the Court. Before passing into the hall ten musicians appeared each with a lute and two boys who sang very well some sonnets in praise of the prince and his father. Then ten little pages dressed in green and silver with flat bonnets à l'antique danced another ballet with much grace. During this a cock crew ten times, standing on the rock, and then, according to the prophecy of Silenus, there came the gentlemen in short scarlet hose and white brodequins full of siluer spangles coming half way to the calf, some wearing jackets with wide folds, as the Roman emperors are represented and the sleeves the same, all in gold and silver cloth, white and scarlet feathers on their heads and very high white plumes, and black masks. Each one wore a very rich blue band across the body, except that of the prince, whose band was scarlet to distinguish him from the rest. They entered dancing two ballets intermingled with varied figures and many leaps, extremely well done by most of them. The prince then took the queen to dance, the Earl of Southampton the princess, and each of the rest his lady. They danced an English dance resembling a pavane. When the queen

¹ Printed by G. E. Bentley, *Shakespeare and Jonson*, ii, pp. 22-4.

returned to her place the prince took her for a coranta which was continued by others, and then the gallarda began, which was something to see and admire. The prince took the queen a third time for *los branles de Poitou*, followed by eleven others of the masque. As it was about midnight and the king somewhat tired he sent word that they should make an end. So the masqueraders danced the ballet of the sortie, in which the satyrs and fauns joined. With vocal and instrumental music the masqueraders approached the throne to make their reverence to their Majesties. The masques being laid aside, the king and queen with the ladies and gentlemen of the masque proceeded to the banqueting hall, going out after they had looked about and taken a turn round the table; and in a moment everything was thrown down with furious haste, according to the strange custom of the country. After this their Majesties withdrew and the ambassadors took leave.'

In the text of the masque Jonson made no acknowledgements to Alphonso Ferrabosco for the music or to Inigo Jones for the staging, and he gave no description of the masquers' dresses. In the *Designs of Inigo Jones* nos. 40 to 55 are assigned to this masque, but the drawings for Faies and Masquers, evidently early work of Inigo Jones, and executed in a peculiar fashion found only here, are only tentatively assigned.

The opening scene of 'darke Rocke, with trees behind it; and all wildnesse, that could be presented' (no. 40) is reproduced in volume ii between pages 284 and 285. The transformation to 'King Oberon's Palace' (no. 42) is also given between pages 286 and 287. The rocks on either side of the first scene do not exactly correspond to those remaining at the sides after the transformation, but the style of the drawing corresponds exactly to that of no. 43. At the foot of each side-rock is a cavern, 'and in the middle, on the same level, a semi-circular arched opening in a rusticated basement. On a terrace above this is a second arched opening surmounted by a broken pediment and a statue, and flanked by two Jacobean windows, forming the central feature of the palace, at the angles of which are circular fortified turrets. The roof, crowned by a small cupola and two chimneys, is outlined against the sky, in which, to left, is the crescent moon' (*Designs*, no. 42). This drawing is inscribed by Inigo, '2 sceane K: Oberons Pallace'. Design 43 gives the original sketch of the preceding on a smaller scale, with exact measurements of all the details. Thus, the height of 'the middell space' was 9 feet, the breadth 5 feet; the height of the second pillars 7 feet; the height of the frieze with battlement 1 foot; the height of the tower to the battlements 11 feet; the cupola 5 feet, the side towers 2 feet, in diameter.

The two designs which follow (nos. 44 and 45) are a puzzle. They

are a variant of the drawing for Oberon's Palace, and are reproduced in plates vii and viii of the *Designs*. In 44 the rocks on either side and in the middle are similar to those in 42, but the palace is framed by an archway of rock and not outlined against the sky. The building is in one story and has a front with semi-elliptical arches borne by slender columns and a cornice supported by consoles with satyrs' heads. Above this is a scrolled broken pediment supporting two dogs baying at the central figure of a stag. Behind this is a podium topped by figures of cupids, two of whom are shooting at the stag. There are chimneys and cupola as in the previous design. Design 45 is an elaborate sketch of the details. The podium and the statues are suppressed; the entrance is a screen with a wide central arch and two narrow side-arches. Inside the screen is a lofty semicircular building, the walls decorated with niches and statues, and a corridor opening out in the middle.

Was this a design used later but modelled on the Palace of Oberon? The hounds baying at the stag and the cupids shooting at it have no bearing on the masque of *Oberon*. Miss Welsford (*The Court Masque*, p. 224 n.) plausibly suggested that it was a symbolical setting for Townshend's *Albion's Triumph* in 1632, the temple in a grove with Cupid and Diana shooting at the masquers. But the technique shows a mastery not found in Inigo's early work, and attained only after his second visit to Italy in 1613-15 when he fell under the influence of Guercino;¹ 1632 is too late a date, and the design of the Albion temple is sketched on the verso of no. 120, the Diana of that masque.

What is conjectured to be the figure of Oberon is in *Designs*, nos. 50-2, the last a finished sketch reproduced in Nicoll's *Court Masques*, p. 204. In no. 50 he has a crown of spikes and laurel wreath, a narrow quilled ruff, a tight-fitting lorica, the cuirass covered with scales, a satyr's mask on the breast and lions' masks on the shoulders. He has short trunks ornamented with hanging labels imitating the antique, and a flowing cloak. In no. 52 the head-dress is changed to a helmet with a bird's head over the brow, and a laurel wreath surrounding a pointed bowl topped by a long flowing crest of plumes. Two similar costumes of Knights Masquers are in nos. 54 and 55; in 54 the helmet has a scroll border and a round bowl encircled by a laurel wreath and topped by a crest of plumes; the lorica has a satyr's mask on the breast and cherubs' heads on the shoulders; the bases reach half-way down the thighs with lines of masks, festoons round the hips, and a fringe of acanthus leaves below; the mantle falls behind, drawn over the right shoulder.

¹ *Designs*, p. 25.

Design 55 has a crown of laurel wreath topped by aigrette and jewel, a crest of plumes, a tight-fitting lorica with loose sleeves, and bases decorated with labels. Two youthful heads in design 53 have the satyr's mask on the breast and the lion's mask on the shoulders.

Alternative designs possibly intended for the nation of Faies are found in nos. 46-9; the first and last of these are reproduced in Nicoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 203. In 47 two bearded men in masquing dress are dancing on a fairy ring; in a less finished form they appear in design 46 in the company of a staggering Bacchus supported by two nude fauns. They wear fantastic Lanzknecht costumes in early-sixteenth-century style with doublets and hose slashed and pulled in in extravagant fashion. In contrast with these are the three Faies in design 49. The foremost has a hood and cap with plumes, short wings over his shoulders, a cloak reaching to his knees in front and falling to the ground behind, and boots with the peaks turned over at the tops. The second has a fantastic turban and plume, a tie with long ends like wattles, a jerkin with dolphins on the shoulders, a long leaf-shaped apron, and trunk-hose. The third has a hood like a spiny dragon's head, sleeves and cloak like snail-shells, with horns on his knees and heels.

It is unfortunate that the identification of these designs is doubtful; it would have been interesting to know for certain how fairies were dressed in a masque of 1611, the year of the performance of *The Tempest*.

George Colman in 1771 produced *The Fairy Prince: a Masque. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden*. The part up to the opening of the rock was taken from *Oberon*; after this the scene was laid at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with the Knights of the Garter on St. George's day, headed by the Prince of Wales, the future George IV, and his brother the Bishop of Osnaburgh. Jonson's Oriana song (*Entertainment at Highgate*, 93-105) introducing Woodnymphs, a chorus of Gilbert West's, and a lyric of Dryden made up the text. The conclusion was a 'Grand Chorus',

Renown, assume thy Trumpet,
From Pole to Pole resounding
Great GEORGE's name !

2. *a darke Roche*. Effective for a preliminary scene till the rock opened and revealed Oberon's shining palace. Chapman satirizes it in the first words of his *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, 1613, B, '*Plu*. Rockes? Nothing but Rockes in these masking deuices! Is Inuention so poore that shee must needes euer dwell amongst Rocks?'

9, note 'c'. *You saw Silenus. A prouerbiall speech*. Not an ancient

proverb; Jonson seems to have adopted it from the Virgilian quotation.

17, note 'd'. In *Cyclope Eurip.*; e.g. ll. 139–59. *that famous piece of sculpture.* Depicted in Isaac Casaubon's *de Satyrica Græcorum Poesi & Romanorum Satira*, 1605, p. 67.



41. *Cercops.* The *Κέρκωπες* were two ape-like gnomes who robbed Hercules in his sleep.

48, note 'b'. *Risores & Dicaces. Ars Poetica*, 225.

Nonnus. Dionysiaca, xxxvii. 415–17.

ἄζεό μοι Σατύρων φιλοκέρτομον ἀνθρεῶνα,
Σειλήνους πεφύλαξο καὶ ἀμφιπόλους Διονύσου
μή σοι ἐπεγγελάσῃσι.

Cf. Nilus in the *Palatine Anthology*, xvi. 247, πάντες μὲν Σάτυροι φιλοκέρτομοι. σίκιννις. A dance named after its inventor. Originally a Phrygian dance in honour of Sabazius (i.e. Bacchus), used in the Satyric drama (*Eur. Cyclops*, 37).

50, note 'c'. Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 31–40.

Plato. In the famous description of the Silenus-mask of Socrates, *Symposium*, 215 A–C.

Synesius. In *Epist.* 154.

Herodotus has two references to Silenus (vii. 26, viii. 138) identifying Silenus with Marsyas, who in his contest with Apollo was a type of folly. Jonson should not have quoted him.

Strabo. Geogr. x. iii. 7.

Philostratus. Icon. 400, 421, of Silenus the hard drinker rather than the philosopher.

Tertullian speaks of Silenus telling Midas of another world than ours (*Adversus Hermogenem*, xxvi, *De Pallio*, ii).

53. *Orgies.* *Hym.* 140, with Jonson's note.

57. *Oberon.* First in *Huon of Bordeaux*, translated by Lord Berners, c. 1534; identical with Elberich, the dwarf king of the German story of Otnit in the *Heldenbuch*; Alberich in the *Nibelungenlied*; hence French Auberich, Auberon, and finally the English Oberon. In *The Faerie Queene*, II. i. 6, Sir Guyon, 'an Elfin borne of noble state', took his knighthood

of good Sir *Huons* hand,
When with king *Oberon* he came to Faerie land.

He appears in Greene's *King James the Fourth*, 1591 ('Oboram King of Fayeries'), and in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1595.

64. *Beautie . . . face*. *Ent. Althorp*, 19, of Henry, 'This is CYPARISSVS face!'

66. *Pan's father*. *Ent. Highgate*, 181-3.

66, note 'a'. *nitens Cyllenius alis*. Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 252. *Hebo*, apparently the bloom of youth: see vol. viii, p. 338.

72-3. *stay As little*, i.e. must advance to further beauty.

104. *Strew our heads . . .* Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Lucas, iv. ii. 192, 'Strew your haire, with powders sweete'.

161. *in either eare*, soundly. Latin, *in aurem utramvis dormire* (Terence), ἐπ' ἀμφότερα καθεύδειν (Menander). Massinger, *The Guardian*, II. ii (1655, p. 23), 'Sleep you Secure on either ear'.

163-4. *caues Of sleepe*. Ovid, *Met.* xi. 592-612.

168. *eight & ninth*. A reference to the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus hidden under the persecution of Diocletian in a cave (A.D. 250) and found alive in 479 in the reign of Theodosius.

201-2. *ridge- | Bones*. *Sej.* II. 361 n.

212. *Buz, and hum*. *Alch.* I. ii. 169-70.

265. *Mid-wife Iuno*. The *pronuba Iuno* of *Hymenaei*, less reverently treated.

294. *sieges, seats*.

297. *beares*. A bear appeared in *The Winter's Tale* acted, like the present masque, in 1611; there were Court performances on 15 May and 5 November. Possibly too the bear in the revived *Mucedorus* appeared this year (Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, iv, p. 35).

302. *to Arthurs chayre*. Cf. *Pr. Henry's Barriers*, 20.

357. *Hee's all*, the Greek *πᾶν*. So Pan, the shepherd god, of *Pan's Anniversary*.

368. *crownes*, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

393. *This is not euery night*. *K. Ent.* 308, 'Now is not euery tyde'.

403. *plants, feet* (Lat. *planta*).

408. *excited*. Cf. 'accited', *Blackness*, 302.

420. *coranto's, galliards*. *Beauty*, 364.

LOVE FREED FROM IGNORANCE AND FOLLY

ORIGINALLY planned for Christmas 1610, this masque was put off till Twelfth Night 1611 and further to 3 February, 'either because the stage machinery is not in order or because their Majesties thought it well to let the Marshal depart first', says Correr in the *Venetian*

State Papers (xii, p. 110) on 21 January. The Marshal was Laverdin who had annoyed the King and Queen by coming too late for *Oberon*.¹ In a further dispatch, dated 11 February, Correr reports that 'The Marshal is hurrying his departure, urged, as he says, by couriers express; nothing keeps him but the Queen's Masque, which takes place the day after to-morrow' (*ibid.*, p. 115). He was present along with the Venetian ambassador.

Again Jonson does not mention Inigo Jones or Ferraboscq or the others whose payment is recorded in the State accounts. A warrant of 26 November 1610 for this masque and *Oberon* has already been quoted on page 520, and there are various entries in the Pell Order Book, E 403/2730. On f. 77*b* is an entry of 1 February 1611 to 'Inigo Iones for the Queenes Maske': 'By Order dated vltimo Ianuarij: 1610 To Inigo Iones appointed by the Right honorable the Earles of Suff and worcest^r for receipt therof the summe of twoe hundred pounde to be by him imployed about the charges of the Queenes Maske p^r bre dat. xxvj^{to} die Novembris 1610:' checked by 'Cary'.

Other payments are on f. 75*b*, 21 January 1611: 'By Order dated vltimo Decembris 1610. To Willm^r Stirrell gent the Summe of twoe hundred pounde to be by him imployed for the charges of the Queenes Maske intended p^r bre dat. xxvj^{to} die Novembris: 1610', checked by 'Bowier'. And again on f. 121, 9 March 1611: 'By Order dated quinto Martij 1610. To Willm^r Stirrell gent authorized by the Right Honorable the Earle of Suff Lord Chamblaine of his Ma:^{ties} housholde and the Earle of worcester M^r of his Ma:^{ties} horse the summe of twoe hundred pounde fowerscore shillinge threepence to be by him paied over to diverse particular psons imployed in the Queenes Ma:^{tie} Maske pformed at xprem^s last: 1610: p^r bre dat xxvj^{to} die Novembris 1610:' checked by 'Watson'. Lastly there is an entry to Richard Ansell on f. 172*b*, 6 May 1611: 'By Order dated vltimo Aprilis 1611. To Richard Ansell Mattlayer the summe of tenne pounde vijs xj^d for worke done by him in the banqueting house the last Maske att Candlemas 1610. according to his bill subscribed by the Earles of Suff & worcester. p^r bre dat xxij^{to} die Novembris 1610'. Checked by 'Watson'.

Two entries in Lansdowne MS. 164, weekly accounts of the tellers of the Exchequer, 1611-14, refer to this masque in the payments from 31 November to 7 December 1611, 'To Thomas woodward in full paym^t for the maske CCclxviij^{li} viijs' (f. 2), and 'Eniges Masque'—i.e. Inigo's—'att xprem^s last. 1611—CC^{li}' (f. 12).

In the Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellanea, E407/57 (1), ff. 1, 2, is 'The

¹ See page 519.

bill of account of the hole charges of the Queens M^{te} Maske at Christmas. 1610'.

'Inprimis to Mr Inigo Iohnes as apeareth by his byll.	238 ^{li} 16 ^s 10 ^d
It'm to m ^r . Confesse vpon his bill for the 12 fooles	16 ^{li} 6 ^s 6 ^d
It'm to his Taylor for making the suite as apeareth by his bill	8 ^{li}
It'm for 128 yards of fustian to Lyne theire Coate att 10 ^d the yeard	5 ^{li} 6 ^s 8 ^d
It'm for 87 ownces of Coper Lace att 18 ^d the owncce, and 6 ownces att 20 ^d the owncce vused for the 11 preeste gowne and hoo ^d e, w th shoues, and skarffs	7 ^{li} 4 ^d
It'm for 24 yards of Riband to beare their Lutes att 12 ^d the yeard, and one Dosen att 3 ^d , and half a Dosen att 2 ^d the yeard	1 ^{li} 8 ^s
It'm to the Taylor for making those gowne and hoo ^d e	4 ^{li}
It'm to the 11 preestes to buy their silke stockinge and showes att 2 ^{li} a peece	22 ^{li}
It'm for 3 yards of flesh collored satten for Cupide Coate, and hose att 14 ^s the yeard	2 ^{li} 2 ^s
It'm for 26 yearde of Callico to lyne the preestes hoo ^d e att 20 ^d the yeard	2 ^{li} 3 ^s 4 ^d
It'm to the taylor for Making and furnishing of Cupide suite with Lace and puffe	1 ^{li} 10 ^s
Su ^m a 308 ^{li} —14 ^s —3 ^d	

'Rewards to the psons imployed in the Maske.

Inprimis to m ^r Benjamin Iohnson for his Invention	40 ^{li}
It'm to m ^r Inigo Iohnes for his paynes and Invention	40 ^{li}
It'm to m ^r Alfonso (Ferrabosco) for making the songes	20 ^{li}
It'm to m ^r (Robert) Iohnson for setting the songe to the lutes	5 ^{li}
It'm to Thomas Lupo for setting the dances to the violens	5 ^{li}
It'm to m ^r Confesse for teachinge all the dances	50 ^{li}
It'm to m ^r Bochan for teaching the Ladies the footing of 2 dances	20 ^{li}
To the 12 Musitions that were preestes that songe and played	24 ^{li}
It'm to the 12 other Lutes that suplied, and w th fluits	12 ^{li}
It'm to the 10 violens that contynualy practized to the Queene	20 ^{li}
It'm to 4 more that were added att the Maske	4 ^{li}
It'm to 15 Musitions that played to the Pages and fooles	20 ^{li}
It'm to 13 hoboyes and sackbutts	10 ^{li}
It'm to 5 boyes that is, 3 graces Sphynke and Cupid	10 ^{li}
It'm to the 12 fooles that danced	12 ^{li}

Su^ma 292^{li}

'Disburs: Su ^m a totalis is	600 ^{li} 14 ^s 3 ^d
Receipte: Where of ther is receaved	400 ^{li}
Remaines. So the Wardrobe being not yet discharged, ther remayns to be allowed	200 ^{li} 14 ^s 3 ^d
'There was receaved from the Kinge Wardrobe of Sr Roger Aston.	

Imprimis of severall Collered taffite for 12 fooles, and 3 graces, 52 ells, and a q'rter att 17 ^s the elln.	44 ^{li} 8 ^s 3 ^d
It'm of Crimson taffite for the 11 preeste amounting to 55 ells, and m ^r Confesse his coate being in the number, att 17 ^s the elln	46 ^{li} 15 ^s
It'm of watched satten for the preeste hoodē and gorgettē 26 yeardes 3 q'rters att 15 ^s the yeard	19 ^{li} 19 ^s 9 ^d
It'm of taffite sarsnett for scarffe to girde their gownes beinge 18 ells att 8 ^s the ell	7 ^{li} 4 ^s
Suma 118 ^{li} —7 ^s —0.	

'Memorandum that this last sume of 118^{li}—7^s— is to be allowed to
S^r Roger Aston Knight, over and aboue, the other foresayd sume of
600^{li}—14^s—3^d.

T. Suffolke. J. E. Worcester.¹

Jonson's silence about the scenery, the performers, and the occasion of the masque makes identification difficult, but we believe that the scene in Inigo Jones's *Designs*, no. 17, represents the release of the 'eleven Daughters of the Morn' from the prison of night in this masque. Miss Welsford has reproduced it in *The Court Masque*, plate x, facing page 256. The lower part represents the entrance to the prison—a castellated gateway with a grate in the middle, flanked by two circular towers with arched doorways. This structure is capped by an oval wreath of cloud, inside which are three small conical hills; in front of the two lateral hills are seated three ladies grouped in a pyramid, and in front of these before the middle hill five ladies arranged in the same way, the lady in the highest place, who has two flying genii holding a wreath over her head, representing the queen. The Sphinx's riddle has just been solved, and the prisoners appear triumphantly above their prison. The form of the machine containing the masquers and the grouping of them in pyramidal form finds a parallel in *The Masque of Queens*.

Swinburne (*A Study*, p. 56) comments on Jonson's 'use of the sweet and simple heptasyllabic metre' in this masque as 'worthy of Richard Barnfield or George Wither: . . . in purity and fluency of music his verse can seldom be compared, as here it justly may, with the clear flutelike notes of *Cynthia* and *The Shepherd's Hunting*'.

2. *wilde Instruments*. So the Witches in *The Masque of Queens*, 30, enter 'with a kind of hollow and infernall musique'.

5 note. *Ignorance*. Cebes, *Tabula*, iii, ἡ γὰρ Ἀφροσύνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Σφίγξ ἐστίν.

30. *again would Chaos bee*. Cf. *Beauty*, 282–5, 324–7.

60. *candor*. *Alch.* v. v. 152.

¹ Printed by Reyher, op. cit., pp. 509–10.

77. *rich and purest*. A compressed superlative, the richest and purest: *Alch.* II. ii. 60, 'the pure, and grauest of Diuines'.

132. *her riddle*. Compare the riddle of the Theban Sphinx in the Oedipus myth.

172. *take me' along*. *E.M.O.* v. iv. 16.

178. *the new world i' the Moone*. A reference to Galileo's *Nuntius Sidereus*, March 1610.

186. *a world in feature*, the microcosm of *Hym.* 125.

251. *To the cliffe*. So the Theban Sphinx sat on a hill to propound her riddle.

285. *the world without*. Cf. *Blackness*, 248.

292. *The Contraries*. Ovid, *Met.* ii. 846-7:

Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur
maiestas et amor.

312. *præcipitate themselves*. Like the Sphinx at Thebes when her riddle was solved.

350. *lines*, appointed lot, as in the Biblical phrase, 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places' (Psalm xvi. 6).

375. *ayry*. For Swinburne's conjecture see vol. vii, p. 358.

LOVE RESTORED

THE date was Twelfth Night 1612; it is fixed, as Brotanek first pointed out,¹ by the reference to 'the *Christmas* cutpurse', John Selman, in lines 119, 120, and the reference in *The Booke of the Reuells*, 1612, 'Twelke night The Princes Mask performed by Gentlemen of his Highⁿ (A.O. 1/42/388), where 'Highness' means the King, the performers being the King's servants. The Queen had been preparing a masque in November 1611, but it was abandoned in December because of the Queen of Spain's death.² In the Audit Office accounts Lord Treasurer Stanhope (A.O. 1/49/389) enters in the expenses at Whitehall for January 1612 'making ready . . . the banquetting house there for a Maske', and in Additional MS. 12498, f. 61, 7 February 1612, the charges 'in the Moneth of January last past, 1611' include 'Mask Bankettinghouse, lv^{li} x^s x^d'.

Jonson has told us as little as possible about the performance. In lines 264-9 he gives a bald list of the masquers who personify the ten ornaments of Court—Honour, Courtesy, Valour, Urbanity, Confidence, Alacrity, Promptness, Industry, Hability, Reality.

Two warrants to Meredith Morgan for payment are among the

¹ *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 347-8.

² Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, i, pp. 148, 152.

State papers: the first on 27 December 1611 for £200; this proving insufficient, there is a second on 30 January 1612 for £80.

S.P. 40/3, f. 38, 1611:

'*James &c.* To the Tre^r and Vndetre^r of our Exchequer greeting. Whereas wee haue appointed a Maske to be performed in our Court this Christmas for the honour and recrea^on of us and our Court Wee will and require you out of our Treasure in the receipt of our Exchequer to pay or cause to bee paid the somme of two hundred pounde to Meredith morgan to bee issued for the performance thereof. The same to bee taken vnto him without Accompt imprest or other Charge to bee sett vppon him for the same. And theise our letters shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe. Giuen vnder our priuie Seale at our Pallace of Westm^e the eight and twentieth day of December in the ninth yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the fve and fortieth.'

Ibid., f. 40b (1612):

'*JAMES &c.* To the Tre^r and vndertre^r of our Excheq^r greetinge. Whereas wee are informed that there is the summe of fowerscore pounds due for the Charge of the late Maske pformed at Christmas last past which wee are pleased to allowe, Theis are to well (*sic*) & requier yo^w out of such o^r treasure as remaineth in the receipt of o^r Exchequer to paie or cause to be paied to our Wellbeloued Meredith Morgan the said somme of fowerscore pounds to bee by him paid ouer to such persons as the same is due vnto without accompt imprest or other Charge to bee sett vppon him or them for the same or anie pt thereof. And theis o^r lres &c. Giuen vnder our priuie seale at o^r pallace of Westm^e the thirtieth day of Ianuary in the ninth yeare of o^r raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the fve and fortieth.'

In accordance with these warrants the Pell Order Book E 403/2731, f. 66, 7 January 1612, has an entry: 'By Order dated xxx^o Decemb^s: 1611. To Meredith Morgan the summe of two hundred pounde to be by him issued for the pformance of a Maske apointed this Christms for his Ma:^{ties} recrea^on. p bre dat xxviiij^o Decembris: 1611', checked by 'Cary'. Similarly on f. 92, 12 February 1612: 'By Order dated this daie. To Meredith Morgan the summe of fflowerscore pounde to be by him paied over to such persons as the same is due vnto for the charge of the late Maske pformed at Christms last past, w^{ch} his Ma:^{tie} is pleased to allow wthout accompt imprest or other charge to be sett on him or them for the same. p bre dat. xxx^o Ianuarij: 1611.' checked by 'Cary'. There are further entries of these payments in S.P. 14, lxxvii. 92, S.P. 38/11 (Docquet, 30 January 1612, 'By order from the L. Chamberlaine'); and three entries in Lansdowne MS. 164, 'Weekly accompts of the Tellers of

the Exchequer', 31 November 1611 to 28 September 1614, £200 to Morgan, 'for charges of the Masque' (f. 14), £80 in February 1612 'in full payment' (f. 28, repeated on f. 30). Finally in Cotton MS. Titus B IV, 'An abstracte of all his Mat^{ies} Expenses 1612', includes among the 'Extraordinaries' on f. 373,

Masks { At the Prince his Creacon:—m^l vj^c xxvj^{li}
At the Christmas last 1611:—CCiiij^{xx}l viij^s ix^d } m^l ix^c, xvj^{li} iij^s ix^d.

That is to say, a total of £280. 8s. 9d. for this masque.

12. *if hee neuer be paide for.* Compare the plain speaking about arrears of pensions in *G.M.* 596.

19. *We.* The reading of the 1692 Folio and obvious as far as it goes; but the corruption probably lies deeper.

22. *light, fether'd.* Read 'light-fether'd' (P. Maas).

24. *boy.* Plutus is a boy in *K. Ent.* 436–7.

31. *surquedry.* *C. is A.* IV. v. 27.

35–6. *The merry madnesse of one hower . . .* From Seneca, previously used of drunkards in *C.R.* I. v. 31–2.

37. *Robin-Goodfellow* was a character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1595? and in *Wily Beguiled*, c. 1602–6.

50. *Englands ioy.* A piece announced by Richard Vennar, or Vennard, of Lincoln's Inn, for representation at the Swan Theatre on 6 November 1602. The plot is preserved in a broadside in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. It contained episodes of English history, including the reign of Elizabeth, who was England's joy. Vennar announced that the piece would be acted only by gentlemen and gentlewomen (cf. *M. of A.* 122–4). Vennar disappeared after taking the entrance money; he was caught and brought before Justice Popham, who treated the affair as a jest. For a full account of the piece see E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iii, pp. 500–3. The fraud is often alluded to. John Day, *The Travailes of three English Brothers*, 1607, E4: 'but what Playe of note haue you? *Kemp*. Many of name, some of note, especially one, the name was called *Englands Ioy*, Marry hee was no Poet that wrote it, he drew more Connies in a purse-nette, then euer were then at any draught about London.' W. Parker, *The Curtaine-Drawer of the World*, 1612, p. 3, the World warning her children of deceit: 'Sometimes she allures in the habit of a Citizen, and sometimes like a Iugler, that I am made a right *Englands ioy*, a Theatre of delusion, I-clip'd the Iron age.' John Savile in *King Iames his entertainment at Theobalds*, 1603, Cij:

I cannot deeme it now (a) gulling toye,
Which *Vennard* (inspir'd) intituled *Englands Ioye*.
I rather gesse hee did our good diuine
Not daring to disclos't before full time. . . .
King Iames is Englands ioy.

52. *selling of fish.* Not elsewhere associated with Robin.

53. To be taken literally: *shooing the wild mare* would be an extremely difficult feat calling for all Robin's dexterity; a roasted robin would be a treat for his fairy namesake comparable to a roast turkey for a human being. But 'shooing the wild mare' was a Christmas sport, riding a rough plank in see-saw fashion: cf. Herrick, *Hesperides* (ed. Moorman, p. 126):

Of *Blind-man-buffe*, and of the care
That young men have to shooe the Mare.

Robin quibbles on this. The quibble would be complete if 'roasting a robin' was also the name of a country game, but we have no evidence of this.

57-8. *sweepes the harth . . . riddles*. Cf. W. Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christen Man*, 1528, f. cxlv: 'The Pope is kyne to Robyn goodfellow which swepeth the howse washeth the disshes and purgeth all by nyghte. But when daye cometh ther is no thinge founde cleane.' Samuel Rowlands, *More Knaves yet*, 1613, F2^v, F3:

In old wiues dayes, that in old time did liue, . . .
Great store of Goblins, Faries, Bugs, Night-mares,
Vrchins and Elues, to many a house repaires. . . .
Amongst the rest, was a good-fellow deuill,
So called in kindnes, cause he did no euill,
Knowne by the name of Robin (as we heare),
And that his eyes as bigge as sawcers were,
Who came a nights, & would make Kitchens cleane, . . .
Was much in Milles about the grinding Meale, . . .
Amongst the creame bowles, & milke pans would be
And with the country wenches, who but hee
To wash their Dishes for some fresh-cheese hier,
Or set their Pots and Kettles 'bout the fier.

62. *shifts, to get in*. Thomas Powell, *The art of Thriving*, 1635, p. 59, speaking of attorneys or solicitors in a counsellor's gown: 'But indeed, I never looke upon them, but I thinke of the Taylor, who in one of his Customers cast suits had thrust himselfe in amongst the *Nobility* at a Court Maske, where pulling out his Handkercher, he let fall his Thimble, and was so discovered, and handled, and dandled from hand to foot, till the Guard delivered him at the great Chamber doore, and cryed, farewell good feeble.'

69. *admittie*. See the comment on this word in vol. vii, p. 375. The *Oxford Dictionary* justifies it as a formation from 'admit' on the analogy of 'inquir-y', 'expir-y', &c. But s.v. -y suffix, it accounts for these forms because the verb ends with an 'r' sound; 'entreaty' is on the analogy of 'treaty'. We believe 'admittie' to be a misprint for 'actiuitie'. 'Activity' refers to the 'feats' of line 65; it is used in *E.M.O.* III. ix. 52 of a rider's 'trick' in vaulting on a horse; of a dance in *P.A.* 83, where 'sphere of activitie' closely parallels the present context. Cf. 'ac-ativitie', *Christmas*, 284 note.

74. *wood-yard*. *E.M.O.* v. iii. 57.

75. *the okes of the guard*. A picturesque phrase to express the upright, rigid figures. Cf. Cleveland, 'Upon Phyllis walking in a morning' (*Poems*, 1653, p. 21):

The trees like Yeomen of her guard,
Serving more for pomp than ward,
Rank'd on each side with loyall duty,
Wave branches to inclose her beauty.

78. *the verge*. *E.M.O.* iv. iv. 18.

82. *mazarded*, knocked on the head. A jocular coinage from 'mazard' (head). Cf. *Hamlet*, v. i. 87, 'knocked about the mazard with a sexton's spade'.

85. *Catholique*, universal.

86. *Coryat*. This feat is commemorated by Sir Henry Goodyere in the preliminary verses to *Coryat's Crudities*, 1611, C6:

If any thinke him dull or heauy, know
The Court and cities mirth cannot be so.
Who thinks him light, aske them who had the taske
To beare him in a trunke, vnto the maske.

a case: uses. *Case* = pair: *C. is A.* II. iii. 1. Gifford's 'case of asses' is a brilliant emendation. For Jonson's 'o' or 'i' being mistaken for a punctuation mark we have two examples in this masque (ll. 131, 175). Dr. W. W. Greg (*R.E.S.* xviii, p. 152) conjectured 'case of aufs', i.e. oafs, idiots, supposing 'vfes' to be a corruption of 'vfes'.

91. *the fighting beare of last yeare*. Cf. *B.F.* III. iv. 131-2, 'the first, Sir, that euer baited the fellow i' the beare's skin', and the note on a similar episode at the Fortune theatre in January 1612.

95. *the marke was out of my mouth*. A metaphor from a horse: 'At eight yeares old, the Tooth is smooth, and the Hole gone'—the depression caused by the fold in the enamel of a horse's incisor tooth—'And then they say; That the Marke is out of the Horses Mouth'—Bacon, *Sylva*, 1626, § 754. (*O.E.D.*, which also quotes G. A. Lawrence, *Guy Livingstone*, 1857, viii. 77, 'Two ancient virgins, long past "mark of mouth"'.)

95-6. *I pretended to be a musician . . . S. of N.* I. v. 127-30:

one Christmas,
He got into a *Masque* at Court, by his wit,
And the good meanes of his *Cythern*, holding vp thus
For one o'the *Musique*.

98-9. *a feather-maker of black-fryers*. Also satirized in *Alch.* I. i. 128-9.

104. *bombard*, a large leather drinking-vessel, a 'black jack'. *M. of A.* 128, 'a bumbard of broken beere'.

105. *bouge*, court-rations, provisions. *Merc. Vind.* 82, 'Bombards of Budge'.

111. *whimlen's*, miserable creatures.

113. *grices*, steps. *K. Ent.* 125.

116. *citizens wife* . . . 121. *not a husband in sight*. *C.R.* v. iii. 41-6.

118. *Black-guard*, 'the infant'ry that follow the court' (*S.W.* III. v. 26).

vestrie. A rare use, 'dress'.

119. *the Christmas cut-purse*. John Selman, executed 7 January 1612. See *B.F.* III. v. 125-6, and note.

123. *the boyling-house*. *Merc. Vind.* 88, *N.T.* 236.

152-3. *Post and payre*. *Alch.* I. i. 55.

153. *Noddie*, a card-game resembling cribbage. B. Rich, *Faultes Faults*, 1606, p. 9, 'It cannot be denied that it', i.e. tobacco, 'makes men sociable, and he that can but take a *Pipe of Tobacco*, drinke *Bottle Ale*, and play a game at *Noddie*, is a companion for a knight.' It was also called noddie-fifteen: Shirley, *Hyde Park*, IV. iii (1637, G3^v)—'*Car.* He is upon the matter then, fifteen. *Page.* A game at Noddy. *Car.* You can play your Cards already, it seems.'

154. *God make them rich*. *Alch.* v. iv. 45.

158. *night-gownes*, dressing gowns. G. Cavendish, *The Life of Thomas Wolsey*, ed. F. S. Ellis, p. 165 (he was waked at night by horsemen at the gate), 'Then I roose and put on my nyght gown, and came to the gatts, and asked who was there'; *ibid.*, p. 280, 'commaundyng me to come in to the Kyng, who stode behynd the dore in a night gown of russett velvett, furred with sabells'.

159. *Draw-gloues*. An old parlour game mentioned in the *Destruction of Troy*, c. 1400. It 'consisted apparently in a race at drawing off gloves at the utterance of certain words' (*O.E.D.*). Herrick has a poem 'Draw Gloves' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 99):

At Draw-gloves we'l play,
And prethee, let's lay
A wager, and let it be this;
Who first to the Summe
Of twenty shall come,
Shall have for his winning a kisse.

159. *Purposes*. *C.R.* IV. iii. 81.

160. *wyres*. *S.W.* Prol. i, 23.

161-2. *taken-up braueries*, fine dresses procured on credit.

163. *heave so ill*. *Volp.* Ded. 11.

172. *Anti-Cupid*. See *Ch. T.* 187-220.

178-9. *Age of gold* . . . *golden age*. So *Ep.* lxiv. 3, 4; Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 277-8:

Aurea sunt vere nunc saecula. Plurimus auro
venit honos; auro conciliatur amor.

181. *arbitrarie from him*, dependent on his will and pleasure.

189. 'Tis you, mortalls, that are fooles recalls the Puck of *Mids.* *N.D.* III. ii. 115, 'Lord, what fools these mortals be!'

190-1. *if you had wisdom* . . . Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 365-6:

Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

217. *at fresh eies*. See *C.R.* v. iv. 440-1 for this conceit, taken from the pseudo-Tibullus.

237-40. From Lucian, *Timon*, 20, where Plutus is sent with Hermes to Timon: 'ERM. Προΐωμεν, ὦ Πλούτε. τί τοῦτο; ὑποσκάζεις; ἐλελήθεις με, ὦ γεννάδα, οὐ τυφλὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χωλὸς ὢν. ΠΛΟΥΤ. Οὐκ αἰεὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῇ, ἀλλ' ὅποταν μὲν ἀπίω παρὰ τινά πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως βραδύς εἰμι καὶ χωλὸς ἀμφοτέροις, ὥς μόλις τελεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα.

238. *commandement*. A quadrisyllable as in Spenser (*Colin Clout*, 263) and Shakespeare (*Merch. of Venice*, iv. i. 446). So *Und.* lxxxiv. (9.) 172.

255. *flam'd intents*, an ardent purpose.

266. *confidence*. Like 'Eutolmos' in the masque of *C.R.* v. ix. 38.

267. *promptnesse*. Cf. Prothymia or Promptitude, *K. Ent.* 151.

268. *Habilitie*. An early form of 'ability', after the Old French *habileté*.

Realitie, sincere or loyal devotion.

273. *of loue begot*. Cf. *Beauty*, 325-30.

296. *thy next shoves*. Apparently this means no more than 'the next time a love-masque is performed', but the printing of these words in the Folio suggests a reference to 'A Challenge at Tilt, at a Marriage' (1614) which follows immediately; this title too is printed in large lower-case type, and not as all the other masque titles are, in capitals.

300. *morning dreames are true*. Horace, *Sat.* i. x. 33, 'Post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera', and the pseudo-Ovid, *Heroides*, xix. 195-6:

Namque sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna,
somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent.

And Jonson himself in a letter to the Earl of Newcastle (vol. i, p. 213), 'this Tuesday morning in a dreame, (and morneing dreames are truest') . . .

A CHALLENGE AT TILT

HERE, as in the Folio text of *Hymenaei*, Jonson suppressed the occasion of the Tilt; it was in honour of the wedding of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard on 26 December 1613. The challenge was given by two Cupids, pages of the bride and bridegroom, on the day after the marriage. The tilt took place on 1 January 1614. Chamberlain writing to Carleton on 5 January thus describes it:

'on new-yeares day was the tilting of ten against ten, the bases trappings

and all other furniture of the one partie was murrey and white, w^{ch} were the brides colours, the other green and yellow for the bridegroom; there were two handsome chariots or pageants that brought in two cupids whose contention was whether were the truer his or hers, each maintained by theyre champions, but the current and prise you must thincke ran on her side, the whole shew (they say) was very faire and well set out. I do not redilie remember all theyre names, nor how they were sided, but besides the .D. of Lennox there were the earles of Rutland Pembroke mongomerie Dorset, the LL^s chandos, Scroope Compton North Haye Dingwell, the .L. walden and his brethren,¹ S^r Henry Carie and I know not who els save the .L. Norris, who, when the nullitie was on foote and in forwardnes, (not knowing she was so well prouided) made tender of himself to the .L. chamberlain for this daughter, if he might be rid of his lady (w^{ch} he thought an easie matter to do) but was reiected non sine risu of all that heard of yt' (S.P. 14 lxxvi. 2).

Harley MS. 5176, f. 217, supplies the full list of the tilters in Camden's autograph:

'Tilte was holden at Westminster vppon
New-yeares daye following by thies

'Murry and white	Greene and yellow
Duke of Lennox	Ear: of Rutland
Ear: of Penbroke	Ear: of Dorsett
Ear: of Montgomery	Lor: Walden
Lord North	Lor: Scroope
Lor: Chandos	Lor: Compton
Lor: Norris	Lor: Hay
Lor: Dingwell	S ^r Tho: Somerset
Mr Edw: Sackville	S ^r Tho: Howard
S ^r Sigismund Zinzen	Mr Henry Howard
Mr Henry Zinzen	S ^r Henry Cary'

In S.P. 16 lxxv, no. 32, the Earl of Suffolk wrote to Sir T. Lake, asking him to insert in the warrant for the masque 'a hundred poundes more for the two brothers S^r Sigismond & M^r Henry Zinzen for this running at tilt'.

There had been trouble over Edward Sackville. Chamberlain in a letter to Carleton on 9 September 1613 described a duel of Sackville with Lord Bruce of Kinlos, whom he killed, "twixt Antwerp and Lille"; he had to take sanctuary (Goodman, *Court of James I*, i, p. 272). On 25 November he further reports that Sackville's name was entered on the list of masquers at Somerset's wedding—this was Campion's masque—'but put out again; and I marvel he would offer himself, knowing how little gracious he is, and that he hath

¹ Sir Thomas and Henry Howard.

been assaulted once or twice since his return' (ibid., p. 279). Suffolk wrote to Lake on 8 December (S.P. 14 lxxv. 37) hoping that Sackville might be allowed to take part in the tilt at his cousin's wedding.

Two Cupids. Eros and Anteros, as in the beautiful myth expounded by Hymen, 187-220.

13. *as peremptorie as an Ambassador.* Illustrated in the elaborate negotiations with the Venetian and French ambassadors at this very marriage (*Finetti Philoxenis*, pp. 12-16).

44. *lighted my torches.* C.R. v. iv. 440-1.

49. *language sweeter . . . vpon her tongue.* This Chaucerian phrase is in N.I. i. iii. 68-9.

50. *the girdle.* C.R. i. i. 63. Described in the *Iliad*, xiv. 214-17:

ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα
ποικίλον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
ἐνθ' ἐνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἱμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
πάρφασις, ἣ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

59. *crisp'd.* D. is A. II. vi. 78.; Und. ii. 9. 10-12.

82. *valure.* Alch. iv. vii. 38.

103. *bone-fires.* E.M.I. iv. viii. 117.

105. *the Bath.* S.W. II. ii. 115. Queen Anne had gone to Bath in May and August 1613.

105-6. *rising on end, like a Monarch.* Unintelligible; the key to the allusion is lost. The image appears to be that of a dolphin rising in the sea or a mechanical toy springing up like a jack-in-the-box. There does not seem to be a reference to the mad Italian, Monarcho, mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. i. 92.

107. *pickardills.* D. is A. II. ii. 123.

108. *vardingales.* Chamberlain records on 18 February 1613 that, at the Court celebrations for Princess Elizabeth's wedding, no one was admitted who wore a farthingale, 'which was to gain the more room' (S.P. 14, lxxii. 30).

127. *master of requests.* The Court of Requests was part of the king's council held by the Lord Privy Seal and the Masters of Requests for the relief of persons petitioning the king. Cf. in Appendix XVI, iv. 20 (vol. viii, p. 432).

128. *pretender, to a state-face.* The 'face of faces, or courtiers face' which Amorphus exhibits to Asotus in C.R. II. iii. 36-50.

154. *Spring, Beauty, and Cheerfulness* correspond to the Greek Graces, Thaleia, Aglaia, and Euphrosyne.

155. *Audacity.* The 'Eutolmos' of C.R. v. ix. 38-42, 'good audacitie: to courts, and courtly assemblies, a guest most acceptable'.

164. *turne into Chaos againe.* Cf. *Beauty*, 283.

183-4. *another kinde of Tilting.* Hotspur's 'To play with mammets

and to tilt with lips' (1 *Henry IV*, II. iii. 89). Cf. Massinger, *The Bondman*, I. i (1624, Br^v):

a rawe young fellow,
One neuer traind in Armes, but rather fashiond
To tilt with Ladyes lips, then cracke a Launce.

187-220. Jonson repeats the contention of Eros and Anteros in a rather weaker form in *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, 89-138; Milton in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (i, ch. vi) describes them as brethren, mutually influencing each other. The contention for the palm-branch is from Pausanias' description of the sculpture in the precinct of the temple at Elis (VI. xxiii. 5): ἐν τῶν παλαιστρῶν μιᾷ τύπος Ἔρωτα ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον καὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτα· ἔχει δὲ ὁ μὲν φοῖνικος ὁ Ἔρως κλάδον, ὁ δὲ ἀφελέσθαι πειράται τὸν φοῖνικα ὁ Ἀντέρως. A marble relief of the pair struggling for the palm-branch is in the Palazzo Colonna at Rome. This is the only passage in which Jonson shows a knowledge of Greek sculpture. But Jonson may have taken it from Cartari, *Le Imagini de i Dei*, 1571, pp. 500-1:

'Fu dunque Anterote un nume, il qual puniua chi non amaua essendo amato'; he was reciprocal love. 'la quale cosa conferma Porfirio scriuendo di cosiui in questo modo. Haueua Venere partorito Cupido già di alcuni dì, quando ella si auidde ch'ei non cresceua punto, ma tuttaua staua cosi piccolino, come era nato, ne sapendo à ciò come prouedere, ne dimandò consiglio all' Oracolo, il quale rispose che Cupido stando solo non crescerebbe mai, ma bisognaua fargli un fratello, accioche l'amore fosse tra loro scambie uole, che alhora Cupido crescerebbe quanto fora di bisogno. Venere prestando fede alle parole dell' Oracolo, da inde à poco partorì Anterote: ne fù questo cosi tosto nato, come Cupido cominciò à crescere, mettere l'ali, e caminare gagliardamente, & è di questi due stata poi la sorte tale, chi di rado, o nō mai è l'uno senza l'altro; e se vede Cupido che Anterote cresca, e si faccia grande, ei vuole mostrarsi maggiore, e se lo vede piccolo, diuenta egli parimente piccolo, benche questo faccia spesso a suo dispetto. Adunque l'amore cresce quando è posto in persona che medesimamente ami, e chi è amato dee parimente amare, e questo mostrarono gli antichi per Cupido, e per Anterote. Per la quale cosa gli Elei, gente della Grecia, in certa parte delle loro scuole metteuano l'uno, ò l'altro, accioche si ricordassero i giouani di non essere ingrati contra a chi gli amaua, ma ricambiassero l'cosi amando altri, come da altri si sentiuano essere amati. Stauano dunque due imagini, ouero statoe di fanciulli, e di loro l'uno era Cupido, che teneua in mano vn ramo di palma, l'altero Anterote, il quale si sforzaua di leuargliele, e mostraua di affaticarsi assai, ne poteua però, quasi che debba con ogni suo sforzo mostrare chi risponde in amore di non amare punto meno de colui che ama prima, e perciò si sforza Anterote di leuare la palma di mano di Amore.'

219. *the louer transformes himselfe*. Cf. *N.I.* III. ii. 98.

THE IRISH MASQUE AT COURT

THIS was performed twice on 29 December 1613 and 3 January 1614. It was part of the round of festivities in honour of the Somerset wedding. Chamberlain wrote to Mistress Alice Carleton, Sir Dudley's sister, on 30 December 1613: 'yesternight there was a motley maske of fve english and fve Scotts (w^{ch} are called the high dancers,) among whom Sergeant Boide, one Abraham crummie¹ and Ackmoutie (that was at Padoua and Venice) are esteemed the most principall and loftie, but how yt succeeded I heare not' (S.P. 14 lxxv. 53). On 5 January 1614 he wrote to Carleton, 'the loftie maskers were so well liked at court the last weeke that they were appointed to performe yt again on monday, yet theyre deuce (w^{ch} was a mimicall imitation of the Irish) was not so pleasing to many, w^{ch} thincke yt no time (as the case stands) to exasperat that nation by making yt ridiculous' (ibid. lxxvi. 2).

We take the title to be *The Irish Masque at Court*, the masquers disguised as Irishmen, like the Muscovites in *Love's Labour's Lost* and the foreigners in *King Henry the Eighth*, following the convention of the wandering foreigner visiting a prince, which was a feature of the masque.

In S.P. 14 lxxv. 33, 3 December 1613, is the first authorization:

'Sr Thomas Lake Whereas his Matie is determynd to haue a Maske this Christmas pformed by some gentlemen of his owne servantē that are good dauncers. And the same for matter of chardge to be defraid by his Matie Theis are to will yo^u to drawe and Issue a Warrant to his Maty That such somes as to vs shall be thought needfull for that service may be paid out of his Mat^e excheq^r to the handē of Meredith Morgan or his Assignes wthout imprest or chardge And this shalbe yo^r direcōn in that behalf. Whitehall 3^d of December 1613.

Yo^r Loving frendes

T Suffolke
Iul Cæsar'

There is a further warrant from Suffolk to Lake, S.P. 14 lxxv. 32, 3 December 1613, 'Likewise yo^u shall receaue a lre from Mr. Chauncellor & me drawinge of a privy seale to laye out fresh sōmes of money as shall be needfull for the gent. Maske.' Ibid. 33. The same to the same, a warrant to pay Meredith Morgan for 'a Maske this Christmas pformed by some gentlemen of his owne seruants that are good dauncers'.

¹ Abercrombie.

In the Pell Order Books, E 403/2733, f. 57, entry of 18 December 1613, 'The Maske': 'By Order dated x^{mo} Decembris: 1613. To Meredith Morgan gent authorised for receipt therof by the right honorable the Earle of Suffolke Lo: Chambleine to his Ma:^{tie} and Sr Iulius Cesar knight Chancellor of th'Exchequer the summe of Twoe hundred pounde towarde the charges and expenses of a Maske to be pformed this Christmas. p bre dat ix^o die Decembris 1613,' with a note 'Cary See Bowier isto die & 200^{li}'. Ibid., f. 58, entry of 18 December, 'The Maske': 'By Order dated xvj^{to} Decembris: 1613. To Meredith Morgan gent the somme of Twoe hundred poundes to be by him expended for the Charges of the Maske to be pformed this Christmas 1613. p bre dat ix^o die Decembris: 1613,' checked by 'Bowier'. Ibid., f. 72b, entry of 15 January 1614, 'The Maske': 'By Order dated xxx^o Decembr 1613. To Meredith Morgan gent the some of two hundred pounde towarde the charges of the Maske intended this xmas p bre dat ix^o Decembr 1613,' checked by 'Carie'.

The payment of £200 is repeated in Lansdowne MS. 164, to Cary and to Bowyer on f. 244, and to Morgan on ff. 246 and 252.

foote-men. Irish footmen were common at the time. In *The Misfortunes of Arthur* by T. Hughes the description of the dumb show before Act II includes 'a man bareheaded, with blacke long shagged haire downe to his shoulders, apparalled with an Irish Iacket and shirt, hauing an Irish dagger by his side and a dart in his hand'. Cf. Field, *Amends for Ladies*, II. iii (1639, D1^v), 'Enter Maid, like an Irish foot-boy with a Dart'.

1. *For chreeshes sayk.* This Anglo-Irish jargon was a stage-convention; Shakespeare used it for Captain Macmorris in *King Henry V* and Jonson re-used it for Captain Whit in *Bartholomew Fair*.

2. *an't be . . .* 7. *be an't be.* Used by Whit, *B.F.* IV. iv. 202.

4, 5. *cashtermonger.* For the Irish costermonger see *Alch.* IV. i. 57 n. *Peepsh*, pippins; *pomwater'sh*, large juicy apples. Cf. Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, IV. iii (1600, I), Andelocia and Shaddow, 'like Irish Coster-mongers': 'peeps of Tamasco, feene peeps. I fat tis de sweetest apple in de world, tis better den de Pome water, or apple Iohn.'

10. *phoit stick*, white staff of the ushers or the lord chamberlain. Cf. 66 and *C.R.* V. III. 41 of a citizen trying to get in at a Court performance, 'Knocke that simple fellow there'.

34. *neder noder . . .* 35. *eder oder.* *T. of T.* II. iv. 41, 'neither-nother'.

43. *By my goships hant.* So 90, 127-8: cf. Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, II, sat. 4 (1613, R6^v):

If but by his *Lords* hand an Irish swere,
To violate that oath he stands in feare;
Least him of both his lands and goods he spoile,
For making him the instrument of guile.

46–7. *shamrokes ant butter, ant vayter creshes*. Spenser in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (ed. Hales, p. 654) describes starving natives of Munster ‘creeping foorth upon theyr handes’, looking ‘like anatomyes of death’ and eating dead carrion; ‘and yf they founde a plotte of water-cresses or sham-rokes, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall’; *The Life and Death of Thomas Stukeley*, 1605, D3:

Mack. These English churles dee if they lacke there bed,
And bread and beere, porrage and powdred beefe.

Han. O Marafastot shamrocks are no meat,
Nor Bonny clabbo, nor greene Water-cresses,
Nor our strong butter, nor our swelld otmeale.

Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613, G3^v:

Ile giue vp my play,
And fall to labor for a groat a day;
And for my clothing in a mantle goe,
And feed on *Sham-roots*, as the Irish doe.

See ‘The Shamrock in Literature’ by N. Colgan in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vi, pp. 211–26.

53. *Connough*. ‘Connagh’ in *A Geographical Description of the Kingdome of Ireland*, 1642.

54. *English payle*. Not a definite territory, but only that part of Ireland in which, for the time being, the king’s writ ran.

56–7. *an’t be all tree*, and be the equivalent of three of us, i.e. the three besides himself.

61. *Robyne*, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

62. *hish daughter*. Lady Frances, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk.

64. *He knoke vsh o’ te payt*. A delightful touch which Suffolk should have appreciated: on Twelfth Night 1604 he had ‘ushered’ Jonson and his friend Sir John Roe in this way from a masque (*Conv. Drum*. 155–6).

71. *fading*. ‘The name of a dance, apparently Irish’ (*O.E.D.*). *Ep*. xcvi. 1, and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, iv. i (1613, G4), ‘George. I will have him dance *Fading*; *Fading* is a fine Iigge I’ll assure you Gentlemen: begin brother, now a capers sweet heart, now a turne a’th toe, and then tumble.’

75. *garranes*, horses (Irish *gearrán*). The ‘garran’ or ‘garron’ was a small and inferior horse used in Ireland and Scotland (*O.E.D.*). *The Life and Death of Thomas Stukeley*, 1605, E1^v, of the Irish:

They haue a pray of Garrans cowes and sheepe,
Well worth a brace of thousand pounds at least.

76. *a Cashtell . . . vpon teyr backs*. *E.H.* i. ii. 144.

77–8. *great fish . . . sheamoyenster*. An allusion to the great concave shell with six huge sea-monsters swimming by it in *The Masque of Blackness*.

79. *devoish vit a clowd*. In Campion's masque at the Somerset marriage. 'From euery quarter of the earth three Knights' sailed to Britain; Error, Rumor, Curiosity and Credulity divert them with a tempest, the winds and the four elements joining in the confusion. Bel-Anna breaks the spell. 'Then out of the ayre a cloude descends, discovering sixe of the Knights. . . .'

82. *mantels*. Spenser (*A Present View*, ed. Hales, p. 631) describes this as the characteristic dress of the Irish outlaw: 'it is his bedd, yea, and allmost his howsehold stuffe. For the wood is his house agaynst all weathers, and his mantell is his cave to sleepe in.' John Derrick in *The Image of Ireland*, 1581, D1^v, describes the kerns: 'With Mantelles downe vnto the Shoe, | to lappe them in by night.'

83. *fadow*. Evidently a dance, but not mentioned elsewhere: the *O.E.D.* does not include it. Query, some jingle of 'fa-ding' and 'fa-dow'.

phip a dunboyne. Evidently 'Philip o' Dunboyne'—a dance tune otherwise unknown.

87. *bonny clabbe*, clotted milk. *N.I.* i. ii. 25, 'bonny-clabbee'.

88. *vsquebagh*, whiskey. The 'Irish' nurse drinks it, *N.I.* iv. iv. 236.

95. *no goot vindsh*. Like Vulturinus in *The Masque of Beauty*.

97. *te foure cornersh* of Mercator's projection. Cf. 'The three corners of the world' in *King John*, v. vii. 116, Britain and Ireland making the fourth corner.

106. *ouer te bog, ant te Banncke*. *E.M.O.* II. i. 20-2, 'nimble-spirited Catso's . . . will run ouer a bog like your wild Irish'. *Bannoke* in the Folio: did Jonson write 'Bankone' in the sense of the Irish *bancan*, a bank in a field?

110. *my little mayshter*. Prince Charles.

111. *vfrow*, 'frau'. Elizabeth, who married the Palsgrave early in the year.

127. *iustish Delounes*. Nichols (*Progresses*, ii, p. 722 n.) enumerating five eminent lawyers of the Dillon family at this period, finds only one living at the date of this masque, Sir Lucas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1572, son of Sir Robert of Newton, who was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1558 and afterwards Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

128. *Lo. deputish*. Sir Arthur Chichester, on 23 February 1613 raised to the peerage as Lord Chichester of Belfast.

146. *rugs*. *D. is A.* v. i. 46-8, 'walke In a rug . . . barefoote. . . . A kind of Irish penance.'

168. *firme*. *M. of A.* 464.

THE MASQUES OF 1615 AND 1616

ON 20 January 1615 Stansby entered on the Stationers' Register 'Certayne Masques of the Court never yet printed written by Ben Johnson'. This entry covered the early entertainments at Highgate and at Theobalds, four masques undated in the Folio—*Oberon*, *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, *Love Restored*, *The Irish Masque*—the *Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers*, the *Challenge at Tilt* for the Somerset marriage, and the Court masque performed on 6 January 1615. When the Folio of 1616 appeared, the last masque in it was *The Golden Age Restored*, which was dated 1615. What was the date of *Mercury Vindicated*, which precedes it in the Folio? Was it earlier than *The Golden Age Restored*? Or was it the Court masque of New Year's Day 1616?

It is a question of Jonson's system of dating: did he begin the year on Lady Day, 25 March—the common usage in his time—or did he follow the Gregorian calendar and begin the year on 1 January? Leaving out two masques in which Jonson had a motive for not telling us when they were performed—*Hymenaei* and *The Irish Masque*—we find *The Masques of Blackness and Beauty*, *The Haddington Masque*, and *The Masque of Queens*, all of which were acted in January or February, dated in the new style reckoning the year from 1 January. If the Folio date of *The Golden Age Restored* tallies with the dating of these earlier masques, it means 1615 in our modern reckoning; in that case *Mercury Vindicated* was performed in 1616. Jonson, who naturally arranged the masques in chronological order, may have hesitated to print this later date out of its proper sequence.

Dr. Greg accepted the date 1616 for *Mercury Vindicated*. In his paper on 'The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology' (*The Library*, 1926, vi, pp. 340–7) he reviewed exhaustively Jonson's system, pointing out some inconsistencies, but concluding that in the authorized collection of his works he used the new style dating, but changed over to the old style about 1620. To this view Sir E. K. Chambers cautiously inclined, but, finding the evidence inconclusive, he did not alter the arrangement of the masques in his survey (*Elizabethan Stage*, iii, pp. 389–90).

Nichols in *The Progresses of King James* (iii, pp. 27, 124) printed these masques in the order of the Folio along with Chamberlain's letters of 1615 and 1616. This order was also accepted by Brotanek (*Die englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 351–2) and by Reyher (*Les Masques Anglais*, p. 523). We followed them in our introduction to the

Masques and Entertainments, and expressed disagreement with the view of Sir E. K. Chambers (vol. ii, p. 294 n.). But he and Dr. Greg are right in holding that *The Golden Age Restored* was the earlier masque. There is evidence which confirms this. Kerwyn, paymaster of the works, made the arrangements in Whitehall for *The Golden Age Restored* in 1615 (see page 552). But the arrangements for *Mercury Vindicated* in 1616 were made by his widow (see page 548). Kerwyn had died in the interval, and Mrs. Kerwyn took over his business temporarily.

This disposes of Brotanek's suggestion that the opening verses of *The Golden Age Restored* allude to the Overbury trial of 1615. They are quite colourless, and, after the humiliation in which the exposure involved King James, what poet would have dared to point such a moral and to declaim it to the King's face? Lines 43-4,

thy babe *last borne*, Smooth Trecherie

might be a shade more suggestive, but the context making Treachery the child of Avarice steers clear of any personal interpretation. Overbury was not murdered for his money.

The two endings of *The Golden Age Restored* bear slightly on the question. We have conjectured (vol. vii, p. 420) that the ending which closed the masque with Pallas' speech (200-17) was that of the Court performances, and the variation which gave the last word to Astraea, emphasizing the return of the Golden Age because James was on the throne, was an attempt to round off the last page of the Folio more effectively. The change was made during the printing. Dr. Greg has asked (*R.E.S.* xviii, p. 152) whether there is any ground for our conjecture beyond a personal opinion 'that it is preferable from a literary point of view'. When bibliographical evidence fails, when there is no clue in the text and no historical allusion, and no description in contemporary letters, what other point of view is possible?

MERCURY VINDICATED

THIS was probably the masque of 1 and 6 January 1616 discussed in the previous section. It belongs to the dramatic form known as a Triumph, in which the splendour of the dénouement is associated with the victory or 'vindication' of the hero. Mercury, persecuted and perplexed in the antimasque, wins through when the radiant vision of the real makers of men floods the gloomy recesses of the alchemists' workshop and drives away the workers and the botchers.

Nature and natural forces triumph while 'Art' is humiliated. This aspect of the masque has been discussed and the alchemical terms examined by E. H. Macan in *Studies in Philology*, xxxix, pp. 625-37. But the execution of the last portion of the masque is not, poetically, on a level with the conception. In the treatment of the legend of Prometheus the tragic figure drawn by Aeschylus and by Shelley outsoars all other creations, but two poets have treated it powerfully from a standpoint which may more easily bear comparison with Jonson's—Calderon in his *La estatua de Prometeo* and Goethe in his splendid but incomplete *Pandora*.

Jonson tells us nothing more than that the masque was performed at Court. We may assume that this means Whitehall. The text seems defective at lines 245-7. We should expect two songs there, before the dancing with the ladies and before the last dance.

Finett records the arrangement of the ambassadors (*Philoxenis*, pp. 31-2):

'The King being desirous, that the French, Venetian and Savoyard Ambassadors should all be invited to a Maske at Court prepared for New-years night, an exception comming from the French, was a cause of deferring their invitation till Twelfe night, when the Maske was to be re-acted. This French Ambassador having demanded Audience by the mediation of the Lord *Haye*, and not obtained it as he affected (haveing not taken the due course of accesse by the Chamberlain (the Earle of *Pembrooke*) or being perhaps forgotten) was offended that the Spanish Ambassador (who had demanded one before the Kings remoove to Royston, but was referred to his conveniency at his returne thence) should have (as he had) an Audience before him. With this consideration, and not without his Majesties sence of such formality, he was not invited till for the Twelfe night, when he with the other two mentioned were received at eight of the Clock, the houre assigned (no Supper being prepared for them, as at other times, to avoid the trouble incident) and were conducted to the privy Gallery by the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Danvers* appointed (an honour more then had been formerly done to Ambassadors Ordinary) to accompany them, the Master of the Ceremonies being also present.

'They were all there placed at the Maske on the Kings right hand (not right out, but Byas forward) first and next to the King the French, next him the Venetian, and next him the Savoyard. At his Majesties left hand sate the Queene, and next her the Prince. The Maske being ended, they followed his Majesty to a Banquet in the Presence, and returned by the way they entered: the followers of the French were placed in a seate reserved for them above over the Kings right hand; the others in one on the left. The Spanish Ambassadors Son, and the Agent of the Arch-Duke (who invited himselfe) were bestowed on the forme where the Lords sit, next beneath the Barons, English, Scottish,

and Irish, as the Sonns of the Ambassador of Venice, and of Savoy had been placed the Maske night before, but were this night placed with their Countrymen in the Gallery mentioned.'

There are two Audit Office entries for 1616: Sir William Uvedale's (A.O. 1/52/390), 'for making ready the banquettinghouse for three severall Maskes vj daies'; and Margaret Kerwyn's as administratrix of Andrew Kerwyn (A.O. 1/46/2421), 'woorkes and alteracons in p^rparinge and fitting the banquettinghouse against the Maske there'. In the Pell Order Book (E 403/2735, f. 62b, 28 February 1616) is the entry:

'By Order dated iiij^{to} Ianuary 1615 To Edmund Sadler gent the some of Seaven hundred pounde to be by him disbursed to such psons as the right ho^{ble} the Earle of Worcester shall nominate and appoint for the charges of a Maske w^{ch} his Mat^{ie} hath comaunded to be pformed in his Court this xmas, the same to be taken to him wthout accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vpon him the said Edmund Sadler his executo^{rs} or administrators for the same or anie pt therof p bre dat xxix^o Decembris 1615.'

The marginal note is 'vñj^{li} vnde isto die iñj^{li} Bow.' (i.e. Bowyer).

3. *Registers. Alch. II. iii. 33.*

Cyclope. Haddington, 317-19.

8, 9. *weaker Nature . . . now she is old.* A reference to the current controversy touched on in *Disc. 124-8* that Nature was 'spent, and decay'd': see the note there. It is effectively used here in contrast to the vision of the main masque, the 'glorious bowre' of Nature and her song, 202-12, 'How yong and fresh am I to night'.

23. *Philosophers. Alch. II. i. 57.*

He will bee gon. Alch. II. v. 31-2:

And, what's your *Mercury*?

FAC. A very fugitiue, he will be gone, sir.

33. *a wrinckle. Poet. IV. iii. 151.*

35. *vardingale. Ch. Tilt, 109.*

37. *polt-footed Philosopher. Poet. IV. vii. 2, of Albius playing Vulcan, 'the poultfoot stinkard'.*

Smug. The name of the smith in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (S. of N. 1 Intermean 71).

Lemnos. Vulcan was the son of Juno, and once when he took his mother's part in a quarrel with Jupiter, Jupiter seized him by the leg and hurled him from heaven. He fell on the island of Lemnos, where he was kindly received and made his abode (*Iliad*, i. 590-4; Milton, *P.L.* i. 740-6).

42. *armour-making fail'd them.* A reference to the peace policy of King James.

45. *Vskabah*. *N.I.* iv. iv. 236.
46. *Geber*, the most celebrated of the Arabian alchemists, Abou Moussah Djafar al Sofi, believed to have lived in the eighth century. Of the many works attributed to him the *Summa Perfectionis Magisterii in sua natura* deals with metals and minerals.
- Arnold*. Arnoldus de Villa Nova (1235?–1314), a French physician, theologian, astrologer, and alchemist.
- Lully*. *Volp.* II. ii. 130.
- Bombast of Hohenheim*. *Alch.* II. iii. 230.
48. *that creature of glory*. *Disc.* 523, 'the *Philosopher*, the creature of glory'.
- 51–2. *their Crude, and their Sublimate*. The alchemists carefully distinguished between common mercury and their preparation of it.
52. *vnctuous*. The 'vnctuous water' of *Alch.* II. iii. 144; *præcipitate*, by the action of heat separated from the liquid in which it was dissolved, and deposited in a solid state.
53. *male . . . female . . . Hermaphrodite*. *Alch.* II. iii. 161–5.
54. *corroded* by chemical agents.
55. *exalted, and sublim'd*, intensified and perfected. *Alch.* I. i. 68–9:
- Sublim'd thee, and exalted thee, and fix'd thee*
I' the *third region*, call'd our *state of grace*.
- fetch'd ouer*. Like 'come ouer the helme', *Alch.* II. iii. 60, not without a suggestion of 'got the better of', *ibid.* IV. v. 107.
61. *Coucumer*, cucumber. A seventeenth-century form closer to the Latin *cucumeris*.
- vexatious*. *Alch.* II. v. 20–4.
64. *the Philosophical circle*. The 'Philosophers wheele' of *Alch.* II. iii. 44.
70. *cheat upon*. *Volp.* I. iv. 158.
71. *promising mountains*. A Latin proverb: see *Cat.* II. 310.
75. *mormall o' the shinne*. *S.S.* II. vi. 63.
76. *pustles, pustules*.
80. *the Prouerbe inuerted*, i.e. '*Thesaurus pro carbone*: the proverb is *Carbo pro thesauro*' (Gifford). ἀνθρακες ὁ θησαυρός, of disappointed hopes, is common in Lucian.
82. *Aurum potabile*. *Volp.* I. iv. 73.
- Bombards of Budge*, leather bottles of provisions. *L.R.* 104–5, 'a bombard man, that brought bouge . . . '.
86. *Blacke guard*. *S.W.* III. v. 26, 'the infant'ry that follow the court'; *L.R.* 118.
85. *a thing of nothing . . .* 87. *a toy*. *M.L.* II. iii. 36, 'A toy, a thing of nothing, a meere vapour'.
87. *the boyling-house*. *L.R.* 123.
88. *Medeas kettle*, the cauldron in which she renewed Aeson, the father of Jason. For renewal by means of the elixir see *Alch.* II. i. 52–61.

93. *health, Riches, Honours.* *Alch.* II. i. 49–51.
 95. *mother o' the maides*, the head of the maids of honour in the royal household. Cf. *Moria* in *Cynthia's Revels*.
 97. *bloat-herring.* *M.A.* 67.
 100. *galliard.* *Beauty*, 364.
when Monsieur was here, in 1579. *C.R.* Ind. 212.
 101. *melt down all the old sinners.* *Alch.* II. i. 62.
 102. *gamesters.* *Alch.* 'The Persons'—'SVRLEY, A Gamster.'
 110. *threedbare Alchymists.* Chaucer, *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, 337–43, of alchemists:

Lo thus by . . . threedbare array
 If that men liste, this folk they knowe may;
 And if a man wole aske hem pryvely
 Why they been clothed so unthriftilly,
 They right anon wol rowen in his ere
 And seyn, that if that they espied were,
 Men wolde hem slee bycause of their science.

111. *Antimasque.* This form of the word is used here for the first time. Chapman had written 'Antemasque' in *The Masque of the Middle Temple*, 1613. 'Anticke-maske' is in *The Masque of Flowers*, 1619, and so Jonson himself for a specially burlesque purpose in *The Masque of Augurs*, 149, 265.

116. *Caducæus*, more correctly 'caduceus', the 'snakie tip-staffe' of *C.R.* I. i. 53.

120. *Mars.* Snared by Hephaestus (Vulcan) in *Odyssey*, viii. 266–366.

122. *lute.* *Alch.* II. iii. 40.

123. *with my own seales.* *Ibid.* 79. Hermetically sealed, as we still say.

129. *made stooles stirre.* Hephaestus in the *Iliad* xviii. 373–7:

τρίποδας γὰρ εἴκοσι πάντας ἔτευχεν
 ἐστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον εὐσταθέος μεγάροιο,
 χρύσεα δέ σφ' ὑπὸ κύκλα ἐκάστω πυθμένι θῆκεν,
 ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαΐατ' ἀγῶνα
 ἦδ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα νεοΐατο, θαῦμα ιδέσθαι.

Jonson has a note on this, *Haddington*, 327.

statues dance. *Iliad* xviii. 416–21:

βῆ δὲ θύραζε
 χωλεύων· ὑπὸ δ' ἀμφίπολοι ῥώνοντο ἄνακτι
 χρυσεῖαι, ζωῇσι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι.
 τῆς ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδὴ
 καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἅπο ἔργα ἴσασιν.
 αἱ μὲν ὕπαιθα ἄνακτος ἐποίπνυον.

a dog of brasse to barke. *Odyssey* vii. 91–4, of the dogs guarding the palace of Alcinous:

χρύσειοι δ' ἐκάτερθε καὶ ἀργύρεοι κύνες ἦσαν,
οὓς Ἡφαιστος ἔτευξεν ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι
δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρως ἤματα πάντα.

131. *a woman to speake*. Pandora, whom Hephaestus moulded out of earth.

132. *Balnei, cineris, or horse-doung*. *Alch.* III. ii. 139:

Fimus equinus, Balnei, Cineris,
And all these lesser heats.

137. *Deucalion* with his wife Pyrrha survived the deluge; they re-peopled the earth by throwing over their shoulders stones which turned into men and women.

Prometheus, when Jupiter withheld fire from men, stole it in a reed and taught them the use of it.

146. *Paracelsus man*. Paracelsus, *De Natura Rerum*, i (*Opera*, 1575, i, p. 370), 'Sciendum etiam est hoc modo posse generari homines sine naturali patre & matre, hoc est, non ex muliere naturali modo, sed per artem, & industriam periti Spagyrici potest homo nasci & crescere, sicut postea dicitur': the receipt follows on page 377.

147. *dele-wine*. A species of Rhenish wine frequently mentioned by the dramatists, and generally in company with 'backrach', a thin hock. Thus Shirley, *The Lady of Pleasure*, v. i (1637, I):

whirle in coaches,
To the *Douch* Magazine of sawce, the Stillyard,
Where deale, and backragge, and what strange wine else,
They dare but give a name too in the reckoning,
Shall flow into our roome. . . .

149. *a master of the Duel*. Like Subtle in *The Alchemist* or Everill in *The Devil is an Ass*.

152. *vapor'd o're the helme*, *Alch.* II. iii. 60, 255.

154. *the businesse*. *Alch.* III. iv. 18; cf. the character of a roaring boy in the 6th impression of Overbury's *A Wife*, 1615, K7, 'If any priuate Quarrell happen among our great Courtiers, he proclaimes the *businesse*, that's the word, the *businesse*, as if all the vnited forces of the *Romish Catholicks* were making vp for Germany.'

157. *fencer i'the Mathematiques*. *N.I.* II. v. 88-93.

159. *secretary to the starres*. *F.I.* 136; Fletcher, *The Bloody Brother*, IV. ii, of Norbret (i.e. Bretnor) and his fellow-astrologers, 'They are the Secretaries of the Stars, Sir'.

161. *Ephemerides*. *Alch.* IV. vi. 48.

162. *figures . . . twelue houses*. *Alch.* I. i. 96, 'Erecting *figures*, in your rowes of houses'.

166. *title-bane*. Modelled on 'ratsbane', and so continuing the quibble in adder's-tongue.

167. *Aurum palpabile*. *Volp.* I. iv. 73.

168. *fæces*. *Alch.* II. iii. 63 n.

170-1. *Out o' the corruption of a Lawyer . . . M.L.* III. vi. 58-9:

Sir, the corruption of one thing in nature,
Is held the Generation of another.

Subtle preaches the doctrine, *Alch.* II. iii. 171-6. Cf. *E.M.O.* I. iii. 110. These are the 'trespasses and scapes' of nature (l. 189).

184. *helmes of lymbecks*. *Alch.* II. i. 98-9, 'IASON'S helme, (*Th'alem-beke*)'.

195. *features, creations*.

209. *Nature . . . no stepdame, but a mother*. In Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, iii. 39, 40, Nature complains

Se iam quae genetrix mortalibus ante fuisset
In dirae subito mores transisse nouercae.

210-11. *numbers . . . absolue you men*. Cf. *omnibus numeris absolutus*, i.e. perfect.

229-30. *laughters* rhyming with *daughters*: *Volp.* I. ii. 74-5 n.

254. *woman*. Pandora, whom Prometheus counselled his brother Epimetheus not to receive.

264. *a kisse*, to which they were entitled after the dance. *Henry VIII*, I. iv. 94-6, King Henry to Anne Bullen after the masque dance:

Sweetheart,
I were unmannerly to take you out,
And not to kiss you.

THE GOLDEN AGE RESTORED

DATED 1615 in the Folio and acted at Whitehall, probably on 6 and 8 January. In the Audit Office accounts there is Lord Treasurer Stanhope's entry (A.O. 1/52/390), 'the bankettinge house for a playe two dayes, the same place two seuerall tymes, for twoe maskes', i.e. *The Golden Age Restored* and William Browne's *Inner Temple Masque* on 13 January. There is also Andrew Kerwyn's account (A.O. 1/46/2421) of a payment to 'David Sampson for keeping the Banquet house dore at the Maske and Other tymes x^s', and also 'The banquettinge house ther for the Maske CCiiij^u xvij^{li} xjs ix^d. ob.'. In the S.P. 38/11, docquets 1612-20, there is on 29 March 1615, 'A wa^r to the Exchecq^r to pay 338^{li} js to Walter James, for so much yet vnpayd for the Maske of xpmās last. Procur^d by M^r Secretary', and checked by 'Windebanke'.

Three extracts from letters preserved among the State Papers

touch upon this performance. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 1 December 1614:

'the bishop of St Daveds Doctor Rudde is lately dead, and much posting and suing there is for his place, so sharpe set men are now adayes for euery litle profit or preferment: and yet for al this penurious world we speak of a maske this christmas towards w^{ch} the K. geues 1500^l, the principall motiue wherof is thought to be the gracing of younge villers¹ and to bring him on the stage' (S.P. 14, lxxviii. 65).

He writes again on 5 January 1615:

'My very goode Lord: I neuer knew any christmas bring foorth lesse varietie of occurrents: the world is in motion round about vs, and yet we haue no newes: here at home we passe on wth a slowe pace, and nothing fallen out worth the remembrance. they haue playes at court euery night both holy-dayes and working-dayes, wherin they shew great patience, beeing for the most part such poore stufte that in stead of delight they send the auditorie away wth discontent: indeed our Poets braines and inuention are growne very drie insomuch that of fve new playes there is not one pleases, and therfore are driuen to ferbish ouer theyre old, w^{ch} stand them in best stead, and bring them most profit. to morow night there is a maske at court, but the common voyce and preparations promise so little, that yt breedes no great expectation.' (Ibid. lxxx. 1.)

But the common voice was mistaken, as Chamberlain admitted on 12 January:

'My very goode Lord: the only matter I can aduertise since I wrote the last weeke is the successe of the maske on twelfe night, w^{ch} was so well liked and applauded that the king had yt represented again the sonday night after, in the very same manner, though neither in deuise nor shew was there any thing extraordinarie but only excellent dauncing, the choise beeing made of the best both english and scottes: but there fell out an accident before yt began that had almost marred the play: for the Spanish ambassador beeing inuited, when he vnderstoode that Sr Noel Caron was likewise to be there, he protested against yt, saying he was not to be present where a seruant of his masters vassalls shold be couered, or appeare in qualitie of an ambassador: against w^{ch} exceptions there was much dispute twixt him and the Lordes then present,

¹ The future Duke of Buckingham. So Donne writes to Goodyere on 13 December, 'They are preparing for a Masque of Gentlemen: in which M. Villars is, and M. Karre, whom I told you before my L. Chamberlain had brought into the bed-chamber' (*Letters*, 1651, p. 149). And again on 18 December, 'Mr Villers . . . is here, practising for the Mask' (ibid., p. 191). Chambers notes (*Elizabethan Stage*, iii, p. 389) that 'there was at this time an intrigue amongst the Court party opposed to Somerset and the Howards, including Donne's patroness Lady Bedford, to put forward George Villiers . . . as a rival to the Earl of Somerset in the good graces of James I'.

and many messages passed to and fro between them and the king, but in conclusion he wold by no arguments nor precedents be perswaded, but saide yt was contrarie to his instructions, and so retiring himself went backe the same way he came: wherupon Sr Noel Caron was wisht to retire likewise and absent himself.' (Ibid. 4.)

Sir John Finett, master of the ceremonies, gives an elaborate account of these complications (*Philoxenis*, pp. 19-24):

'The 5. of *January* 1614 [i.e. 1615]. The Earl of Sommerset (then Lord *Chamberlain*) notwithstanding he understood how the yeare before the Spanish and Arch-Dukes Ambassadors had been invited to the Marriage of him the Earle of Sommerset, and not the French nor the Venetian . . . gave me directions to invite the Spanish and the Venetian (not usually coupled . . .) to a Maske of Gentlemen set forth at the charge of his Majesty, and to come at an houre, about six in the Evening to a Supper that should be prepared for them in the Councel Chamber. They both (with one question of what Ambassadors would be there, and my assurance, that I understood of none besides themselves (as indeed then I did not) accepted the Invitation, and came the next day at the time appointed.) A little before Supper, the Spanish Ambassador taking me aside, desired me to deale freely with him, & to tel him whether Sir *Noell Caron*, the States Ambassador were invited, and if invited, what place was intended him, whether in publique neere his Majesty, or in private in some Corner of the Roome? I answered that I knew then (and not before) that he was invited, and would be there; But in which of those conditions, publique or private, I could not resolve him. Hereupon, he requested me immediately to go to my Lord *Chamberlain* for clearing of this doubt, wherewith acquainting his Lordship, and he his Majesty, I returned with this assurance. That Sir *Noell Caron* was invited, and should be placed within the Barres neare the King, as Ambassadors used to be. To this he made his repleye, desiring me to convey it to the Lord *Chamberlaine*, that if Sir *Noell Caron* should be togeather with him at Supper or in any other place, then in the Kings presence, he would use him with all the respects of civility, but in so honourable a place as that, where the sacred persons of the King, Queene and Prince were to be present, he should never with patience see the Representant of his Masters Vassalls and Rebels (so he called them) hold an equall ranck with him. That it was directly against his Instructions to concurr with him in any publique Act, as an Ambassador, and that therefore it would be better for him (as he intended with the favour of his Majesty) to retire himselfe betimes without noise, then to be forced (as he must) to discharge his duty by publique exception, and protestation against the person of him (Sir *Noell Caron*) to the disturbance of so royall an Assembly, and whereupon I told him (as from my Lord *Chamberlain*) that his Lordship was informed his predecessor *Don Alonso de Velasco* had stood upon no such Puntilio when Sir *Noell Caron* had at another time been invited, as now, and sate as it was now

determined he should; he said, he was most assured there never had been such a concurrence, so as returning from him with this answer I fortun'd to deliver it in the hearing of my Lord Treasurer, and received from his Lordship an assurance that upon his knowledge, and in his sight, his predecessor *Don Alonso de Velasco* had indured without any exception the placing of the States Ambassador at the left hand of the King, while he (*Don Alonso*) sate on the right. But this neither would satisfie him, nor hold him from affirming that (not to contradict (he said) my Lord Treasurer, who yet might forget, or mistake in some circumstances) he would ingage his head to be cut off, if there ever had been any such placing, which being againe reported by me to my Lords Chamberlain and Treasurer, they both went to the King, and debating the businesse with his Majesty, first in presence of sundry of the Bedd-Chamber, and after more in private with halfe a dozen of other Lords, my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of Worcester (and I to attend them) were sent to him into the Councell Chamber, and there (intreating first the Venetian Ambassador to pardon them, if they did awhile leave him alone) taking onely the Ambassadors Interpreter, and my selfe with them into a litle Room there by, my Lord Treasurer delivered the Kings mind to this purpose. That his Majesty having invited him to the Maske, with a mind to give him all content, was sorry that this question should grow to disturbe it. That his Majesty went upon grounds of former presidents of the like concurrence in the time of the Ambassadors predecessors, and that he had for witnesses of it (besides his owne memorie) the Queene, the Prince, and sundry of the Lords, who affirmed they had seene it. That his Majesty having heretofore intertain'd Sir *Noell Caron* in that manner, and now invited him as an Ambassador, he left it to his consideration what injury he should do to abate of his accustomed respects towards him. That whereas the Ambassador affirmed, it was formally his Instructions not to concur with him in any publique Act, his Majesty wondred that his predecessor should not have the like Instructions, or having had such, should forget, or neglect to stand upon it, that if he had any such, his Majesty requested him, that (reserving other matter, which he in no sort desired that he should communicate, besides that purpose) he might have a sight of it for his fuller satisfaction. To this the Ambassador replyed (with many acknowledgments of the honour his Majesty had done him &c.) That first, the witnesses his Majesty had produced were so substantiall, as should he with his owne eyes have seene the contrary, he should not have trusted them in opposition of their Testimony; That if it should be known to the King his Master that *Don Alonso* had committed such error, it would be enough to make him loose his head. That it was true, that in his generall instructions received from the hand of the King his Master, it was not intended, but that upon his Arrivall in England finding in what condition of respect Sir *Noell Caron* was held here, he wrote particularly to the King for his pleasure about his manner of carriage towards Sir *Noell Caron*, in case he should be put to it upon

any incounter of Negotiation, or otherwise, whereunto he had received by letter from his Majesty his will, intimating, That in concurrence of ordinary civill respects, he should use him with courtesy; but in no case admit concurrence with him in or at any publique Act, and that his Majesty should be an eye witnesse of the letter at his pleasure. The Venetian (who remaind in the meane time in the Councell Chamber) having been by the Spanish Ambassador before the Lords entrance, made acquainted with the difference like to grow, had affirmed to him, That he could himselfe remember, that when *Don Alonso* was invited (as he was now) by his Majesty, he and *Sir Noell Caron* were seated in a compartment, or place apart, and that *Don Alonso* did except against *Carons* sitting in the same place neare his Majesty; he affirmed also, That howsoever it might now passe between the Spanish Ambassador and the States, he himselfe would not permit that he should sit (*allato*, his own word) in even ranck with him; but all the Allegations of the Venetian were held to proceed rather from a spirit of disturbance (forward, as his naturally was, to make ill businesse) then that what he said was simply truth.

'In fine, the Lords returning with this Declaration of the Ambassadors to his Majesty, came back soone after with his definite pleasure thus. That since he could not accord this difference, which troubled him much for the respects he bare to the Spanish Ambassador, he had willed them to signifie to him, that he might take what course should best please him; And that if he would not stay the Maske, he would take order, that the States Ambassador should likewise depart, to avoyd all further question, about either of their pretences. After this the Ambassador himselfe, and the Lords fell to termes of reconciling (if it could be possible) the difference, the Lords offering, that the Spanish Ambassador should sit on the right hand of the King, and at the Spaniards right hand, the Venetian, and that at the left hand next the Queene and Prince should sit the States Ambassador, this he harkened (not yeelded) to, but with such limitations, as were not fit for *Sir Noell Caron* to admit of, as that he should either sit a degree or step lower (which the place would not afford) or with some distance behind the Queene, and that he should not enter with the King, but some quarter of an hour after, and the like, but the conclusion was (nothing being agreed on) that they would informe the King of his resolution of departure, and so left him; yet immediately after they returned the third time, and (after some reasons to no prevaileing purpose) I told him againe, that the King desired to see the next day his instructions, and so had sent him the good night. The Lords being departed, I stayed behind (as was his Majesty's pleasure, and charge given me) to tell him from his Majesty for conclusion thus much, That he had not been driven to this streight without his owne fault, because if he had made question in season, and acquainted the King with the limitation of his instructions in that point, there might have been another course had for prevention: whereto he replied, that he had

found his Majesty in all so gracious, as he could not but with all most humble thankfulness acknowledge it, and that it might be held indeed a fault in him, that he had not before hand declared himselfe to that purpose, but no man could foresee all things. So (having merrily requested the Lords before, that since his Servants were not Ambassadors, and would not strive for places, they might be allowed roome to see the Maske) he with one Gentleman, his Secretary, and a footeman (I attending him to his Coach) departed.

'The King the next day at his dinner discoursing to this purpose, brought forth amongst other Arguments this one against the Spanish Ambassador, that the Exception, or protestation he had made, could not be any way made good by him, the King of Spaines Agent, in regard the Vassallage which the King his Master pretended of the States, was not properly his, but should belong (if to any) to the Arch-Dukes, to whom he had made a cession of those Provinces, and had likewise (he said) but a poore title to them, having at the time of the Treaty of Truce between them, agreed to treat with them, as with a free State, and given them since in severall letters the title and stile they pretend to (and which all other Princes and States (he said) give them) of *Les Estats confederez de provinces unies*. This dispute, and difference, occurred in the time that the Truce between the King of Spain, the Arch-Duke and the States yet lasted. The Venetian Ambassador as soone as the Spanish was departed, was conducted by me into the second Roome from the privie Gallerie, and there attending till his Majesty and the Queene came, went along with them, and was seated on the left hand of the King, beneath the Queene, and the Prince on the right. At the same time the Agent of Florence (to whom was sent by the Lord Chamberlaine to invite him, no other then an ordinary Messenger of the Chamber, as to a Minister inferiour to an Ambassador) supped also in the Councill Chamber, and followed the King to the Maske with the Venetian, but having been ordained his seate in one of the Galleries, he intreated me to moove the Lord Chamberlaine, that (as he understood the great Duke his Masters Agent, and the Duke of Savoyes had been) he might be placed among the Lords, which was assented to, and he was placed (by the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord Treasurer there present) beneath the lowest Baron the Lord Mordant, and above Sir *Thomas Howard* second Son to the Lord Treasurer.'

There is also a long dispatch of Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, relating to the performance of 8 January (*Venetian State Papers*, 1615, xiii, pp. 317-18). The one fact he tells us is that it took place 'in the great hall'. Otherwise he merely gossips about the ambassadors' friction. The Dutch ambassador consulted him: 'I told him that he ought to tell the king he ought not to suffer rules to be laid down in his own house.' The Venetian remembered Don Alonso meeting the Dutch ambassador formerly, 'although there was certainly some distance between them'. After the Spaniard

and the Hollander had left, the Venetian only remained. Queen Anne, not for the first time, showed her tactlessness: 'When the queen, whom I sat near, asked me about it, I gave her a particular account. She seemed to lean strongly to favour Spain, and made some disparaging remarks about the States (*mostrò ella intender largamente a favore di Spagna et proferì qualche concetto a suantaggio dei Stati*).' After the masque and the collation he told the King that he had remonstrated with the Spanish ambassador, and was thanked for his services. Hardly anything else was talked about at Court, and the incident certainly provoked much bitterness.

11. *golden chaine*. *For.* xi. 47 n.

23-4. Claudian, *Gigantomachia*, 60-2:

Iam tuba nimborum sonuit, iam signa ruendi
his Aether, his Terra dedit, confusaque rursus
pro domino Natura timet.

36-42. *Grandame vice* . . . Cf. *K. Ent.* 744-50, and the original in Claudian, *De Cons. Stil.* ii. 111-15.

46. *Pyrrhic dance*. *N.I.* i. iii. 63-4.

68. *Pallas shewing her shield*. So 137, and *U.V.* xlviii. 37-9. So Lydgate, *The Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, 2549-57:

And next Venus, Pallas I be-helde
With hir spere and hir cristal schelde. . . .

The shield signified

In vertu force, by manly hiye diffence
Ageyns vices to maken resistance.

Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, iv. iv (1584, Diiij^v), 'wise Pallas cristall shielde'.

72. *obnoxious to*, subject to (Lat. *obnoxius*). *Disc.* 1184.

116. *Ægyptian* appears to mean simply 'primeval'.

Thracian, i.e. the lyre of Orpheus, Musaeus, Eumolpus, and Thamyras.

117. *Chaucer* called 'reu'rend Chaucer' in *N.I.* i. iii. 69, and his 'noble description' of the House of Fame is praised in *M. of Q.* 692. He is quoted in *The English Grammar* twenty-seven times. Jonson possessed Speight's edition of 1602.

Gower. Jonson quotes the *Confessio Amantis* in the *Grammar* twenty-nine times. He may have been influenced by Berthelette's praise in the edition of 1532 of Gower as a model of pure English.

Lidgate. Lydgate's *Falls of Princes* is quoted fourteen times in the *Grammar*, and Camden praised him in the *Britannia*, 1607, p. 336, 'omnes Veneres & elegantiae in suis Anglicis carminibus resident'.

Spencer. Spenser, 'the graue and diligent' (*M. of Q.* 599); *The Fairie Queene* a 'noble book' (*Und.* lxxviii. 24). Jonson knew by heart Cuddie's

praise of wine in *The Shepheardes Calendar*, October, 103-14 (*Conv. Dr.* vii. 128-9).

128. *semigods*. *A.P.* 332; Chapman, *Hesiod*, i. 254, 'Diuine Heroes; That the surnames bore Of Semigods'.

129. *tam'd with sleepe*. Whalley quotes Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 116, of the men of the golden age, *θνῆσκον δ' ὡς ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι*.

135. *put on aire, to be their guard*. Gifford quotes Hesiod, *ibid.* 123, 125, *φύλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν*.

163 foll. Jonson borrows touches from the poetic descriptions of the Golden Age in Hesiod, Ovid, and Virgil.

163. Ovid, *Met.* i. 101-2:

Ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta nec ullis
saucia vomeribus per se dabat omnia tellus.

165, 170-1. *Ibid.* 111-12:

Flumina iam lactis, iam flumina nectaris ibant,
flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.

Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 30, 'Et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella'.

173-5. Virgil, *ibid.* 24-5, 'Et fallax herba veneni Occidet'. The mandrake is associated with witchcraft in *M. of Q.* 164.

barren Ferne. Ferns seed themselves from the tiny dust-like spores on the back of the fronds. Before this was known, the plant was thought to be seedless.

193. *liu'd with open vow*. Persius, *Sat.* ii. 7, 'aperto vivere voto'.

213. *garments of her gold*. She would be herself gold-robed, as in Ripa's *Iconologia*, 1611, p. 147.

238. *or feare*. That is, 'or with feare', a very harsh and scarcely grammatical construction.

CHRISTMAS HIS MASQUE

PRODUCED in the Christmas season of 1616, this is really a mumming. There are from the nature of the case no records in the State Papers of preparations for it at Whitehall. The performers came in procession, spoke and danced their parts, and made their exit. In this 'Show', as the Folger manuscript calls it, Jonson, burlesquing a Christmas performance at a City hall, brought the folk-play into the domain of literature. 'The whole masque', says R. J. E. Tiddy, 'is nothing more than an elaboration of the sword-dance, and it contains certain characters which are more frequently found in the Mummers' Play proper than in the sword-dance plays and others which are personifications of the appurtenances of the mummers. . . . The characters include Father Christmas and his sons and daughters,

who are "good dancing boys all": while in Misrule and Gambol we have the customary doubles of the Fool. More than this, the characters are exhibited and described in turn exactly in the manner that is still almost universal wherever the Mummers' Play survives. It is probable that when Middleton composed his vivacious *Inner Temple Masque*, which was played in 1618, he was remembering Ben Jonson's Masque of Christmas rather than the Mummers' Play itself' (*The Mummers' Play*, 1923, p. 131).

The deaf tire-woman, vivacious and meddling, with her son, the prentice actor, has a prototype in the Citizen's Wife of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, but there is no need to say that these two characters were derived from that play, as if Jonson did not light upon this fussy type in the City, but had to dig it out of a book. There are verbal, as well as general, resemblances. "'Tis a good child', says Venus to Cupid, 'speake out, hold up your head, Love.' And the Citizen's Wife says to her husband's prentice, Ralph, 'it's a good boy, hold up thy head, and be not afraid' (II. ii): are we to suppose that Jonson said to himself, "'Hold up thy head" is an important phrase; I must note it on my tables'? Jonson in this masque represents in a ruder and less educated form such City characters as the Gossips in *The Staple of News* and the Brewer's Clerk, Lighterman, and Alewife who appear in the antimasque of *The Masque of Augurs*.

3. *Hat with a Broach*. *Poet.* I. ii. 161-2.

9. *my Lord Chamberlaine*. The Earl of Pembroke held the office from 1615 to 1626.

10. *'tis merrie in hall . . . T. of T.* v. ix. 12. *Kyng Alisaunder*, c. 1300, l. 1164, 'Swithe mury hit is in halle, When the burdes wawen alle'.

15. *Gregorie Christmas*. Pope Gregory XIII reformed the calendar in 1582.

16. *Popes-head-alley*. In Cornhill, by the Pope's Head tavern. John Wolfe the publisher had his shop there; cf. *Und.* xliii. 80.

21. *Curryers Hall*. In Cripplegate Ward 'little Woode-streete runneth down to Cripplesgate, and somewhat East from the Sunne Tauerne against the wall of the Citty is the Curriers Hall' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 297).

27. *Bones o' bread*. Cf. 'Bones of Dod' (*The Life and Death of Thomas Stukely*, 1605, I. i).

31. *flat Cap*. Worn by the London citizen: *E.M.I.* II. i. 110.

34. *Mis-rule*. The 'Lord of Misrule' or 'Christmas Prince' was a master of the revels specially appointed in great houses at Christmas time; he appropriately heads Jonson's list of the family. *E.M.O.* Ded. 20, of the Inns of Court: 'when the gowne and cap is off, and the Lord of liberty raignes.'

36-7. *a Rope, a Cheese and a Basket*. Cf. 201.

44. *Gamboll*. In Middleton's *The Inner-Temple Masque*, 1619, B1^v, Plumporridge shows to Dr. Almanac the will of his master Christmas with bequests to In-and-In, Gleek, Primavista: '*Item, I giue to my nephew Gambols, commonly cald by the name of Kersmas Gambols, all my Cattle, Horse and Mare, but let him shooe 'em himselfe. . . . Also, I bequeath to my Coozen-Germane Wassel-Bowle, born of Dutch Parents, the Priuilege of a free Denizen, that is, to be drunke with Scotch-Ale, or English-Beere.*' In Nabbes's *The Springs Glorie*, 1638, B4, Shrovetide says to Christmas, 'Thou hast one sonne bred up in the Country called *Christmas gambolls*, that doth nothing but breake mens necks'. He was a tumbler.

46. *Cole-staffe*. *T. of T.* III. iv. 28.

blinding cloth for the game of blindman's buff.

47. *Post and Paire*. *Alch.* I. i. 54-5, 'your christ-masse vailes, At *post and paire*'. *Post*, literally a sum deposited as a stake; *paire*, literally a pack of cards. Cf. Heywood, *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse* (1617, E2): 'Now we have supp'd, a Table and to Cards. *Ien.* A paire of Cards *Nichlas*, and a Carpet to couer the Table.' Cotgrave, 1611, '*Couche*, . . . the Post, or most of a sute, at cards; also, a set, lay, or stake, at any game'. *Post and Paire* was a common card-game.

49. *Purrs*. Cf. 146. 'Pur' or 'purr' is the Jack in post and pair. Gifford quotes John Davies, *Wittes Pilgrimage*, 1605?

Some, hauing lost the double Pare and Post,
Make their aduantage on the Purrs they haue:
Whereby the Winners winnings all are lost,
Although, at best the other's but a Knaue.

51. *New-Yeares-Gift*. New Year's Day rather than Christmas was then the accepted time for presents.

52. *in a blew Coat*. *E.M.I.* II. iv. 12.

Orange. Cf. 154-5.

53. *Rosemarie guilt*. This was done on ceremonial occasions, e.g. at a wedding. Herrick, *Hesperides* (ed. Moorman, p. 215), speaking of preparations for one:

This done, we'l draw lots, who shall buy
And guild the Baies and Rosemary.

55. *a March-paine*. *C. is A.* IV. vii. 40.

57. *with a Visor*. As in the 'noble troop' of disguised ambassadors who visited Wolsey, headed by the King, in *Henry VIII*, I. iv; after the dance they unmasked.

58. *the Boxe*. Usually the Christmas box was of earthenware and could be opened only by breaking it after the collection was made: W. Mason, *A Handful of Essaies*, 1621, p. 47, 'like a Swine, he never doth good till his death: as an Apprentices box of earth, apt he is to take all, but to restore none till hee bee broken'. It may be metal in the text, or Mumming may be ringing a bell.

59. *Wassall*. Cf. 44 n.

61. *bowle, drest with Ribbands*. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1784 (liv, p. 347) noted the custom 'some years ago' of poor people going from door to door at Christmas time carrying a wassail cup decked with ribbands and a golden apple at the top; they sang and begged.

65. *a Bason*. Cf. the use in weddings, *T. of T.* i. i. 95, *M.L.* v. ix. 64.

67. *Biggin*. *Volp.* v. ix. 5.

Muckender. *T. of T.* III. i. 53.

69. *a Cake . . . Pease*. A bean and pea were put in the Twelfth Night cake; whoever got the slice with the bean was king, and whoever got the pea was queen. Herrick elaborates this in 'Twelke night, or King and Queen' (*Hesperides*, ed. Moorman, p. 317):

Now, now the mirth comes,
With the cake full of plums,
Where Beane's the *King* of the sport here;
Besides we must know,
The Pea also
Must revell, as *Queene*, in the Court here.

The Queen's Entertainment at Sudeley, 1592 (*Lyly*, ed. Bond, i, p. 481):
'*Mel.* Cut the Cake: who hath the beane, shalbe King; and where the peaze is, shee shalbe Queene. *Nis.* I haue the peaze, and must be Queene. *Mel.* I the beane and King, I must commaunde.'

77. *pass'd the Pikes*, got over the difficulties.

79. *A' peace*. *T. of T.* v. x (margin) before each of the 'motions'.

80. *Friday-street*, off Cheapside, 'so called of fishmongers dwelling there, and seruing Frydayes market' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 351).

81. *the Fish streets*, north from London Bridge: 'Bridgestreete, commonly called (of the Fish market) New Fishstreete. . . . In new Fishstreete be Fishmongers and fayre Tauernes . . .' (*ibid.*, p. 211). New Fishstreet continued as Fish Street Hill.

83. *Fish, and fasting dayes*. In Middleton's *Inner-Temple Masque*, 1619, A3, Fasting-day complains,

I haue been out of seruice, all this *Kersmas*;
No-body minds Fastingday; I haue scarce bin thought vpon a'
Fryday nights;
And because *Kersmas* this year fell vpon't,
The Frydayes haue beene euer since so proud
They scorne my companie: . . .
Nay, Fishstreet loues me, e'en but from teeth outward,
(The neerest Kin I haue) lookes shy vpon me,
As if t'ad forgot me.

Plumporridge refuses to have anything to do with her:

I was borne an *Anabaptist*, a fell foe
To fish and Fridayes, Pig's my absolute Sweetheart.

Cf. Cob's views in *E.M.I.* III. iv. 1-5.

87. *John Butter o' Milke-street*. For butter on fast-days see *E.M.I.* III. iv. 42-4. Milk Street was 'so called of Milke sold there, there be many fayre houses for wealthy Marchantes and others' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 295). It was off West Cheap in Cripplegate Ward.

89. *a Torch-bearer*, i.e. being akin to fasting, he will be tolerated only in an unimportant part.

106. *y'wisse*. *E.M.I.* I. i. 36, 'wusse'.

unrude. *E.M.O.* IV. ii. 49.

110-12. Dr. Greg (*R.E.S.* xviii, p. 146) alternates between the view (1) that these lines recovered from the Folger MS. are 'a first draft properly cancelled in the Folio', (2) that they are misplaced and would come in better after line 116 'where they would distinctly improve the dialogue'; line 113, for instance, does not answer the question in line 112. But, as Professor P. Maas has pointed out (*ibid.*, p. 465), Venus is deaf. All her remarks are inconsequent.

113. *forsooth* (117-18, 123, 132). *Ent. Highgate*, 246.

118. *Pudding-lane*. In Billingsgate Ward, 'Rother Lane, or Red Rose Lane, of such a sign there, now commonly called Pudding Lane, because the Butchers of Eastcheape haue their skalding House for Hogges there, and their puddinges with other filth of Beastes, are voided downe that way to theyr dung boates on the Thames' (Stow, *Survay*, ed. Kingsford, i, pp. 210-11).

119. *Love-lane*, 'of old time called Roape Lane, since called Lucas lane, of one *Lucas* owner of some part thereof, and now corruptly called Loue Lane, it runneth vp by the east end of a parish church of . . . Saint *Andrew* in East Cheape' (*ibid.*, p. 210).

a Bugle-maker, a maker of glass beads.

120. *Bobs*, ear-drops.

Bird-bolts, blunt-headed arrows used for shooting birds.

126. *Doe-little lane*, now Knightriders Court. 'In this Parrish Church of S. Mary Magdalen, out of Knightriders street vp to Carter lane, be two small lanes, the one of them called Do Little lane, as a place not inhabited by Artificers, or open shop keepers, but seruing for a neare passage from Knightriders street, to Carter lane' (Stow, *op. cit.* ii, p. 18). *M.L.* v. v. 22.

128. *a Fishmongers daughter*. Cf. B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1617, p. 25, 'him that they call *Senex Fornicator*, an old Fishmonger'. There is also the astrological connexion: 'Who will not commend the wit of astrology? Venus born out of the sea hath her exaltation in Pisces' (Sir T. Browne, *Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1835, iv, p. 382): so Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 'The Squire's Tale', F272-3.

135. *by the weeke*. Chapman, *May Day*, III. iii (1611, p. 52), 'Afore heauen 'tis a sweete fac't child, me thinks he should show well in womans attire. . . . Ile helpe thee to three crownes a weeke for him; and she can act well.' 'The boys were apprenticed to individuals, and their masters had to pay rather than receive premiums. In return they

charged wages to the company. Henslowe gave £8 for a boy in 1597 and got 3s. a week from the Admiral's for his wages' (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, i, p. 371).

Master Burbadge. *B.F.* v. iii. 86.

136-7. old Mr. *Hemings*. Compare the description of him in the ballad on the burning of the Globe in 1613:

Then with swolne eyes, like druncken Flemminges,
Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.

146-7. *pur-chops* . . . *pur-dogs*. Doubtfully explained by the *O.E.D.* as cards which would take the knave. They are evidently two cards (cf. l. 149), and the terms do not occur elsewhere.

148. *the Groom-Parlers*. *Alch.* III. iv. 61.

155. *a cloue to sticke in't*. *E.M.O.* Characters 109.

156. *the Spicery*, a department of the royal household managed by a Clerk of the Spicery.

158. *I have cloves*. How did the deaf Venus know about the cloves? Through some pantomime of New-Year's-Gift, or did he shout 'cloves' in her ear?

166. *the Players have lent him one*. Cf. *Alch.* IV. vii. 68-71.

184. *stake* set up for them to dance round it.

187. *Roll and Farthingale*. *Poet.* II. i. 67.

190. *what you lack*. *E.H.* I. i. 67.

196. *Bosomes Inne*. Stow in his account of Cheap Ward notices St. Lawrence Lane, 'so called of S. *Laurence* church . . . among many fayre houses, there is one large Inne for receipt of trauelers, called Blossoms Inne, but corruptly Bosoms Inne, and hath to signe Saint *Laurence* the Deacon, in a border of blossoms or flowers' (*Survay*, i, pp. 270-1). Mr. Kingsford notes that the name is from the family of *Blosme* and that it survives in Blossom Inn Yard. Carriers put up there: 'euen as a Carrier of *Bosomes Inne*' hugs 'a Cheese vnder his arme' Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron Walden* (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 14). Tom was evidently a City carrier.

205. *Phil-pot*. Philpot Lane, partly in Billingsgate Ward and partly in Langborne, was 'so called of Sir *Iohn Philpot* that dwelled there and was owner thereof' (Stow, op. cit. i, p. 203). He was lord mayor in 1378.

209. *Scalding Alley*, 'of old time called Scalding house, or Scalding wike, because that ground for the most part was then imployed by Poulterers that dwelled in the high streete, from the Stocks market to the great Conduit. Their poultrie which they sold at their stalles were scalded there, the street doth yet beare the name of the Poultrie, and the Poulterers are but lately departed from thence into other streets' (Stow, op. cit. i, p. 186).

212. *Hercules*, so named because of the classical hero's spinning with Omphale's distaff. This is also the name of a giant porter in *T. of T.* III. vii. 46.

Distaffe-lane, in Breadstreet Ward off Friday Street, 'commonly called Mayden Lane, or Distaffe Lane, corruptly for Distar lane, which runneth west into the old Exchange: and in this lane is also one other lane, on the south side thereof, likewise called Distar lane, which runneth downe to Knightriders street, or olde Fishstreete' (Stow, op. cit. i, p. 345). 'Distar', Mr. Kingsford notes (ibid. ii, p. 356), is an error of Stow's; 'Distafane' is found in 1458 and later.

217. *Pur-alley*. Not the name of a City lane, but a punning reference to the legal terms *pourallee*, *puralee*, and to *purlieu*, which has superseded them—a tract of land on the fringe of a forest which has been included in the forest but was afterwards disafforested. See *O.E.D.* for all three terms.

219. *Mac-pippin*, 'an Irish costar-monger', *Alch.* iv. i. 57; for the box and the dice cf. ibid. v. iv. 44-5.

225. *Honey-lane*. 'Then neare to the Standarde in Chepe is Honey lane so called not of sweetenes thereof, being very narrow and somewhat darke, but rather of often washing and sweeping, to keepe it cleane' (Stow, op. cit. i, p. 271). Mr. Kingsford notes (ii, p. 333), 'The name was probably due to the sale of honey; "Huni lane" occurs as early as 1207.'

229. *Thred-needle-street*. Called by Stow Three-needle Street (op. cit. i, p. 175); it passes the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange.

230. *Tree*, the 'Wyth' of line 64.

231. *keepeth*, resides. Survives as an archaism in Cambridge University.

233. *Penny-rich-streete*. Pengeritch Street, off Bucklersbury in Cheap Ward (Stow, op. cit. i, p. 260).

236. *Child Rowlan*. The name suggests the hero of the ballad who 'came to the dark tower' in *Lear*, III. iv. 178.

237. *Crooked-lane*. 'At the vpper end of new fishstreete, is a lane turning towards S. Michaels lane, and is called Crooked lane, of the croked windings thereof' (Stow, op. cit. i, p. 216). For the quibble on 'straight' cf. Dekker, Ford, and Rowley, *The Witch of Edmonton*, II. i (1658, C3^v), where the Clown is told to fetch bells: 'Double Bells: Crooked Lane, ye shall have 'em straight in Crooked Lane.'

257. *fisling*, fussing, fidgeting.

260. *Warmoll*, wardmote. For Wardmote-quest see *M.L.* i. ii. 28.

262. *Hinch-boyes*, hench-boys, pages: *G.M.* 1097. 'In the 17th century they ran on foot beside the mayor, sheriffs, &c.' (*O.E.D.*).

266-7. *eight pence a day*. Sixpence was the usual sum for a boy (see note on line 135), and Flute estimated sixpence a day as the sum that the Duke must have given Bully Bottom for playing Pyramus (*Mids. N. D.* iv. ii. 18-22).

273. *bully*, a term of endearment, meaning 'fine boy'.

277. *Artillery-Garden*. *Alch.* i. i. 31.

284. *ac-ativatie*. 'Activity' is a term specially associated with the mummers' play and means feats of gymnastics, tumbling, and dancing.

See R. J. E. Tiddy, *The Mummers' Play*, pp. 86–7: he quotes as an induction:

Room, room, brave gallants, room!
 Pray give me room to rhyme!
 I come to show activity
 This merry Christmas time,
 Activity of youth, activity of age,
 Was never such activity
 Shown upon Christmas stage.

286. *the children of Cheapside*. *E.H.* v. v. 203.

290. *so many knights*. *Alch.* II. vi. 54.

LOVERS MADE MEN

THIS was the first English opera, and it was produced by Nicholas Lanier (27–8). It was in honour of Henri, Baron de la Tour, afterwards Duc de Bouillon (1555–1623). He came to England as ambassador extraordinary for the Court of France on 26 January 1617. Lord Hay, who had been ambassador in France, entertained him extravagantly. Writing on 22 February, Chamberlain says, 'this night he is solemnly invited by the .L. Haye to the wardrobe to a supper and a masque, where the Countesse of Bedford is Lady and mistress of the Feast' (*S.P.* 14 xc. 79). Writing again on 8 March, Chamberlain says, 'The frenchmen are gon after theyre great entertainment, w^{ch} was too great for such pettie companions, especially that of the .L. Hayes, w^{ch} stode him in more than 22000^{li}, being rather a profusion and spoyle then reasonable or honorable prouision, as you may guesse at the rest by this scantling, of seuen score feasants, twelue partridges in a dish throughout, twelue whole samons, and whatever els that cost and curiositie could procure in like superfluitie; besides the workemanship and inuentions of thirtie master cooks for twelue dayes' (*ibid.* xc. 105). Sir Antony Weldon in *The Court and Character of King James*, 1650, pp. 19, 20, also refers to 'the most sumptuous Feast at Essex house, that ever was seen before, never equalled since, in which was such plenty and Fish of that immensity, brought out of *Muscovia*, that Dishes were made to containe them (no Dishes in all *England* before could neare hold them) and after that a costly Voydee, and after that a Maske, of choyse Noble-men and Gentlemen, and after that a most costly and magnificent Banquet, the King, Lords, and all the prime Gentlemen then about London being invited thither'. This is the only reference to the King's possible presence at the entertainment.

The text of the first edition survives in the unique Bodleian quarto: compare *Time Vindicated*. Along with the quartos of *The Masque of Augurs*, *Neptune's Triumph*, and *The Fortunate Isles* this was privately printed for the use of the performers and to serve as souvenirs to the guests.

3. *Humanitie*. The description follows Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1611, p. 232: 'Vna bella donna che porti in seno varij fiori, & con la sinistra mano tenghi vna catena d'oro. . . . Però si dipinge con i fiori, che sono sempre di vista piaceuole, & con la catena d'oro allacia nobilmente gli animi delle persone, che in se stesse sentono l'altrui amicheuole cortesia.'

8. *Super omnia Vultus Accessere boni*. Ovid, *Met.* viii. 677-8.

10. *Cheerfulness*. Compare Euphrosyne or Gladness in the *King's Ent.* 128-36. Ripa, p. 12, has a woodcut of 'Allegrezza' with wine in her right hand and a gold cup in her left.

11. *Readiness*. Ripa's 'Prontezza' (p. 439) is winged, 'nella mano destra tenga vna fiamma di fuoco', and he explains 'Alata, per la prestezza, & velocità, indicij della prontezza. Il fuoco nella mano, significa viuacità d'ingegno.' Compare Prothymia or Promptitude in the *King's Ent.* 150-7, which is closer to Ripa.

16. *Adsit lætitiæ dator*. Virgil, *Aen.* i. 734, of Bacchus.

Amor addidit alas. Varied from Virgil's 'timor addidit alas' (*Aen.* viii. 224).

18, 19. Both Charon and Mercury were *ψυχοπομποί*, conductors of the souls of the dead to the lower world.

26. *golden rod*, the caduceus (165).

27. *Nicholas Lanier* (1588-1666), one of a French family of musicians at Court; he was attached to the household of Prince Henry. On the accession of Charles I he was appointed master of the King's music with a pension of £100 a year. Herrick called him 'rare *Laniere*' in an address to Henry Lawes (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 276). He was painter as well as musician, and his purchases of pictures in Italy in 1625 for about three years formed the nucleus of Charles I's great collection.

30-73. A faint suggestion for this picture of the lovers may come from Virgil's description of the Mourning Fields ('lugentes campi') in *Aen.* vi. 442-4, tenanted by those who have died of love:

Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit
secreti celant calles et murtea circum
silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquant.

The myrtle wood is chosen because that tree is consecrated to Venus; so Jonson in lines 22-3.

Reyher (*Les Masques Anglais*, p. 326) contrasts with Jonson's irony on the lovers Fletcher's brusquer satire in the masque of *The Mad Lover*, iv. i.

98-102. *rocke*, distaff with the quantity of wool or flax attached to

it for spinning; this is held by Lachesis, the fate who determined the length of human life. *Spindle* in the hands of Clotho, the spinning fate. *Sheeres* in the hands of Atropos, the 'Inevitable', who cut the thread of life.

122-6. *Campion* in his *Masque* at Lord Hay's wedding, 1607, had anticipated *Jonson* in making antimasquers and masquers identical. *Jonson* used this device again in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*.

147. *fame*, as a verb. *Ep.* xliii. 4.

190. *Flie*, i.e. a creature of insignificance. *Chaucer*, *Reeve's Tale*, 272, 'Aleyne answerde I count him nat a flye'.

194-200. From the *Pervigilium Veneris*, 29-35:

It puer comes puellis; nec tamen credi potest
esse Amorem feriatum si sagittas vexerit.
Ite, Nymphae, posuit arma, feriatu est Amor:
iussus est inermis ire, nudus ire iussus est,
neu quid arcu neu sagitta neu quid igne laederet.
Sed tamen, Nymphae, cavete, quod Cupido pulcher est.
Est in armis totus idem quando nudus est Amor.

211. *Hermes too*. In modern punctuation 'Hermes' too'. *Gifford* reads 'Hermes to'.

THE VISION OF DELIGHT

THIS masque was performed at Court on 6 and 19 January 1617. *Edward Sherburn* writing to *Carleton* on 18 November 1616 noted the preparations for it, 'wherein his Highnes meanes to be in person. this will increase his Ma^{te} debt by 2000^{li}, as y^e report goes' (*S.P.* 14 lxxxix. 33). *Chamberlain* writing to *Carleton* on 18 January 1617 said: 'I forgot in my last to geue notice that there was a meaning before the end of christmas to make the .L. villers an earle (though I knew not of what place) w^{ch} fell out the next day to be performed wth all vsuall solemnitie, and he beares the name of Buckingham; on twelfe night was a maske wherin the newmade earle and the earle of mongomerie dawnsed wth the queene, I haue heard no great speach nor commendations of the maske neither before nor since, but yt is apointed to be represented again to morow at night, and the spanish ambassador invited.' *Chamberlain* adds the interesting fact that the Virginian princess *Pocahontas*.¹ now on a visit to England, was present at *The Vision of Delight*: 'The virginian woman *Pocahuntas*, wth her father counsaillor haue ben wth the king and graciously vsed, and both she and her assistant well placed at the

¹ See *S. of N.*, 2nd Intermean, 42

maske, she is vpon her return (though sore against her will) yf the wind will come about to send her away' (ibid. xc. 25).

The French ambassador gave trouble: 'not contenting himself to haue been inuited the two last yeares together', he 'stood vpon it to haue still that honour donne him to the exclusion of the Spanish Amb^r contrary to that order w^{ch} had been formerly practised of inviting them alternatiuely. And he hath made such passionat reports into ffrance of the preiudice w^{ch} hi(s) position doth his ma^{ties} honour hath receaued therby as hereupon there hath been commandment sent hither for his revocation' (ibid. xcvi. 59, 13 March 1617).

In the Audit Office accounts for Whitehall, November 1616, A.O. 1/47/2421, H. Wickes (Weeks) paymaster of the works enters 'diuerse woork^e and repa^{co}ns in making ready the Banquetting house for Barriers at the Crea^{co}n of Prince Charles and for a maske p^ormed there in November December and Ianuary 1616'. There is also an item 'for painting and gilding with parte gold and silver a bar for the Barriers in the Banquettinghouse wth piramides and balls at the top likewise gilded against the crea^{co}n of the Prince lxx^s'.

In the Pell Order Book, E 403/2736, p. 71, is an entry of 4 January 1617:

'By Order dated xxvi^{to} decemb^r 1616 To Edward Leech esquier the so^{me} of Seaven hundred pound^e of lawfull monie of England for the Charges and finishing (& ? furnishing) of a Masq^e to be p^ormed at the Court this Christmas And to be by him disbursed to such p^{so}ns as shalbe noⁱated and appointed by o^r verie good Lord the Earle of Pembroke Lord Cham^bleine of the houshold for the full accomplishm^t of that seruice wthout anie accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vppon him his executo^{rs} administrato^{rs} or assignes for the same or any pt thereof p^o bre dat xxiiij^{to} decem^r 1616', checked by 'Heyricke'.

Ibid., p. 163, 22 March 1617:

'By Order dated tertio febr^o 1616 To Edward Leech esquier the so^{me} of ffiftie pound^e to be by him disbursed for the charge of the Masque p^ormed on Twelf night last past appointed by his Ma^{tie} to be once againe p^osented before his Ma^{tie} according as the Earle of Pembroke Lo: Cham^bleine of his Ma^{tie} houshold should giue direc^{co}n wthout accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vppon him for the same or anie pt thereof p^o bre dat xvij^o Ianuarij 1616', checked by 'Heyrick'.

A further entry, E 403/2737, f. 22, throws some light on the payment of musicians:

'By order dated vj^{to} Maij 1617 To Pierce Parminit french Musi^{co}n the so^{me} of One hundred poundes by him devided equally among the

companie of the french Musiçons being twelue in nomber for their service in the Maskes and other solemnities pformed before his Ma^{tie} at xmas last past to be taken to him and them wthout anie accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vppon them for the same or anie pt thereof p bre dat xiiij^{to} April 1617', checked by 'Heyrick'.

The Vision of Delight was revived at His Majesty's Theatre on 27 June 1911 as part of a gala performance at the coronation festivities of King George V. King George and Queen Mary were present. All the leading actors and actresses of the day took part in the performance which included the third scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the second act of *David Garrick*, the forum scene of *Julius Caesar*, and, after a riot of fun, the quiet poetic beauty of Jonson's masque. Owen Seaman wrote a prologue which was spoken by Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson; the concluding lines touched on

rare Ben's phantasy of Spring,
A pretty dish to set before a King,
Though as a habit Spring has long deceased,
And Zephyr's new address is some where East,
Yet when you note our chorus, fair of face,
Lissome of limb, a galaxy of grace,
Secured to illustrate our best traditions . . .
No loss of human charm shall you deplore,
We're just as beautiful—and rather more.

Sir Herbert Tree arranged the masque, which also had its prologue written by Herbert Trench and spoken by Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Lily Brayton was Delight; Mrs. Langtry, Wonder; Lena Ashwell, Phantasy; Clara Butt, Night; Agnes Nicholls, Aurora; Marion Terry, Peace. The masquers were women—Evelyn Millard, Grace; Constance Collier, Love; Gertrude Kingston, Harmony; Lillah McCarthy, Revel; Evelyn d'Alroy, Sport; and Lilian Braithwaite, Laughter. At the end of the masque Madame Butt stepped to the front and with a voice that filled the theatre gave the first notes of 'God save the King'. So the latest Court performance of a masque ended.

Miss Welsford in *The Court Masque*, pp. 200–3, traces Jonson's indebtedness in this masque to the *Notte d'Amore*, a series of musical spectacles or vigils performed at Florence in 1608 at a ball held in the Palazzo Vecchio. The general idea is similar. 'In both pieces Night is invoked, Phantasms are summoned to perform grotesque dances, an Hour appears, great wonder is expressed at all the glories of the time, which are felt to be due, in the case of the Florentine

spectacle, to the presence of an assembly of such noble lovers, in the case of the English masque, to the presence of King James. . . . In both pieces the chorus is sung by personifications of the more cheerful emotions.' These are suggestions only, not actual borrowings, nor is there any close imitation.

The Burratines and Pantaloons (22-3) are stock figures of the Italian comedy of arts, and here again Miss Welsford (p. 185) adduces a parallel to the 'Monster' who was delivered of them. In the Ballet de la Foire St. Germain at Paris, c. 1606, a midwife drew sets of dancers out of a huge wooden figure of a fat woman, viz. four astrologers, four painters, four pedlars, and four pickpockets, all of whom danced.

8. *stylo recitativo*. Cf. *L.M.M.* 27.

22. *Burratines*. Apparently puppets which the She-monster produced and handed over to the Pantaloons. Cf. Italian *burattino*, 'puppet', from late Latin *bura*, a coarse red cloth, old Latin *burrus*, 'red'. But *Burattino* was also the name of a grotesque character in the Venetian carnivals, depicted in Pietro Bertelli's *Diversarum Nationum Habitus*, Padua, 1591, plate 69, wearing a slashed dress, a ruff, and a mask. 'Burratine' is one of the 'new deuised names, of Stuffles and Colours', to which S. Purchas took exception in *Microcosmus*, 1619, p. 268; Planché notices it in *A Cyclopaedia of Stage Costume*, ii, pp. 423-5.

23. *Pantalones*. *Volp.* II. iii. 8. These would be old men in contrast to the young Burratines, 'lean and slipper'd' (*As You Like It*, II. vii. 158).

28. *humorous night*. *C.R.* I. ii. 62, 'The humorous aire'.

48. *Create of ayrie formes, a streame*. Whalley cited *Il Penseroso*, 147-8:

And let som strange mysterious dream,
Wave at his Wings in Airy stream.

51. *like an odour rise*. Cf. *L.T.* 78.

67. *o'thing, one thing*. *Iohn Heywodes woorkes*, I. iv (1562, Aiv^v):

Well as to that (sayde he) harke this othyng.
What time I lack not hir, I lacke nothyng.

Ibid., *Epigram* 223, X^v, 'Of saying nay':

Say nay and take it, here me say this othyng,
Say nother ye nor nay, takte and say nothyng.

69. *Verdingale*. *Ch. Tilt*, 108.

French hood. *T. of T.* IV. v. 95.

74. *cod-piece*, 'a bagged appendage to the front of the close-fitting hose or breeches worn by men from the 15th to the 17th century' (*O.E.D.*).

80. *a Windmill on his head*. W. Jenkyn, *The Blind Guide*. 1648, iii. 39, 'You have a windmill upon your pate'.

84. *the maker o' the mouse-trap*. *B.F.* II. iv. 7.

86. *pitchers have eares*. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, Giiij, Proverbs II. v, 'Auoyd your children. small pitchers haue wide eares.'

87. *Shillecocks*. *C.R.* II. iv. 39.

90. *the Stock-fish*. *E.M.I.* III. iv. 64, 'thou'lt bee beaten like a stock-fish'.

93. *Barbers . . . Citterne*. *S.W.* III. v. 64.

94. *Ghitterne* older than the sixteenth-century English formation of *cithern* or *cittern*, and 'it is possible that the name *cittern* was modelled upon it, to indicate an instrument of the same class, considered to be more like the ancient *cithara*' (*O.E.D.*).

105. *trundle-bed*, or truckle-bed—a low bed running on casters usually pushed beneath a high bed when not in use.

106. *the world runs on wheeles*. John Taylor's prose pamphlet, *The World runnes on Wheeles: or, Oddes between Carts and Coaches*, was published in 1623.

108. *a Shoveler*, a spoonbill.

110. *the tayle of a Kentishman*. *T. of T.* II. i. 37 n.

113. *dependance*. *E.M.I.* I. v. 112.

122. *gold-hair'd Houre*, Peace. See *Panegyre*, 28–30, and *1 Theobalds*, 1–11.

123. *keepes the gate of Heauen*. Ianus says in Ovid's *Fasti*, i. 125, 'Praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis', and it is he who 'turnes the yeare' in *K. Ent.* 388–402.

139. *as new . . . as the houre*. Cf. *Chlor.* 57–8, *U.V.* xlv. 1.

143. *As if Favonius . . .* In Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 73–99, the Nymph Henna

Compellat Zephyrum. 'Pater o gratissime veris,
qui mea lascivo regnas per prata meatu
semper et adsiduis inroras flatibus annum. . . .
In venas disperge meas et flamine largo
rura fove.' . . .

Dixerat: ille novo madidantes nectare pennas
concutit et glaebas fecundo rore maritat,
quaque volat vernus sequitur rubor; omnis in herbas
turgit humus. . . .

Non tales volucer pandit Iunonius alas,
nec sic innumeros arcu mutante colores
incipiens redimitur hiems.

156. *Aunt*, mistress. Gifford quotes Nabbes, *Tottenham Court*, III. iii (1638, p. 31), 'Cicely. Your Aunt or Cousin? Sam. Meanes she in the mysticall sense, of ill?'

158. *dis-colour'd*. *C.R.* v. v. 69, 'discolour'd flowres'.

162. *blewe Binde-weed*, convolvulus. Turner, *The Names of Herbes*, 1548, 'Conuoluulus is called . . . in english wythwynde or byndeweede.'

183. *Paunce*, pansy. Spenser, *The Shepherds Calendar*, April 142, 'The pretie Pawnce'.

187. *crisped*. *D. is A.* II. vi. 78, 'crisped groues'; applied to water, in Milton, *P.L.* iv. 237, 'the crisped Brooks', and Tennyson, *The Lotus-Eaters*, 'the crisping ripples on the beach'.

188. *his brow scarce broke*. Horace, *Od.* III. xiii. 4, 5, of a kid: 'frons turgida cornibus primis'.

190. *Salts*. *D. is A.* II. vi. 75.

196. *doth his division run*. *C.R.* I. ii. 68.

222. *all were eyes*. Lessing, *Der Wunsch*:

Wenn ich . . . ein schönes Mädchen sehe,
Möcht ich lauter Auge seyn.

224. *knots and mazes*. Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 1494, VII. ccxxxvii, p. 277, 'An howse lyke vnto a knot in a garden, called a mase.'

229. *Idalian Braules*: so *T.V.* 425. Idalium, the modern Dalin, was a grove in Cyprus consecrated to Venus. For *Braules* cf. Sidney, *Arcadia*, 1580, p. 72, 'Holding hand in hand daunce as it were in a braule'; and Cotgrave, 1611, '*Bransle*, a brawle or daunce, wherein many <men and women> holding by the hands sometimes in a ring, and otherwhiles at length moue altogether.'

230-1. Cf. *M. of Queens*, 506-7.

232. *the whole Revels followed*. So *P.R.* 317-18.

PLEASURE RECONCILED TO VIRTUE

WE printed this masque from a contemporary manuscript at Chatsworth in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. We are glad to be able to record here that Professor F. P. Wilson, writing in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 8 November 1941, identified the scribe. He was Ralph Crane, scrivener, whose career Professor Wilson had traced earlier in *The Library*, 1926, 4th series, vii, pp. 194-215. Crane was a beautiful calligrapher, and a number of his transcripts survive. We are concerned only with those which he made for the King's players. In the preface to his only published book, *The Workes Of Mercy*, 1621, he describes his career as a copyist:

And some imployment hath my vsefull *Pen*
Had 'mongst those ciuill, well-deseruing *men*
That grace the *Stage* with *honour* and *delight*,
Of whose true honesties I much could write,
But will comprise't (as in a Caske of Gold)
Vnder the *Kingly Service* they doe hold.

The transcript of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* was made in 1618. In addition we have transcripts of four plays belonging to the King's

men—Fletcher's *Demetrius and Enanthe*, acted in 1614; Fletcher and Massinger's *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, acted in 1619; Middleton's *The Witch*; and two copies of Middleton's *A Game at Chess*. Professor Wilson in his notice of Crane published five facsimile pages from these plays, fully establishing the identity of the handwriting with the two facsimiles we gave of the masque. The small italic *d* found in our second facsimile is a significant detail: the head of the letter is made with a separate stroke of the pen.

The Jonson manuscript was made either for an actor in the masque or for a patron. A letter of Edward Sherburn to Carleton on 10 January 1618 refers to it: 'The Maske w^{ch} wee had on Twelueth night wherein the Prince was one: y^r L: will percieve the conceipt by perusing this little book' (S.P. 147, xcv. 10).

Milton read this masque, as we pointed out in our general introduction¹ and as Miss Welsford has further shown in *The Court Masque*, pp. 314-20. In Milton's masque pleasure is overcome by virtue; in Jonson pleasure and virtue are reconciled after Comus, the belly god, the type of sensuality, is routed with his followers, the 'living measures of drink'. Both poets strike a similar note in their praise of virtue. Hercules, 'great friend, and servant of the good', is told to rest

whilst Vertue, for whose sake,
thou dost this god-like trauaile take
may of y^e choicest herbage, make,
vpon this Mountaine bred,
a Crowne, a Crowne
for thy immortall head. (125-30.)

So the opening speech of *Comus* describes

the crown that Vertue gives
After this mortal change, to her true Servants
Amongst the enthron'd gods on Sainted seats. (9-11.)

'To such my errand is', says the Attendant Spirit.

The praise of virtue closes both poems. In Jonson:

She, she it is, in darknes shines.
'tis she y^t still hir-self refines,
by hir owne light, to euerie eye,
more seene, more knowne, when Vice stands by.
And though a stranger here on earth,
in heauen she hath hir right of birth.
There, there is Vertues seat.
Striue to keepe hir your owne,
'tis only she, can make you great,
though place, here, make you knowne. (339-48.)

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 307-9.

So the Elder Brother says in *Comus*:

Vertue could see to do what vertue would
By her own radiant light, though Sun and Moon
Were in the flat Sea sunk. (373-5.)

And the final words of the Attendant Spirit:

Mortals that would follow me,
Love vertue, she alone is free,
She can teach ye how to clime
Higher then the Spheary chime;
Or if Vertue feeble were,
Heav'n it self would stoop to her.

In Jonson the Prince and his companions, descending from the Hill,
are told

they who are bred
within the hill
of skill,
may safely tread
what path they will:
no ground of good, is hollow. (230-5.)

So the children of Lord Bridgewater are presented to their parents
in *Comus*:

Heav'n hath timely tri'd their youth,
Their faith, their patience, and their truth.
And sent them here through hard assays
With a crown of deathless Praise,
To triumph in victorious dance
O're sensual Folly, and Intemperance. (970-5.)

Comus was performed in 1634 and first printed in 1637. Jonson's masque was first printed, as far as we know, in the Folio of 1640-1. Did Milton procure a copy of Ralph Crane's 'little book'? Or was there a privately printed quarto, like that of *Lovers Made Men*,¹ which has now disappeared? In whatever form Milton read it, he must have obtained his copy from a courtier, from people like the Egertons, for instance.

The Masque, dated in the Folio 1619, was performed on 6 January 1618. If Milton appreciated it, the Court did not. On 6 December 1617 Sir Gerard Herbert had written to Carleton: 'A great mask is appointed to be for Christmas, wherin the Prince himselfe wilbe one: there wilbe also my Lord Mongomerie, my lord of Buckingham, my lord Haye, & Sir Harry rich, yf recouered of his sicknes, wth others of note' (S.P. 14, xciv. 52). The Court evidently anticipated that

¹ See page 567.

Prince Charles on his first appearance as a masquer would have a part of unusual importance, and there was a general feeling of disappointment. Sir Edward Harwood described the antimasque 'of little boyes dressed like bottells and a man in a great tonn w^{ch} the bottells drew out & tost too and fro, not ill liked: the masqu(e) it selfe in generall not well liked: the Conceite good, the poetry not so' (ibid. xcv. 8). Edward Sherburn, whom we have quoted as sending a copy of the text, added, 'I must tell y^o L: it came far short of the expectacōn and M. Inigo Iones has lost in his reputacōn in regard some extraordinary devise was looked for (it being the Prince his first Mask) and a poorer was neuer sene' (ibid. 10). Chamberlain told Carleton on 10 January: 'On twelfth night was the Princes maske w^{ch} (besides the two marquises the earle of mongomerie and some other lordes) was furnished and fild vp wth Sir Gilbert Haughton, Aber Crommie, Ackmoutie, Hodge¹ Palmer, and such like dauncing companions. there was nothing in yt extraordinarie but rather the inuention proued dull, m^r controllers daughter bare away the bell for delicat dauncing, though remarquable for nothing else, but for multitude of iewells wherwith she was hangd as yt were all ouer' (ibid. 11). Nathaniel Brent was still more severe: 'The maske on 12th night is not comēded of any. y^e poēt is growen so dul y^t his devise is not worthy y^e relating, much lesse y^e copiiing out. diuers thinke fit he should retourne to his ould trade of bricke laying againe. The actors were y^e prince, Marquis Buck: and marquis Hamelton, y^e Earle of Montgomery, two of y^e L^d Threasurers sons² and others minorū gentium to make them twelue.' The King was away, but 'his returne wil be at Shrouetide when y^e maske must be showed againe' (ibid. 12).

To the Folio text of this masque Jonson appended a final note, 'This pleas'd the KING so well, as he would see it againe, when it was presented with these additions', viz. a new antimasque entitled *For the Honour of Wales*. The note reads like bravado, but as a matter of fact the Queen had been ill and could not see the first performance, so it was repeated for her benefit (Sir Gerard Herbert to Carleton, 12 January, *S.P.* 14, xcv. 14). The censorious Chamberlain commented on the revival, 'On shrovetuesday the Princes mask for twelf-night was represented again wth some few alterations and additions, but little bettered' (ibid. xcvi. 23, 21 February). The Prince's dancing is praised by more than one correspondent. Sir Gerard Herbert wrote to Carleton on 22 February 1618, 'the sunday night & munday playes weare at Courte the tues-

¹ Roger Palmer: query, his nickname.

² Sir Thomas and Sir Charles Howard.

day night the Prince his maske was very excellent well performed of the prince, & dansinge his dances with much applause & Com-mendations: & the rest of his maskers doyng there partes very well. It was much better liked then twelueth night; by reason of the newe Conceites & ante maskes & pleasant merry speeches made to the kinge, by such as Counterfeyted wels men, & wisht the kinges Comynge into Wales. Those of the prince his Maske weare Both the Marquises:¹ my lord Mongo:² Sr Tho: Howard, Sr Charles Howarde, & another yonger brother Sr Gilbert Hawton: One Carr: Hodge palmer,³ Mooty.⁴ Abercromy' (S.P. 14, xcvi. 27)⁵. But there were critics of the new Welsh setting who thought it a satire on Wales. Nathaniel Brent told Carleton on 21 February: 'The princes maske was shewed againe at Court on Tuesday night with som few additions of Goats and welshe speeches sufficient to make an English man laugh and a welsh-man cholerique, without deserving so great honour as to be sent to y^r L^o.' (ibid. 24).

The finance of the masque was a problem; James was in money difficulties at the time. Pietro Contarini noted on 29 December 1617, 'At this moment no small exertions are being made to obtain a certain sum for a masque to be performed by the Prince, and for the ordinary expenses of the King's household (*hora per haverne qualche somma per un Baletto, che deve far il Prencipe, et per li ordenarii bisogni della Casa del Re si travaglia non poco*).'—*Venetian S.P.* xv, p. 87. Nathaniel Brent, writing to Carleton from York House on 2 January 1618, adds some interesting details:

'The Qu: hath caused y^e La: maske to be put of w^{ch} my L^d Hay should haue made at y^e robes last night. the other w^{ch} y^e Prince is to make in the banqueting house on 12th night, and wherein him self is to be an actor, is likely to hould.

'your LP heard before this time y^t y^e marchands of middleb. & y^e East Indies haue vndertaken to furnish y^e Exchequer with 50000*l*; of w^{ch} his mat^{ie} hath bin pleased to assigne for Ireland 12000*l*, for y^e arrerages of y^e artillerie 8000*l*, for Marquis Hamilton 8000*l*, for my L^d D'Aubigni 4000*l*, for my L^d Hey 3000*l*, for my L^d Haddingtō 2000*l* and 4000*l* for y^e Princes maske. al which he wil most graciously pforme if there be not to much difficulty found in y^e collecting of it' (S.P. 14, xcv. 3).

In the Audit Office accounts, A.O. 1, 390/55, Sir W. Uvedale, Treasurer, 'for making ready the banquettinghouse for three severall Maskes vj daies'.

¹ Buckingham and Hamilton.

³ Roger Palmer.

⁵ The Earl of Worcester is omitted in this list.

² Montgomery.

⁴ Achmouty.

Audit Office Works, A.O. 1, 48/2422, the account of Henry Weeks, 1617-18, includes 'workes & alteraçons in preparing and fitting the Banquetting house for Playes and Maskes there'.

But the most interesting official note of payment is in the Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer, E 101/434/9, the account of Sir John Villiers, grand master of the Prince's wardrobe, from Michaelmas 1617 to Christmas 1618, for the masking suits of Prince Charles, Sir William Erwin, and Mr. Roger Palmer.¹

By vertue of a warrant signed: by his Highnes att Greenwich the Nynthe day of Iune 1618: ffor Three masking suites wth all such furniture and necessaries as belong unto them, as followeth. viz^t.

To Patrick Blacke for making and furnishing one Masking suite for his Highnes thick wrought in divers workes wth silver and other laces. and for workemanshipp.

ix^{li}. x^s.

More to him for drawing and marking the suite all a parte

xxxv^s.

More for iij yardę of Tinsell for the same att iij^s p yard

ix^s.

More for making of three patternes in divers fashions

vij^{li}. x^s.

More to him for making and furnishing two other suite for the Maske the one for Sr willyam Erwin and thother for Mr Roger Pallmer thick wrought wth silver lace.

xvj^{li}.

More to him for Cutting Drawing and Sizing the two suite.

ijj^{li}. x^s.

More for Buckrom, Tynsell and Canvas for patternes for the Three Suite.

v^{li}. x^s.

More for Drawing marking and Sising the three patternes.

ijj^{li}. xv^s.

More to him for making his Highnes masking suite with more lace.

xxx^s.

More to him for ij yardę of tynsell to ytt at iij^s p yard.

vj^s.

To Thomas woodrove for xviiij yardę of Crimson sattin for pte of the Three suite for the Maske at xvij^s.

xxj^{li}. xij^s.

More for xxij yardę of watchett sattin for thother pte of the three suite for the Maske. att xvij^s.

xx^{li}. viij^s.

More to him for xviiij elnes of white taffata to lyne the same three suite at xvj^s p elne.

xiiij^{li}. viij^s.

To Samuell Paske for xxx oz and iij quarters of silver spangled sprigg lace for the same suite at vij^s. vjd. p oz.

xj^{li}. x^s. vijd. ob

More to him for xxij oz and iij quarters of silver spangled bonelace for the same suite att viij^s p oz.

ix^{li}. x^s.

¹ Printed by Reyher, op. cit., pp. 513-14.

More for xxx oz of Coulo ^r sowing & stiching silke at ij ^s . viij ^d .	iiij ^{li} .
More for xiiij dozen of silver buttons for the same at xviij ^d .	xix ^{li} . vj ^s . xiiij ^s . iiij ^d .
More for xx yard ^e of white viij ^d Ribban for the same.	xx ^s .
More for vj long arming silver poynt ^e at iiij ^s . iiij ^d . a piece.	xviij ^s .
More for vj dozen of white silke poynt ^e att iiij ^s .	x ^s .
More for iiij oz of white binding lace for the same att iiij ^s . iiij ^d .	
To Elizabeth Loveday widdowe for Three headpieces for the Maske, one for his Highnes, one for Sr: wil- lyam Erwin, and one for Mr: Palmer att v ^{li} : a piece.	xv ^{li} .
To Thomas Peake for CCCxiiij oz of white Copper plate lace for the same suite att xiiij ^s . p oz.	xviij ^{li} . vj ^s . iiij ^d .
More to him for CC yardes of white Copper lace sprigged and spangled for the same at iiij ^d . p yard.	iiij ^{li} . vj ^s . viij ^d .
More for iiij dozen of white Copper buttons at iiij ^s .	xvj ^s .
More for three vizard ^e for the Maske lyned w th kid and for pfuming the same at xij ^s vj ^d . a piece.	xxxviij ^s . vj ^d .
To Robert Iones for a fayre white plume for his High- nes with ffiftie dozen of Egrette ^e .	viij ^{li} .
More to him for a fayre white plume for Sr: willyam Erwin w th xl dozen of Egrette ^e .	vij ^{li} .
More to him for another fayre white plume for m ^r Palmer w th xl dozen of Egrette ^e .	vij ^{li} .
To Thomas Hodges for a masking Ruffe and Cuffes for his Highnes of Cuttworke edged w th a fayre peake purle.	vij ^{li} .
To Robert Wadson for iij payre of silke hose for the Maske Basatasht ¹ and plusht at iiij ^{li} a payre.	xij ^{li} .
More for one payre of Rich watchett garters ym- brodered w th sil ^u .	vij ^{li} .
More for iij payre of Rich watchett Roses w th sil ^u at xl ^s .	vj ^{li} .
More for xxxviij dozen of Coulor ^d silke poynt ^e att iiij ^s .	v ^{li} . xiiij ^s .
More for iij pieces of Coulored silke Ribban at xxiiij ^s .	iiij ^{li} . xij ^s .
To Iohn Shepley for ymbrodering of Two Masking suite vppon blew and Carna ^o on sattin w th silver spangles, silver plate and white silke for damaske silver and workemanshipp.	xij ^{li} .

Some of the } CCxlix^{li}. xvj^s. xj^d. ob
said warant }

¹ An unexplained word: query, an anglicizing of the French *bas attaché*, the stockings being attached to the hose if these were of the kind covering the legs.

We are fortunate in having for *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* a minute description by Orazio Busino, the chaplain to the Venetian embassy. He sent home a number of descriptions of English life, including an account of the Lord Mayor's show.¹ Not clearly understanding English, he could not follow the details of the masque, and he makes mistakes from time to time, but his account is of the highest interest and value. It is contained in the Archives of St. Mark's, Venice, Cl. VII, Cod. MCXXII, ff. 72-5; there is a translation in the *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, xv, pp. 111-14. We print from a photostat of the original procured for us by Professor Edoardo Ruffini. Mr. H. Sellers has carefully checked our transcript.²

Prima aggiunta dell' Anglipotrida.

Appresso l'attestat^{ne}. di molti scrittori, degni di fede, l'esperienza anco c'insegna, che tutte le Nationi del Mondo sono inclinate alli Trionfi, et ai bagordi; concorrendo uolontieri ne' publici congressi, sì per uedere à rappresentar cose emergenti di nuouo, come anco per rammemorar le antiche di loro gusto: et questa sorte di trattenim^{ti}. molte uolte giouano alla quiete de' Stati, et alla conseruat^{ne}. d'essi. Onde li saggi Principi sogliano spesso dar qualche honesta ricreat^{ne}. alli loro Popoli. Da qui uiene, che in Londra, come capo d'un floridiss^o. Regno, si costumano infiniti atti scenici per tutto l'anno, in diuerse regioni della Città; con una frequenza perpetua di molte persone dedite al buon tempo: le quali uanno la magg^{re}. parte uestite alla grande, et da colore, che paiono, se potessero esser, tutte più che Prencipi, ma meglio Comedianti. Nella Corte parim^{te}. del Re Sereniss^o. passato il giorno di Natale, si dà principio ai sontuosi banchetti, alle ben recitate Comedie, et alli balletti leggiadriss^{mi}. di Cau^{ri}. et Dame. Vno famosiss^{mo}. sopra gli altri balletti, s'assetta la notte segguente della festa de' trè Maggi, per antico costume di q^{sto} Domicilio Regale, oue in una gran sella accomodata a modo di theatro, con securiss^{mi}. palchi d'ogn' intorno, in vista situata la scena, et in faccia dall' altra parte, ui è la seggia di S. M^{ta}. sotto un ampio baldacchino, et uicino de scagni per li ss. Amb^{ri}. de' Principi. Onde quest' anno che fù all' 16 del mese Corrente di Gennaro, S. Ecc^{za}. fu inuitata à uedere quest' attione et ballo allestito con straord^{rio}. studio, et apparecchio, douendo esser il capo, et mantenitor principale, l'istesso unico fig^{lo}. della M^{ta}. sua, Principe di Vaglia, et successore uenerando di q^{sto}. gran Regno, d'eta di 17. anni circa giouine disposto, bello, et di molta gratia. Perciò andammo alle 4. hore di notte a Corte, priuatam^{te}. per la uia del Parco, et entrati nelle Reggie stanze, L'Eccl^{za}. sua fù trattenuta alquanto da un principal Cau^{re}. finche le cose fossero perfettam^{te}. all ordine. et noi altri della famiglia tutti profumati an-

¹ First summarized in the *Quarterly Review*, 1857, vol. cii, pp. 398-428, by John Ford.

² Some letters on the inner edges of the transcript are not visible in the photostat, and Busino misspells three words.

dammo con la scorta del S. M'ro. delle Cerimonie nel solito Palco dell' Ambasc^{ria}. Veneta: doue per mala sorte, stammo cosi stretti, et tanto incomodi, che se non fosse stata la curiosità che ci trattenea, dal gran fiacco conueniua cedere, o crepare. et ci sopragionse anco il Malanno, d'un Spagnuolo, che uenne nel nostro Palco, col fauore del S. M'ro. delle Cerim^{nie}. entrando solo, con dos dicchios¹ de piazza, et non arriuammo di correre, che staua più comodo di tutti noi altri, per lo giusto Iddio.² in somma con questi corbati me la ueggo persa; fù considerato, ch'erano sparsi per tutte le poste principali, L'Amb^{re}. appresso il Re certi gallani, con le collane al collo, fra le ss^{ri}. del consiglio di stato, altri nel Palco proprio per custodia dell' Ambasciatrice, et il folletto uene in casa nostr(a). Pure il gusto che si hauea mentre si staua attendendo il Rè, in mirare lo apparato, in considerar la bellezza della sala, con due ordini di colonne lontane dal muro, quanto importa il corridore, l'un sopra l'altro, il Doric(o) che sostiene d^{to}. transito, et l'altro Ionico, sopra il quale stà appoggiato il uol(to) della sala, il tutto è di legno intagliato, et dorato, con molto artificio, sino lo istesso corpo delle Colonne; et dal uolto pendono certi fioroni, et angeli di rileuo. Con due fille di lumiere, da douersi accender à suo tempo.

Il concorso poi che ui fu, ancorche fanno profess^{ne}. di non lasciar entrar se non gl'inuitati fauoriti, tuttauia ogni palco era pieno, particularm^{te}. di honoratiss^e. et adobatiss^e. Dame al n^o. di 600. et più, per giud^o. di ogn'uno. uestite Dio buono, di cosi uarij abiti et inuentati colori, inesplicabili certo, con morbidiss^{mi}. penacchi à trauerso il capo, et nelle mani à modo di uentaglio et poi in testa dalla parte dinanzi, coronette di gioie, al collo, al petto, ne' centi, et nei uestiti, in tanta quantità, che pareuano tante Regine, in maniera, che nel principio con pochi lumi, à guisa di un crepusculo di prima sera, ò pure dell' Alba, il splendor dei Diamanti et altre gioie era cosi brillante, che pareuano tante stelle. et in spatio di due hore d'otio, hauemmo tempo di mirar et rimirar ciascheduna se bene io, rispetto alla mia caligante uista, non hò potuto far sientifico giud^o. da lontano: et mi sono rimesso in tutto et per tutto alli miei ss^{ri}. Colleghi i quali m'hanno riferito che scuopriuano de belli, et molto uaghi aspetti, et ogni tratto andauano dicendo, ò guardate questa, ò mirate quella, di chi è moglie questa terza in ordine, et di chi è figlia quella gratiosa appresso. Conclusero però che frá il molto grano, u'era anco della bulla, et della paglia mescolata insieme: cioè delle secchette, secchette, et delle molto diuote di san Carlo.³ Má che le belle ueram^{te}. sono in superlatiuo grado, et Io seben uecchio, et mezo cieco, hò sottoscritto allo assai ragioneuole decreto. L'habito uario di queste sig^e. è molto bello, à chi piace, et alcuno d'essi è buono per occultar li difetti della natura, poichè di dietro pende quasi dal

¹ *dos dicchios* is apparently intended for Spanish, but 'dicchios' is neither Spanish nor Italian: 'Giue me two fingers' breadth of room' is the rendering in the *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, but Mr. Sellers makes a more probable suggestion, 'Two tickets for places', though this cannot be called certain.

² Three lines are here struck out.

³ 'Votaries of San Carlo', i.e. Carlo Borromeo, a saint with a long nose.

collo, con certe manichette lunghe, et strette sino in terra, senza casso, et increspate; et in questo modo qualsiuoglia mostruosa gobba sta nascosta. il Verdugale poi, fà anco egli la sua parte, le carnute, et grasse, portano il petto scoperto purassai, et le magre uanno serrate sino al collo, tutte con le sue scarpe da huomo, ò pure con pianellette molto basse. La mascheretta in faccia, serue loro, come ne' conuiti il pane: mà in questi publici spettacoli, le mettono da parte uolontieri.

Intorno alle 6. hore di notte, comparue s. M^{ta}. con la sua Corte, essendo passata per le stanze doue si tratteneuano li ss^{ri}. Amb^{ri}. et li condusse gratiosam^{te}. seco, cioè quello di Spagna, et questo di Venetia, non toccando per questa uolta l'alternatiua a quel di francia, rispetto alle competenze loro. Nell' entrar della stanza cominciorno à sonar le Piffari et i Tromboni, al numero di quindici, ò uenti, molto bene, à modo di ricercate di contrapunto musicale. Messa si à sedere S. M^{ta}. sotto il baldachino sola non ui essendo la Regina per esser alquanto indisposta, fece poi sedere sopra due scagni le ss^{ri}. Amb^{ri}. et di fuori sedeuano sopra certe banche li ss^{ri}. Titolati et quelli che attendono al Magistrato. Subito il ß. Granciamberlano fece far largo et nel mezzo della Salla riusci un bello, et spatioso campo, q.^{al} tutto era fodrato di pano uerde: fecero cader in un momen^(to) una gran Tēda, fatta con pittura à modo d'un Padiglione d'oro con le sue franze grandi, et nel uano c'era tela azzura tutta tempestata di stelle d'oro, la qual chiudeua la scena nel primo aspetto; rimossa questa Comparue primo il Monte di Atlante, et uedeuasi solo la testa di lui grandiss^{ma}. nella Cima, sotto l'istesso uolto del Salone: la qual giraua gli occhi, et se stessa, con assai bell' artificio. Et per far poi riuscir tanto più uaggo, et leggiadro il principal balletto, et mascherata, fecero comparer alcune Momarie nel primo atto, come sarebbe à dir' il Dio Bacco¹ grassiss^{mo}. sopra un Carro, tirato da quattro uestiti alla lunga, li quali cantarono sotto uoce dinanzi à sua M^{ta}. C'era un altro² à piedi, pur grasso uestito de rosso alla corta, che parlò. et nel discorso andaua orzando à modo d'imbriacco, con la tazza in mano, che rassembraua d'esser il Coppiere dell' istesso Bacco, riusci assai leggiro, et goffo questo primo incontro. doppo seguitarono dodeci strauaganti mascherati,³ uno posto in una Botte per trauerso, et gli altri, in certi gran fiaschi di uimene molto ben fatti, et ballarono à suon di Piffari, et tromboni per un pezzo con gesti uarij, et strauaggantiss^{mi}. Doppo uenne un homazzo grande in forma d'Hercole con la sua claua, il qual fece la lota con Antheo, et altre cose, poi comparuero dodeci putti mascherati,⁴ che pareuano tanti ranocchi, ballarono simil^{te}. con diuersi gesti siocchi,⁵ et in un momento caduti ciascheduno à terra, furono scacciati dal d^{to}. Hercole, più che in fretta. Si aprì il Monte con il girar di due porte, et si uide frà' monticelli sorger l'Aurora, in capo d'una prospettiuà lontana, sendoui poste dai lati alcune finte colonne d'oro per far magg. il sfondro. Comparue dinanzi al Rè Mercurio, il

¹ Busino confuses Comus with Bacchus.

³ The Tun and Bottles of the first antimasque.

⁵ Busino's misspelling of 'sciocchi'.

² The Bowl-bearer.

⁴ The Pygmies.

quale fece un discorso, et poi uenne un Musico¹ con un Chittarone uestito alla lunga, et sonando cantò con qualche disposit^{ne}. di gorga, dinotando d'esser qualche nume; et nella scena poi comparauero molti Musici uestiti alla lunga da Sacerdoti, di rosso con certe Mitre d'oro et in mezo c'era una Dea uestita d'habito candido et lungo. Cantarono alcune cossette, non intese da noi, ben' è uero, che l'attione non passò con molto garbo, massime à gusto nostro, come suogliati delle gratiose, et sonore musiche d'Italia.

Comparuero finalm^{te}. vi.² Caua^{ri}. Mascherati, uestiti à liurea, sei con le Calze intiere sguarde, con li braggoni formati di liste, ò falde di raso bianco, et fornite d'oro et d'argento: et sei altri con le braghesse sotto il ginocchio, con le calcette pure incarnatine, et scarpe bianche; il giuppone accompagnaua bene, et era fatto à modo di corsaletto alla Romana antica, et in testa haueano capigliera, corona, et penacchiera bianca molto grande, et nella faccia una mascheretta negra. Tutti questi discessero uniti dalla scena à modo di piramide,³ con spuntar sempre primo il solo Principe. fermati à terra, subito si sentì la Musica de' Violini, con le sue parti sonore, al numero certo di più di 25. ò trenta, tutti in un palco, fatta la riuerenza à S. M^{ta}. cominciorno à ballare con quel med^{mo}. ordine per un pezzo molt(o) à tempo et con varietà di cose, et poi s'andauano muttando in diuerse forme fra di loro, sempre concludendo il salto uniti. finito questo, ciaschedun prese la sua Dama, Il ã. Principe s'accoppio con la principal Sig^{ra}. che si ritrouaua frà quelle, ch'erano disposte in ordinanza per ballare, et gli altri di mano in mano, con regolato termine di far la riuerenza prima à S. M^{ta}. et poi frà di loro, con infalibile osseruanza. fecero tutti le sorti di balletti, et danze, che si costumano in qualsiuoglia paese, à modo de passamezzi, correnti, Canarie,⁴ spagnolette, et cento altri gesti fatti a pizzego molto belli. Ballarono finalm^{te}. un' alla⁵ uolta la spagnoletta con la sua Dama, et perche erano quasi stracchi andauano sorrando; il Rè come di natura colerica diede in una impacienza, et gridò forte, perche non si balla, à che fine m'hauete fatto uenir qua? che'l Diauolo ui porti quanti, che sete, ballate. Subito saltò fuori il sig^o. Marchese de Bocchingha(m) Mignon fauoritiss^o. di S. Ma^{tà}., con una mano di molto alte, et minutiss^(me). capriole, accompagnate con tanta gratia, et leggiadria, che fece ammirar et inamorar ciasched^{no}. della sua persona, non che habbia forza di placar l'ira del suo alterato Sig^e. Innanimiti gli altr(i) Mascherati seguitarono à far le lor prodezze un doppio l'altro, con differenti Dame, concludendo pur con capriole, et col leuar da terra la sua Diua. furono numerate sino 34. capriole tagliate una dopp(o) l'altra da un Cau^{re}. tuttauia niuno arriuò alla compita maniera del Marchese. Il ã. Prencipe nond^{no}. superò

¹ Daedalus: another confusion of Busino's.

² 'vi' should be 'xii', as the context shows.

³ Compare the arrangement of the Queens in the House of Fame (*M. of Q.* 361-3), and Inigo Jones's *Designs*, no. 14, plate iv.

⁴ See the *O.E.D.* s.v. 'passemesure', 'coranto', 'canary'. The Spanish dance which irritated the King was probably the grave and stately pavan.

⁵ *alla*: read 'altra'.

tutti nelle creanze, essendo stato molto appuntato nel far le riuerenze, alla M^{ta} del Pr'e, et alla Dama con cui danzaua; ne mai si uide far' un contratempo nel ballare, come forse alcuni altri han fatto. Per l'età giouenile non hà ancor(a) molta lena, con tutto ciò hà spiccato alquante capriole con assai garbo. fornito il cimento di q.^{sti} dodeci uirtuosi Cau^{ri}. doppo hauer superato l'otio et la crapula di Bacco, con prodezza, il sig. Principe andò trionfante à baciare le mani al Ser^{mo}. Padre, delquale fù abbracciato, et baciato caram^{te}. et poi honorò il sig. Marchese, con straord^{io}. affetto, toccandoli la faccia. Si leuò da sedere S. M^{ta}. et condusse seco le ss. Amb^{ri}. passando per una quantità di Camere et Gallerie, arriuò in una sala, doue era preparata la solita colatione per li recitanti, facendosi portar un lume innanzi, et dato una occhiata tutto intorno la tauola partì: et subito come tanti arpie s'auentorno gli interessati, alla rapina. La tauola era coperta quasi tutta di Conditti, con moltepoca¹ confett^{ne}. di zucchero. c'erano alcune figure grandi, mà erano di Carton dipinto per hornamento. La robba era posta in alcuni tondi, ò piatti di uetro, et nel p^o. assalto gettarono a terra il tauolone, et nel fragor dei scudelini di uetro, mi rassembraua appunto di sentire la rottura dei uetri delle fenestre, da una gran tempesta, nel culmo dell estate. Si finì l'historia due hore doppo meza notte, et mezi stufi, et stracchi ritornammo à casa. Si le V.V. SS^{ie}. Jll^{me}. si torzeranno in legger, ò in sentire questa seccaggine, credino certo, ch'io ancora ne sento nausea in rappresentarla: pure metto in considerat^{ne}. loro, che se non le piacesse di receuerla per gusteuol potrida, si compiacino almeno d'admetterla per un' insipida minestra purchè uadi in tauola. Et per fine faccio loro humiliss^a. riuerenza.

— Di Londra li 24. di Gennaro. 1618.

Busino has brief references to the scenery and the dresses. He describes the blue curtain in front of the stage, and how Mount Atlas opened by means of two doors showing dawn behind distant hills. He tells us that the monstrous head of Atlas rolled its eyes and that the Pygmies looked like frogs: did they hop? He has an account of a goddess in a long white robe accompanied by singers in red gowns and wearing gilt mitres: Busino took them to be high priests, but he is confused at this point and did not recognize Daedalus. The goddess must be Virtue, but she is not noticed in the text. The dress of the Masquers is described—six with crimson hose and plaited doublets of white satin trimmed with gold and silver lace, and six with breeches down to the knee, crimson hose and white shoes. In the bill we print above (pages 578–9) there is crimson satin for part of the Masquers' suits, and there is also watchet satin for the other part, watchet roses and garters. A noteworthy point in Busino's description is that the Masquers entered wearing black masques: this was a traditional feature of the 'dis-

¹ Busino's misspelling of 'molteplica'.

guising' in its early days when the performers, posing as strangers, paid a visit to a noble house, usually at a time of festival. The Court bill for this masque includes 'vizards'.

One drawing for this masque by Inigo Jones has been preserved—the entry of Comus and seven followers (Designs, 62, in Nicoll, p. 128). Comus is seated in a low chariot like a bath chair, with an arbour of vine over his head; he is nude and with a huge belly. Two nude followers drag the chariot, and a third pushes it from behind. One attendant carries the thyrsus, a Bacchanalian spear wreathed in ivy. Another behind the rest, in a kilt and with wind-blown drapery, carries what appears to be a shallow bowl; Inigo did not understand the 'scyphus' of Hercules.

The figure of Atlas, according to Busino, rolled its eyes and moved; this grotesque effect was intended to endow the mountain with life. Similarly in Virgil's description (*Aeneid*, iv. 247–51), which Jonson had in mind, the man and the mountain are blended:

Nix umeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento
praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.

Mr. C. F. Bell suggests that Inigo in devising the scene probably had in mind the famous figure of the Apennine giant in the gardens at Pratalino near Florence.

The French ambassador, de Marêts, hearing that his Spanish rival Gondomar had been invited to the masque and understanding that English policy at the moment was veering round to a Spanish alliance, made a violent protest. Sir John Finett gives a full account of the imbroglio.

'A Mask prepared for Twelftyde (wherein the Prince was to be a principall Actor) and that his first Exercise in that kinde) was a subject for the King to invite to it the Spanish Ambassador, and to observe the promise his Majesty had made him the yeare before¹ to that purpose, the rather because a Marriage between the Prince and the *Infanta* was then in Treaty. The French Ambassador in the mean time being left with little or no regard of satisfaction given, or sought to be given him, either by private excuse, or otherwise. At which neglect (as he understood it) he took such shadow and offence, as repairing to Court, and demanding (as unseasonably perhaps as impatiently) Access to his Majesty, was entertained by one or two Lords of the Bed-Chamber (whom he that instant incountered) with as satisfactory reasons as they could frame for diversion, but with little effect, though Sir *Thomas Edmons* (Comptroller of his Majesties House, who had been in France Ambassador) were (together with the Master of the Ceremonies), sent to him immediately after to the same purpose of modification; so as standing first upon his Masters right of Priority before any other Kings

¹ Misdated. See page 547, *Mercury Vindicated*, 1616.

(particularly before that of Spaine) and affirming that he could prove by many Presidents of our own, that if the Spanish Ambassador were ever heretofore present at any such entertainment, or Solemnity at Court, it was by the French Ambassadors permission, when either he would not be there, or that he was sent to by his Majesty with intreaty to excuse his absence; He at last threatned to make protestation against the wrong done his Master in his Ambassadors person. But this threatening little it seems regarded by his Majestie (who was resolved upon his course for entertainment of the Spanish) was a cause of the French Ambassadors sending his Secretary Post into France with the Account of the Kings and his own proceeding, and of the Letters that came shortly after with his Revocation (before his three years Residence (wanting but a quarter) were expired; for which demanding an Audience the 16. of *March*, and having it granted (or the next day) he after two hours attendance, had it of his Majesty in the Privie Gallery, and within few dayes after departed the Kingdome. The ill understanding between his Majestie and this Ambassador was an occasion that Master Secretary *Lake* sent for me, and acquainted me with the trouble his Majestie had put himself to, to make apparent the little reason the French Ambassador had to except so against his proceeding, which to justifie, his pleasure was (he said) that Sir *Lewis Lewkner* Master of the Ceremonies, and Sir *William Button*, and I, Assistants, should search our Notes, and presidents to the purpose of the Question. Whereabout I presently imployed my self, and sent my Collection (answerable to the time of my Service, and of my experience) to Sir *Thomas Lake* then with the King at *Newmarket*, but all to little purpose for his Majesties satisfaction beyond that he was resolved on for the Spanish Ambassador' (*Philoxenis*, pp. 48-9).

the Mountaine Atlas. With the scene thus laid in Africa the details of the allegory are very deftly blended: Antaeus and the Pygmies fit in with the geography and are allegorized. The conception of the Hill of Virtue is as old as Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289-92: Vice is easy to choose, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.

τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τοπρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται
ῥῆϊδίῃ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ εἰούσα.

Jonson may have used the copy in Silus Italicus' *Punica*, xv. 101-7, where Scipio sees in a vision 'hinc Virtus, illinc Virtuti inimica Voluptas', and hears Virtue say

Casta mihi domus, et celso stant colle penates:
ardua saxoso perducit semita clivo.
Asper principio (neque enim mihi fallere mos est)
prosequitur labor. Adnitendum intrare volenti.
... Mox celsus ab alto
infra te cernes hominum genus.

6. *Comus*, *y^e god of cheer*. In Philostratus, *Icones*, i. ii, Comus appears as a wine-flushed youth, drowsy, and rose-crowned, but Jonson's conception of him is derived from Rabelais's Messer Gaster in *Pantagruel*, iv, ch. lvii, 'Comment Pantagruel descendit on manoir de messere Gaster premier maistre es ars du monde', and ch. lxi, 'Comment Gaster inuenta les moyens d'auoir & conseruer Grain'. Ch. lvii: 'En icelluy iour Pantagruel descendit en vne isle admirable, entre toutes aultres, tant à cause de l'assiete, que du gouuerneur d'icelle. . . . Surmontans la difficulté de l'entree à peine bien grande, & non sans suer, trouvasmes le dessus du mons tant plaisant, tant fertile, tant salubre, & delicieux, que je pensoys estre le vray Iardin & Paradis terrestre: . . . Mais Pantagruel nous affermoit la estre le manoir de Arete (c'est Vertus) par Hesiode descript. . . .

'Le gouuerneur d'icelle estoit messere Gaster, premier maistre es ars de ce monde. . . . La sentence du Satyricque est vraye, qui dict messere Gaster estre de tous ars le maistre. . . . Il ne oyt poinct. Et comme les Ægyptiens disoient Harpocras Dieu de silence . . . estre astomé, c'est à dire sans bouche, ainsi Gaster sans oreilles feut créé. . . . Il ne parle que par signes.

'Pour le servir tout le monde est empesché, tout le monde labeure. Aussi pour recompense il faict ce bien au monde, qu'il luy inuenta toutes ars, toutes machines, tous mestiers, tous engins, & subtilitez. Mesmes es animaues brutaulx il apprend ars desniées de Nature. Les Corbeaulx, les Gays, les Papeguays, les Estourneaux, il rend poètes: Les Pies il faict poètrides: & leur aprent language humain proférer, parler, chanter. Et tout pour la trippe.'

Ch. lxi: 'Vous scauez que par institution de Nature Pain auecques ses apennaiges luy a esté pour prouision adiugé & aliment, adioincte ceste benediction de ciel que pour Pain trouuer & garder rien ne luy defauldroit. Des le commencement il inuenta l'art fabrile, & agriculture pour cultiuer la terre, tendant à fin qu'elle luy produisist Grain. . . . Il inuenta les moulins à eau, à vent, à bras, à aultres mille Engins, pour Grain mouldre & reduire en farine. Le leuain pour fermenter la paste, le sel pour luy donner saueur, . . . le feu pour le cuyre, les horologes & quadrans pour entendre le temps de la cuycte de Pain creature de Grain.'

10. *Hercules Bowle*, 'my Cup', as he calls it, line 97. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, v. xxi. 16, says 'Scyphus Herculis poculum est ita ut Liberi patris cantharus'; it is connected with the worship of Hercules in *Aeneid*, viii. 278, where Servius has a story that Hercules brought to Italy a 'scyphus' of great size, which was preserved in pitch. In Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, 75, σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιεῖν means to drink a huge draught; so in Herrick's 'Hymn to Bacchus' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 122):

I have drunk up for to please
Thee, that great cup *Hercules*.

15. *Prime master of arts* . . . 55-6. *teaching of Starlings* . . . *Jackdawes*. Jonson and Rabelais borrow from Persius, Prol. 8-11:

Quis expedit psittaco suum chaere
 picamque docuit nostra verba conari?
 Magister artis ingenique largitor
 venter, negatas artifex sequi voces.

Conington translates the last sentence, 'That great teacher of art and bestower of mother-wit the stomach, which has a knack of getting at speech when nature refuses it'.

17. *Hopper*. In a corn-mill a receiver shaped like an inverted pyramid or cone, through which grain passes into the mill; 'so called because it had originally a hopping or shaking motion' (O.E.D.).

18. *bowlter*, a piece of cloth used for sifting.

19. *bauin*, a bundle of brushwood tied with one withe, used in bakers' ovens.

mawkin, *malkin*, a mop used to clean out a baker's oven.

peelee, a baker's shovel.

23. *an hyppocras bag*, a conical bay used as a strainer. Hippocras, named after the great physician, was wine mixed with cinnamon, ginger, long pepper, and sugar pounded, mixed together, and strained. It was a favourite drink in the Middle Ages.

24. *cries swag*, proclaims himself a swag-belly with his hanging paunch.

32. *euen*, or *od*. Plautus, *Stichus*, 706-7: 'Vide quot cyathos bibimus. Sri. Tot quot digiti tibi sunt in manu. | Cantio Graecast: ἡ πέντ' ἡ τρία πῖν' ἡ μὴ τέτταρα.'

42. *saturnalls*, the Roman feast of the Saturnalia held in the middle of December, 'at which every Scullion and Skipkennel had Liberty to tell his Master his own' (Amherst, *Terræ-Filius*, no. 1, par. 4).

48. *tripe*, intestines—depreciatory. As a term of abuse in *B.F.* iv. v. 76.

50. *that the Belly had any eares*. Rabelais, iv. lxiii, 'l'estomach affamé n'a point d'aureilles, il n'oyt goutte'. Cf. Plutarch, *Apophthegmata*, 198D, Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἀσωτίας καὶ πολυτελείας καθαπτόμενος εἶπεν ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ λέγειν πρὸς γαστέρα ὦτα μὴ ἔχουσαν.

64. *actiuitie*. Cf. *Christmas*, 284 n.

74. *the Joviall Tinkers*. *T. of T.* i. iv. 42.

a lusty kindred. Apparently a ballad, or like 'Lusty gallant' a dance-tune.

82. *the truest clock*. Rabelais, iv. lxiv, 'Iadis entre les Perses l'heure de prendre refection estoit es Roys seulement præscripte: à vn chascun aultre estoit l'appetit & le ventre pour horologe. De faict en Plaute certain Parasite soy complaint & deteste furieusement les inuenteurs d'horologes & quadrans, estant chose notoire qu'il n'est horloge plus iuste que le ventre.' The reference is to a fragment of Plautus' *Boeotia*, the speech of a hungry parasite cursing sundials preserved in Aulus Gellius, iii. iii. 5:

Vt illum di perdant primus qui horas repperit
 quique adeo primus statuit hic solarium,

qui mihi comminuit misero articulatim diem!
 Nam me puero venter erat solarium,
 multo omnium istorum optimum et verissimum.
 Ubi is te monebat, esses, nisi quom nihil erat.

88. *Antæus*, a son of Neptune and the earth goddess, a giant and wrestler in Libya, invincible so long as he remained in contact with his mother earth. Hercules wrestled with him, discovered the secret of his strength, and crushed him in the air.

100. *Heröes*. A contemporary pronunciation: Jonson has it in *A.P.* 162, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 163. So Spenser, *F.Q.* i. xi. 6, 'And hartes of great Heröes doest enrage'; and Chapman, *Hesiod*, 1618, p. 9, 'Happy Herwes liuing'.

102. *for yet you neuer liu'd*. So *L.T.* 96, *Und.* lxxv. 153-4.

133 foll. The episode of the Pygmies is from Philostratus, *Icones*, II. xxii: 'Εν Λιβύῃ καθεύδοντι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μετὰ τὸν Ἀνταῖον ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Πυγμαῖοι τιμωρεῖν τῷ Ἀνταίῳ φάσκοντες· ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι τοῦ Ἀνταίου . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦ θράσους· ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὔτοι, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι φάσι καθεύδοντα, δείσειαν ἂν οὐδ' ἐγρηγόρτα . . . ἡ στρατία δὲ οἱ Πυγμαῖοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα περισχόντες μία μὲν αὕτη φάλαγξ τὴν ἀριστεράν χειρά βάλλουσι, δύο δ' οὔτοι λόχοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν δεξίαν ὥς μᾶλλον ἐρρωμένην, καὶ τῷ πόδε πολιορκοῦσι τοξόται καὶ σφενδονητῶν ὄχλοι ἐκπληττόμενοι τὴν κνήμην ὄση, οἱ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ προσμαχόμενοι . . . ἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ὡς ὀρθοῦται καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ γελᾶ, τοὺς τε πολεμίους πανσυδὶ ξυλλεξάμενος εἰς τὴν λεοντὴν ἐντίθεται καὶ οἶμαι τῷ Εὐρυσθεῖ φέρει.

139-40. *as many as the Name yeilds*. The cult of Hercules absorbed more than one local hero, and the ancients have left some record of this. Diodorus (III. lxxiv. 4) speaks of three, Egyptian, Cretan, Greek; Servius on *Aeneid*, viii. 564, of four, Tirynthian, Argive, Theban, Libyan; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III. xvi, of six. Servius, following Varro, explains that the name was given to all 'qui fecerant fortiter'.

160. *black eye*. Cf. Jove's 'black-lidded eye' in *Sej.* iv. 268.

166. *Poplar*. Theocritus, *Id.* ii. 121, λευκάν, 'Ἡρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔρνος, and Virgil. *Ecl.* vii. 61, 'Populus Alcidae gratissima'. The nymph Leuce was carried off by Pluto and after her death changed to a white poplar; as Hercules was returning from the lower world, he made himself a garland of the leaves.

172-7. Cf. Diodorus, *Bibliotheca*, IV. xxvii, τὸν δ' Ἀτλαντα . . . ἔπτα γεννῆσαι θυγατέρας, ἃς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀτλαντίδας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἑσπερίδας ὀνομασθῆναι. τούτων δὲ τῶν Ἀτλαντίδων κάλλει καὶ σωφροσυνῇ διαφερουσῶν λέγουσι Βούσιριν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῶν παρθένων ἐγκρατῇ γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ ληστὰς κατὰ ἑλάτταν ἀποστείλαντα διακελεύσασθαι τὰς κόρας ἀρπάσαι καὶ διακομίσαι πρὸς ἑαυτόν. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα τελοῦντα τὸν ὕστατον ἀθλον Ἀνταῖον μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ τὸν συναναγκάζοντα τοῦς ξένους διαπαλαίσειν, Βούσιριν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τῷ Διὶ σφαγιάζοντα τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ξένους τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας καταξιώσαι.

178-80. Diodorus, *ibid.* III. lx. 2, gives this rationalistic explanation that Atlas was a king skilled in astronomy and first taught men that the heaven was a sphere: φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ἐξακριβῶσαι

καὶ τὸν σφαιρικὸν λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους πρῶτον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας δόξαι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀτλαντος ὤμων ὀχεῖσθαι, τοῦ μύθου τὴν τῆς σφαίρας εὔρεσιν καὶ καταγραφὴν αἰνιττομένου.

183. *the Hill*. Cf. *Disc.* 2122, '*monte potiri*'.

204. *One, & cheif*. Prince Charles.

244. *Dædalus the wise*. The name means 'the cunning worker', 'the artist', and he was the mythical Greek representative of all handiwork. The metaphorical 'labyrinth' of lines 249, 262, 295 is suggested by the labyrinth he made in Crete.

257-60. A reference to the beautiful apologue of Prodicus, the Choice of Hercules, preserved in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, II. i. 21-34. Hercules, coming to manhood, retired into a quiet place and meditated on the road which he would pursue in life. Two women appeared to him, Virtue and Vice (or, as she called herself, Happiness). The latter pointed to a road pleasant, short and easy, leading to all forms of sensual enjoyment; the former to a road of difficulty: 'of all the good & honorable things the gods give nothing without toil and diligence.' Hercules chose the difficult road.

262. *a Laborinth*. So *M.A.* 318, 'the erring mazes of mankinde'. Natale Conti, *Mythologia*, VII. ix (1581, p. 732), so interprets the Labyrinth of Crete: 'Nihil aliud significare voluerunt per illum labyrinthum, nisi perplexam esse, multisque difficultatibus implicatam vitam hominum, cum ex aliis aliæ semper grauiiores oriantur; è quibus nemo se, nisi per singularem prudentiam & fortitudinem, explicare potest.'

265. *numerous*, rhythmical (Lat. *numerosus*).

282-7. For the turn of thought cf. *N.I.* III. ii. 65-72.

304. *the stroaking wind*. *Hym.* 814, a flower which 'th'ayre doth stroke', Catullus' 'quem mulcent auræ'.

310. *not goe les*. *Volp.* III. v. 37.

314. *some-it* (= sum it), 316. *ouercome-it*. The punctuation marks the metrical stress on 'some' and 'come'. Found occasionally: e.g. *The Tempest*, I. ii, Caliban to Prospero, 'and here you sty-me'; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 144, 'My herald Thoughts, in thy pure bosom rest-them'; S. Rowland, *The Night-Raven*, 1620, C4^v:

Goe to the Barbers shop, and there reueale-it,
And Iest a plaister out of him to heale-it.

333-48. The high-toned close may be compared with the end of *The Masque of Queens*.

FOR THE HONOUR OF WALES

THE history has been given under *Pleasure Reconciled*. The elaboration of the antimasque begins with this piece; it leads in the later masques to a lack of balance, but it suited the taste of the Court for which the dances alone were important and a comic induction was tolerable.

For the interpretation of the Welsh speeches and phrases we are indebted to the late Professor John Fraser.

Craig-Eriri, Snowdon: see 77 n.

3. 'Is: so 33, 77, 118, 217, 301, 315, 321. As if for 'tis', but the Welshman begins with the verb as in his own language.

10, 11. *Taw . . . wlad*. In modern orthography, 'Taw, dyn ynfyd! Ydwyt yn abl i anafu pob peth o'th ffolineb, ag i dynnu gwatwar ar dy wlad'. 'Silence, silly! You may spoil everything with your folly and make your country a laughing-stock.'

12. *Gad vyn llonyth* = 'Gâd fi'n llonydd'. 'Leave me alone.'

13. *Dav*. 'Dab' in the Folio: the curled upstroke of the Italian *v* in the MS. made the printer read it as a *b*.

s'ud. The substitution of *s* for *sh* in Welsh English is common, but Welsh has actually adopted 'shire' and 'sir'.

22. *by got 'utch me*, God judge me. So the Welsh knight in Dekker and Chettle's *Patient Grissill*, II. i, l. 558, ed. Grosart, 'By Cods vdge me'.

25. *your owne Cyntries*. In May 1617 James visited Scotland for the first time after his accession to the English crown. 'Last two summers' means 'two summers ago': it should be 'last summer'.

33-4. *Worsters*. The fourth Earl, marshal at the *Barriers* of 1606.

Pembrokes. Cf. *Catiline*, dedication.

Mongymeries. Cf. 164-5.

42. *Vellhy* = 'Felly'. 'So.'

45. *Hynno, hynno* = 'Hynny, hynny'. 'That, that!'

54. *plug'd*, plucked.

65. *Talgarth*, the Black Mountains in Brecknockshire.

67. *Eliennieth*, Plinlimmon. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Cambriae Descriptio*, 1585, ch. v, p. 250, 'De montanis *Elennith* nobilis emanat Sabrinae fluvius . . . *Vaga* fluuius ab eiusdem quoque montanis *Elennith* per *Haia* castra . . . '.

69. *Cadier Arthur*, Arthur's Chair, the hollow between Corn du and Pen y Fan, in the Brecknock Beacons.

77. *is cauld the British Aulpes*. Camden, *Britain*, tr. Holland, 1610, p. 667: 'Caernarvon-shire. A man may truely, if hee please, terme these mountaines, the British *Alpes*: for, besides that they are the greatest of the whole Island, they are no lesse steepe also with cragged and rent rockes on every side than the *Alpes* of Italie, yea and all of them compasse one mountaine round about, which over-topping the rest so towreth up with his head aloft in the aire, as hee may seeme not to threaten the sky, but to thrust his head up into heaven. And yet harbour they the Snow, for, all the yeere long, they bee hory with snow, or rather with an hardened crust of many snowes felted together. Whence it is, that all these hilles are in British by one name termed *Craig Eriry*, in English *Snow-don*, which in both languages, sound as much as *Snowye Mountaines*.'

97. *Aw, gadu i'n, tawson*, 'Oh, leave us alone, shut up'.

101. *sirreverence*. Strictly an apology for using an indecent expression: *T. of T.* i. vi. 25.

108. *a thumbe, and a fowrefinger*. The penalty for striking a blow in court was the loss of the right hand: see Harrison, *Description of England*, i. xv (ed. Furnivall, i, pp. 275-6).

109. *better s'eape, cheaper*. *Poet.* i. ii. 198.

113. *the Duells*. See *D. is A.* iii. iii. 66 n.

114. *byssinesse*. A glance at the duelling term, *M.V.* 154.

136. *angry, and hungry*. *B.F.* ii. iii. 51.

153. *for his guts*. *G.M.* 730.

157. *Rector chori*, leader of the choir.

162. *Both my Lord Marquise*. Buckingham and Hamilton: for the latter see *G.M.* 646-62.

166. *the Howards*. Nichols suggests Sir Thomas Howard as one; he danced in *Hymenaei*. Sir Charles, Sir Edward, and Sir Francis Howard all tilted in the *Barriers* of 1606.

169. *Pipidiauke*. Holland's Camden, *Britaine*, 1610, p. 653, in 'Pembroke-shire': 'Beyond Ros, there shooteth out with a mighty front farre into the West Ocean, a great Promontorie, which . . . the Britans (called) *Pebidiauc*, and *Cantred Dewi*; we, *Saint Davids land*,'

Houghton, a village in Burton parish, near Milford Haven, four miles from Pembroke.

170. *the Duts-men*. An allusion to the settlement of Flemings in Pembrokeshire by Henry I and Henry II.

171. *Heer-win*. Suggested by the village of Herwain in Aberdare parish, partly in Glamorgan, partly in Brecknockshire.

172. *Car*. Probably Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Ancrum.

176. *Ap mouth-wye of Llanmouthwe*. As Auchmuty was a Scotchman, it required a 'hard shift' to locate him in Wales; apparently this is Jonson's attempt at a geography for him.

177. *Abermarlys*, Abermarlais in Carmarthenshire.

178. *Abertau*, Abertawe, Swansea at the mouth of the Tawe.

179. *Aber du gledhaw*, Milford Haven. Holland's Camden, *Britain*, 1610, p. 652: 'Into this haven there discharge themselves with their out-lets joined almost in one, two rivers, which the Britans tearme *Gledawh*, that is if you interpret it, Swords: whereupon themselves use to tearme it *Aber du gledhaw*, that is, *The out-let of two swords*.'

180. *Aberhodney*, Aberhodni in Giraldus, then Aber-Honnddu, or Brecon. Brecon being on the northern bank of the Usk and on both sides of the Honnddu, gets its Welsh name from its position at the meeting-point of these rivers.

182. *Aberconway*, Conway.

187. *a pudding upon him*. Like the ironic use of the word in *B.F.* iii. i. 9.

189. *Cadwallader*, Cadwaladr Vendigaid ('the Blessed') who died 664. Geoffrey of Monmouth invented the myth that he was the last king of the whole island of Britain.

190. *Luellin*, Llywelyn ap Gryffyth, who died in 1282, the last champion of Welsh liberty who fought against Edward I.

Reese ap Griphin, Rhys ap Gryffyth, prince of South Wales, fought against the Normans and the Flemings in the time of Henry II. There is a monument to him in St. David's cathedral.

Craddock or Caradoc, Welsh Caradawg, Latin Caractacus, who fought the Romans in the reign of Claudius.

191. *Owen Glendower*, Owain ap Gryffyth (1359?–1416?), a Welsh champion in the reign of Henry IV.

a Welse hooke. This had a cutting blade with a hook at the back of it.

193–4. *a pottell of hay*. So Jenkin dubs the bottles of wicker flasks in *Pleasure Reconciled*, 69–72. But *Lantæus* is nonsense: curiously Busino describes Hercules as fighting with Antæus (see p. 582).

197. *neither Poetries, nor Architectures*. Cf. the more direct allusion to Ben and Inigo in *M.A.* 86.

208–9. *Ble mae yr Brenin? Dacko ve* = 'Ble mae'r Brenin? Dacw fe.' 'Where's the King?' 'There he is.'

212. *stewch humma vennayd, Dumma braveris* = 'Eistewch yma f'enaidd, Dyma braveries.' 'Sit here, my dear, here are braveries.'

217. *Brut*, Brutus, the legendary leader of a Trojan colony to Britain; he founded Troynovant on the site of London.

219. *Prince Camber*, the third son of Brutus, whose portion after his father's death was Wales. Giraldus, *op. cit.*, cap. vii, says 'Dicta est autem Cambria à duce Cambro Bruti filio'; actually the derivation of Cambria is from Cymry or Cymru.

220. *fill aull this Chamber*. Like the pedigree of Queen Elizabeth at Hatfield House wound on double rollers because of its length; it goes back through King Arthur and Helen of Troy to Adam and Eve.

221. *Saint Davy*, the patron saint of Wales (*ob.* 601?), canonized in 1120.

232. *s'eize*, cheese.

238. *Monmouth cap*. Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 1662, Wales, p. 50: 'The best Caps were formerly made at *Monmouth*, where the Cappers Chapel doth still remain, being better carved and gilded than any other part of the Church. But on the occasion of a great plague hapning in this Town, the trade was some years since removed hence to *Beaudley* in *Worcester-shire*, yet so that they are called *Monmouth Caps* unto this day.'

239. *ore of Lemster*, wool. *Ibid.* England, Herefordshire, pp. 33–4: 'As for the *Wooll* in this County, it is best known to the honour thereof by the name of *Lempster Ore*, being absolutely the finest in the County and indeed in all *England*, equalling if not exceeding the *Apulian* and *Tarentine* in the *South of Italy* though it cost not so much charge and curiosity in the carefull keeping thereof'; Herrick, *Hesperides*, 1648, 'Oberons Palace' (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 165):

a bank of mosse
Spungie and swelling, and farre more
Soft then the finest Lemster Ore.

247. *Cid*, Kid.

248. *Runt*, ox of the small Welsh breed.

253. *Cor*, salt cod.

Chevin, chub.

261. *Bragat*, bragget (Welsh *bragawd*), a sweet drink of ale and honey fermented together; afterwards the honey was replaced by sugar and spice. *G.M.* 237.

262. *cast his Cab-at*. 'To cast the cap at' is to despair of overtaking, to give up as lost.

263. *Ale of Webley*. Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 'Herefordshire Proverbs', p. 35: '*Lemster bread and Weabley Ale*. It seems both these are best in their kinds, though good in other places of the Land. Thus, though *Palestine* was universally termed a **Land of Wheat* (**Deut.* 8. 8) yet the Spirit of God takes signal notice of the **wheat of Minnith and Pannag* (**Ezek.* 27. 17) as finer then the rest. Yet is there Wheat in *England*, which justleth for pureness with that of *Weabley*, viz. What groweth about *Heston* in *Middlesex*, yeilding so fine floure, that for a long time the Manchet for the Kings of *England* was made thereof, except any will say it is prized the more for the vicinity of *London*.'

265. *Metheglin*. *C.R.* 1. iv. 10.

267. *Guarthenion*. Holland's *Camden*, 1610, p. 624, Radnor-shire: 'Moreover this part of the country was in old time called *Guarthenion*, as Ninnius testifieth.'

270. *Harper Ellis*, a contemporary minstrel otherwise unknown.

275. *Crowd*. *C.R.* 1. i. 26.

277. *Bangu*, *Davys bell*, was at Glascombe in Radnorshire. Giraldus, *Itinerarium*, ch. i, p. 68: 'Apud Eleuein autem in ecclesia de Glascum est Campana baiula virtuosissima, quam proprio vocabulo *Bangu* vocant, quæ & sancti Daud fuisse perhibent, hanc mulier quædam viro suo, qui in castello de *Raidergwy* iuxta Warthrenion . . . in vinculis tenebatur, vt eum vel sic liberaret, clam allatam supposuit. Sed quoniam castellani non solùm ob hoc virum non liberarunt, verùm & campanam ipsam violenter captiuam quoque tenuerunt, nocte eadem vltione diuina totum oppidum præter parietem vnum vbi campana pendebat, igne proprio consumptum est.'

279. *Wrexham Organ*. Holland's *Camden*, *Britain*, 1610, Denbigh-shire, p. 677: 'Heere is *Wrexham* to bee seene, . . . much spoken of for a passing faire towre steeple that the Church hath, and the Musical Organs that be therein.'

280. *rambling Rocks in S'eere Glamorgan*, at Barry Isle, near the mouth of the Severn. Holland's *Camden*, *ibid.*, p. 643, Glamorgan-shire, 'In a rocke, or cliffe hereof by the sea side, saith Giraldus [op. cit., p. 119], there appeereth a very little chinck into which if you lay your eare you shall heere a noise as it were of Smithes at worke, one while the blowing of bellows, another while the striking of sledge and hammer, sometime the sound of the grindstone and iron tooles rubbing against it, the hissing sparkes also of steele-gads within holes, as they are beaten, yea

and the puffing noise of fire burning in the furnace. Now, I should easlie bee perswaded that such a sound may come of the sea-water closely getting into the rocke, were it not the same continued as well when the sea ebbeth at a low water when the shore is bare, as it doth at high water when it is full sea.' Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, III. iii. 8, 9:

It is an hideous hollow caue (they say)
Vnder a rocke that lyes a little space
From the swift *Barry*, tombling down apace,
Emongst the woodie hilles of *Dyneuowre*: . . .
. . . low lay thine eare,
And there such ghastly noise of yron chaines,
And brasen Caudrons thou shalt rombling heare,
Which thousand sprights with long enduring paines
Doe tosse, that it will stonne thy feeble braines,
And oftentimes great grones, and grievous stounds,
When too huge toile and labour them constraines:
And oftentimes loud strokes, and ringing sounds
From vnder that deepe Rocke most horribly rebounds.

Spenser explains that Merlin intended to put a brazen wall about Carmarthen and employed the spirits on it in this underground lair; they went on working after his fall, not daring to stop. The phenomenon is also described by Giraldus, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 1585, p. 119, and by Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1586, The Description of England, i, p. 129, and noted by Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, p. 268. It is no longer audible, evidently having been destroyed by the sea.

281. *ground*. A quibble on the musical sense of 'ground', or 'ground-base'. In *M.A.* 143-5, where John Urson, the bear-ward, offers to play his bears 'with any Citie-dancers christned, for a ground measure'. Ground-base is 'a bass-passage of four or eight bars in length, constantly repeated with a varied melody and harmony' (Stainer and Bassett, quoted in the *O.E.D.*). This is the *measure pedder*, 284, 'pedder' being the Welsh *pedair*, 'four'.

307. *Da wharry, vellhee* = 'Da chware! felly!' 'Well played! Yes.'

332. *A Haul. T. of T.* v. ix. 11.

354. *Ales*, Alice, the name of one of the women.

358. *Diggon*, 'enough'.

363. *Driffindore*, Dryffryn aur. Holland's Camden, 1610, Herefordshire, p. 617, of the river Dor: 'Now the said *Dor* . . . cutteth through the midst of the *Vale*, which of the river the Britans call *Driffin Dore*: but the English men, that they might seeme to expresse the force of that word, termed it the *Gilden Vale*, which name it may by good right and justly haue, for the golden, wealthy and pleasant fertility thereof.'

368. *his Prophetesies*. In *Prince Henry's Barriers*, where the anagram 'Claims Arthur's Seat' is also used (20).

369. *Podh y geller* = 'Pa fodd y geller'. 'How could that be?'

377. *cals true hearts*. In John Taylor's *The Nipping or Snipping of Abuses*, 1614, C1^v: 'true' should be 'tru'.

390-7. Compare John Hacket in his tribute to Bishop Williams, *Scrinia Reserata*, 1693, part i, p. 5: 'But what the Region wants in Fatness of Soil, is requited by the Generous Spirits of the Inhabitants, a far greater Honour than much Clay and Dirt. I light upon it in the Invention of a Masque, Presented before King *James at Whitehall, An.* 1619. that our Laureat-Poet *Ben. Johnson* hath let some weighty Words drop from him, to the Honour of that Nation, and I take them as a serious Passage, and will own them, That the Country is a Seed-plot of honest Minds and Men. What Lights of Learning hath *Wales* sent forth for our Schools? What Industrious Students of our Laws? What able Ministers of Justice? Whence hath the Crown in all times better Servitors, more Liberal of their Lives and Fortunes? And I know I have their good Leave to say, That the Honour of *Wales* shin'd forth abroad in the Lustre of such a Native as this; and I add what *Pliny* writes to *Sabinus* of the *Firmians*, among whom he was born, *Credibile est optimos esse inter quos tu talis extiteris*, Lib. 6. Epist.'

NEWS FROM THE NEW WORLD DISCOVERED IN THE MOON

IN volume ii, p. 310, we dated this masque 6 January 1621; with a revival on 11 February, this has been the universally accepted date.¹ But Dr. Greg has convinced us that the performance took place a year earlier. Jonson himself tells us that this was his first masque at Court after he walked back from Scotland. 'One of our greatest poets', he makes the Printer say in lines 172-5, 'went to *Edinburgh* o' foot, and came backe; marry, he has been restive, they say, ever since, for we have had nothing from him; he has set out nothing, I am sure.' This places the *News from the New World* before *Pan's Anniversary* which was acted in 1620, probably on King James's birthday, 19 June. The performance was on 17 January and 29 February. The preparations for it are recorded in the Pell Order Book, 1619-20 (E 403/2739, 39):

Veneris xxiiij^{to} Decembris 1619

Edward Leech for the Masque of xpēmas	Order is taken this xv th of December 1619 by vertue of his Ma ^{te} Eres of privie Seale dated the third of the same Moneth that you deli ^u and paie of such his Ma ^{te} treasure as remaineth in yo ^r charge vnto
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¹ See Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, iv, p. 636; Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, ii, p. 11; Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, p. 357; Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais*, p. 526; Evans, *English Masques*, p. 130; Nicoll, *Stuart Court Masques*, p. 216.

Edward Leech the some of flower hundred pounde to be imployed in the charge of a Masque to be made this xprēmas next ensuing, the same to be taken vnto him and his assignes w'thout accompt, imprest or other charge to be sett vpon him or his assignes for the same or anie pt thereof And theis together wth his or his assignes acquittance shalbe yo^r discharge herein.

c
iiij^{li}

ffulk Grevill

Jul. Cæsar.

Watson.

There are the usual entries in the Audit Office accounts for 1619–20: the Treasurer of the Chamber notes preparations for two masques at Christmas and Shrovetide (A.O. 1/58/391), and Henry Weeks for the Office of Works records 'In all the saide woorkes and reparacons done and bestowed at whitehall and other places thereto belonging & nere adioyninge wth Cxxx^{li} xiijs v^d ob, for the maske there' (A.O. 1/50/2422). The *Calendar of Venetian State Papers* has references to the two performances in the dispatches of the ambassador Girolamo Lando. On 17 January 1620 (xvi, p. 138):

'This night the prince's masque took place, in which he and ten other cavaliers made a brave show. Among them Buckingham was first, and apparently he is as great a favourite with the prince as with his father. The ceremony lasted more than three hours, attended by an extraordinary number of ladies very richly dressed and laden with jewels. His Majesty took part with much gaiety and greatly enjoyed the agility and dancing of his son and of the marquis, who contended against each other for the favour and applause of the king and to give him pleasure. I, as representing your Serenity, and the Ambassadors of France and Savoy were honoured and entertained in a seemly manner. We were all placed on a stage to see the dancing and afterwards, following the king, we went to see the supper, in the usual way. At the masque his Majesty sat under his usual large canopy, surrounded by numerous lords. Near him stood the former Archbishop of Spalato, who daily advances in esteem and favour by the publication of books greatly to the king's taste and in other ways.'

On 13 March he writes again that Baron Dohna, the ambassador of the King of Bohemia, 'had the honour of being invited to the last performance of the prince's masque, which took place on the day of carnival according to the calendar here. No other representatives of princes received invitations, only he and the Ambassador Caron of the States', i.e. Holland (ibid., p. 197).

Can we connect Jonson with these performances? In January 1620 a royal messenger Thomas Cooke was twice sent 'from the Court at Whitehall into London by Cripellgatt, to warn M^r Ben

Johnson the Poet, and the players at the Blackfriars to attend Hys Highnes the night following at Court': we printed Cooke's bill for these journeys in vol. i, p. 235. With this evidence of Jonson being summoned to Whitehall by Prince Charles in January 1620 we think Dr. Greg proves the date of the present masque; there is no evidence that Jonson was similarly called to Court in the following year. There are notices of the 1621 masque in the Audit Office accounts of preparations (A.O. 1/59/391 and A.O. 1/55/2424) and an entry in the Pell Order Book on 28 December 1620 (E 403/2740, f. 38) of another £400 to Edward Leech, but there is no mention, official or other, of Jonson at this date. And there is one point that tells against his authorship of the twelfth-night masque of 1621. Chamberlain told Carleton that 'there was a puritan brought in to be flowted and abused, w^{ch} was somewhat vnseemly and vnseasonable, specially as matters are now wth those of the religion in France' (S.P. 14 cxviii. 24). The reference in *News from the New World* to the 'Doppers' in lines 203-8 is so brief and the satire so mild that Chamberlain's criticism could not apply to it: this would only be possible if the text had been shortened at this point, and that is unlikely.

In the 'Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Charles, Prince of Wales, 1619-20' (E 101/435/4) by Viscount Purbeck, master of the wardrobe, there are some interesting bills for dresses in three masques of this year, two at 'Berry' and Newmarket, and one other which is not distinctly specified, but must refer to *News from the New World*. The dresses in this are for the Prince, Humphrey Palmer, and James Buy (or Bowy).¹

On page 6:

iiij Masking suite of coullord satten
(To Patrick Blacke)

For making iiij Masking Suites of oringe tawney satten
and w^{tt2} satten wrought in divers worke wth broad
and small Copper lace at xj^{li}. x^s. a piece:

For Cutting & seizing the suite at xxx^s. a piece—

For furniture to them at iiij^{li}. a piece—

For xx yd^e of Callicoe for ij Patternes at ij^s. vj^d.

For buckram fustian and Canvas—

For one yard of w^{tt} satten

More to the said Patrick Black for drawing Patternes
for the aforesaid Suites in diverse sorte of worke
all over—

For making three robes and hood^e of white Taffata
thick wrought wth the same lace suiteable—

xxxiiij^{li}. x^s

iiij^{li}. x^s.

ix^{li}.

1^s.

xxv^s.

xv^s.

vij^{li}. x^s.

v^{li}.

¹ Cf. the bill for Bowy and Palmer in the *Pan's Anniversary* account on page 607. ² White.

Page 15:

To Thomas Woodrove—

For xxxiiij y ^{de} of oringe coullor satten for iij Masking suites and Bases at xvjs.	} xxvj ^{li} . viijs.
For xviiij y ^{de} of w ^{tt} satten for the same suite at xvjs.	
For xxvj elnes di: of w ^{tt} Taff' to lyne and cut the masking suite at xiijs. vjd.	} xix ^{li} . iijs. ijd.

Page 21:

To Samuell Parke

For CCCx oz of w ^{tt} plate lace for iij Masking suites at xxiij ^d the oz	} xxviiij ^{li} . viijs. ijd.
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Page 29:

To Mary Darbshire

For ij Cutworke ruffes and Cuffes for Humphrey Palmer and James Buy for the Maske at xxxvs a piece	} iij ^{li} . xs.
For one fair Cutworke ruffe for his Highnes for the Maske	

Page 32:

To Robert Jones

ffor a faire w ^{tt} Plume for his H ^s : Maske w th xl dozen of egrete	} ix ^{li} .
For ij faire Plumes for Humphrey Palmer & James Buy for the Maske w th xxx dozen of egrete apiece at viij ^{li}	

Page 36:

To Elizabeth Loveday for iij headpieces for the Maske, one for his H ^s , one for Humphrey Palmer: th'other for James Buy at V ^{li}	} xv ^{li} .
For iij venetian Maske lyned, pfumed, cut and ribbaned at xvjs a piece	

Page 40:

To John Shepley

For imbrodring iij Masking suites vpon w ^{tt} satten and all maner of Stufte neadfull	} xj ^{li} . vjs.
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Motto. *Nascitur è tenebris* . . . Untraced: it means 'It is a world springing from darkness and asserting itself', i.e. newly discovered and claiming to have life.

18. *Copie*. Cf. the preface to Caxton's *Malory*, 3, 'And I accordyng to my cotype haue doon sette it in enprynte'.

20. *fine*. 32. *finer*. 44. *Superlative*. Cf. *Alch.* III. ii. 10, 14, 18.

22. *my Chronicle*. Cf. *S. of N.* i. v. 32, 'The publique *Chronicler*. Fir. How, doe you call him there?' a reference to Edmond Howes, the continuator of Stow.

28. *degrees, steps*.

34. *a Factor of newes*. The conception is fully worked out in *The Staple of News*, acted a little later in 1626. Compare the '*Liegers, that lie out Through all the Shires o'the kingdome*' and the '*Reformed newes, Protestant newes, And Pontificiall newes*' (i. v. 20-1, 14, 15).

48. *the serpent in Sussex*. Trundle printed a ballad, *True and Wonderfull. A Discourse relating a strange and monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered, and yet liuing, to the great annoyance and diuers slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent poyson, In Sussex two miles from Horsam, in a woode called S. Leonards Forrest, and thirtie miles from London, this present month of August. 1614*. Signed 'A. R. He that would send better newes if he had it.' Witnesses who had seen it were 'the Carrier of Horsam, who lieth at the White Horse in Southwarke'. 'Iohn Steele, Christopher Holder, And a widdow woman dwelling neare Faygate.' The serpent was 'nine foote or rather more in length, and shap't almost in the forme of an Axeltree of a Cart, a quantity of thicknesse in the midst, and somewhat smaller at both ends. The former part which he shootes forth (as a necke) is suppos'd to be an elle long, with a white ring (as it were) of scales about it. The scales along his backe seeme to be blackish, and so much as is discourd vnder his bellie appeareth to be red. . . . There are likewise on either side of it discour'd two great bunches so big as a large footeball: and (as some thinke) will in time grow to wings.' A ballad telling how it was killed was licensed to H. Gosson on 5 September 1614. R. Brathwaite in *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 9, of a ballad-monger: 'for want of truer relations, for a neede he can finde you out a *Sussex Dragon*, some Sea or Inland monster, drawne out by some *Shoelane* man in a *Gorgon-like* feature, to enforce more horror in the beholder.' (Sign-painters lived in Shoe Lane.) Trundle's ballad had a picture of the dragon venting his poison, with a man and a woman and a cow dead at his feet.

48-9. *witches . . . at Derby*. This pamphlet is now unknown.

49-67. Repeated in *S. of N.* i. v. 36-61.

66. *Print over againe with a new date*. See *ibid.* 61 n.

85. *Truncke, tube*. *S.W.* i. i. 190. 'Telescope' was not used in English before 1657, except in Galileo's Italian form 'telescopio'.

91. *perplexive*, 'tending to perplex' (*O.E.D.*). But query, 'intricate'.

92. *Pythagoras way*. See *Blackness*, 236-7.

94. *Cornelius Agrippa . . . In disco Lunæ*. Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535), soldier, physician, and reputed magician, served the emperor Maximilian. Jonson refers to his *De Occulta Philosophia*, i. vi (1531, C3): 'Et est aliud præstigium admirandum magis, vbi pictis certo artificio imaginibus, scriptisve literis, quas nocte serena plenę lunę radijs opponat, quarum simulachris in ære multiplicatis, sursumq; raptis, et vna cum lunę radijs reflexis, alius quispiam rei

conscius per longam distantiam videt, legit, & agnoscit, in ipso disco, seu circulo lunę: quod equidē nunciandorū secretorum obsessis villis, & ciuitatibus vtilissimum artificiū est, olim a Pitagora factitatū, & hodie aliquibus adhuc, pariter & mihi non incognitū.'

97. *Cornelius Dribble*. S.W. v. iii. 63 n.

101. *Perspicill*, optic glass. S. of N. i. i. 6.

102. *the Rosie crosses intelligence*. See lines 209-12.

116. *stale Ensignes o'the Stage*. As in *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the account in Manningham's *Diary* (Harl. MS. 5353) of 'the man in the moone with thornes on his backe looking downward' in the devices at Whitehall, 1601.

128. *found to be . . . inhabited*. Cf. Webster, *The Devils Law-Case*, 1623, III. iii. 164-5:

Oh, if there be another world i'th Moone,
As some fantasticks dreame.

Kepler, in his *Dissertatio Cum Nuncio Sidereo nuper ad mortales misso à Galilæo Galilæo*, 1610, Ciiij, described scientifically for the first time the mountainous configuration of the moon; speaking paradoxically, he said, 'moneam veri non absimile, non tantum in Luna, sed etiam in Ioue ipso incolas esse; . . . Colonos vero, primum atq; quis artem volandi docuerit, ex nostra hominum gente non defuturos'.

134. *Weapontakes*. An etymological spelling: N.I. iv. ii. 16, 'wapen-take'.

152-68. Repeated in a terser and more literary form in *Disc.* 710-18. The quotation has not been identified, but for the idea of a woman's poet H. A. Evans (*English Masques*, pp. 135-6) suggests a reference to Middleton's *The Inner-Temple Masque. Or Masque of Heroes. Presented (as an Entertainment for many worthie Ladies:) By Gentlemen of the same Ancient and Noble House*, 1619: in a six-line proem Middleton says, 'Being made for Ladies, Ladies vnderstood'. Jonson's contempt for Middleton was expressed to Drummond (*Conv.* xi. 168), and he sneered at *A Game at Chesse* as a 'poor' play in S. of N. III. ii. 209. F. G. Fleay further suggested that Jonson was girding at Campion, who wrote in the epilogue to his *Masque at Lord Hay's wedding*, 1607:

Neither buskin now, nor bayes
Challenge I: a Ladies prayse
Shall content my proudest hope.
Their applause was all my scope;
And to their shrines properly
Reuels dedicated be:
Whose soft eares none ought to pierce
But with smooth and gentle verse.

156. *womans Taylor*. Compare Parrot's quibble, *Laquei Ridiculosi*, 1612, ii, ep. 181, 'Nonnunquam iactat egenus':

Iacke is a Gentleman, I must confesse,
For ther's no Womans Taylor can be lesse.

And the woman's tailor Falstaff pressed was 'Feeble'.

159–60. Horace, *Odes*, iv. ii. 5–8:

Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
quem super notas aluere ripas,
fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore.

172. *greatest* in bulk. *M.L.* i. ii. 33–4:

a great Clarke
As any 'is of his bulke, (*Ben: Ionson*).

173. *went to Edinburgh* in 1618.

174. *restive*, inactive, specially used of an intractable horse which refuses to go forward: 'resty', *S.W.* i. i. 172.

185. *Endymions way*. Lucian, *Vera Historia*, i. xi. 78, when the voyagers reach the moon, they are taken to the king, who told them ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ὦν τοῦνομα Ἐνδυμίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς καθεύδων ἀναρπασθείη ποτὲ καὶ ἀφικόμενος βασιλεύσειε τῆς χώρας· εἶναι δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην ἔλεγε τὴν ἡμῖν κάτω φαινομένην Σελήνην.

186. *Menippus* on the wings of an eagle and a vulture. Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, x, καὶ δὴ συλλαβὼν τὰ ὄρνεα θατέρου μὲν τὴν δεξιὰν πτέρυγα, τοῦ γυπὸς δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ἀπέτεμον εὖ μάλα· εἶτα διαδήσας καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὤμους τελαμῶσι καρτεροῖς ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ πρὸς ἄκροις τοῖς ὠκυπτέροις λαβὰς τινὰς ταῖς χεῖρσι παρασκευάσας ἐπειρώμην ἑμαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναπηδῶν καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ χῆνες ἔτι χαμαιπετῶς ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ ἀκροβατῶν ἅμα μετὰ τῆς πτήσεως.

187. *Empedocles*. Lucian, *ibid.* xiii. ἐφίσταται κάτοπιν ὁ φυσικὸς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ἀνθρακίας τις ἰδεῖν καὶ σποδοῦ πλέως καὶ κατωπτημένος. He tells Menippus, ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἑμαυτὸν φέρων ἐνέβαλον, ὁ καπνὸς με ἀπὸ τῆς Αἵτνης ἀρπάσας δεῦρ' ἀνήγαγε, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ κατοικῶ ἀεροβατῶν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ σιτοῦμαι δρόσον.

199. *Pythagorians . . . dumbe as fishes*. *Poet.* iv. iii. 132–4, *S.W.* ii. ii. 3 spell 'Pythagoreans'. 'At first spelt and pronounced *Pythagórian*; the spelling was changed c. 1600–34, but the pronunciation was still used by Cowley and Dryden' (*O.E.D.*).

202. *O'th' deaw o'th' Moone*, like Empedocles: see 187 n.
like Grashoppers. *S. of N.* v. v. 36.

203. *Doppers*, Anabaptists. *Ibid.* iii. ii. 151.

206–7. *hum, and ha*. *Alch.* iii. ii. 55.

210. *a Castle i'th' ayre . . .* 212. *in print*. Cf. *F.I.* 99–102 n.

216. *out-grone, the groning wives*. In modern punctuation 'outgroan—the groaning wives'. F. Cunningham instances Jenny Geddes.

220. *eate candles ends*. Cf. the 'flap-dragons' of C.R. Palinode 7.

234. *Moone-Calves*. Jonson plays on this term for a congenital idiot.

245. *with wind*. Like the Ἀνεμοδρόμοι in Lucian, *V.H.* i. xiii. φέρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἄνευ πτερῶν· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς φορᾶς τοιόσδε· χιτῶνας ποδήρεις ὑποζωσάμενοι κολπώσαντες αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀνέμῳ καθάπερ ἰστία φέρονται ὥσπερ τὰ σκάφη.

246. *China-waggon*s. Cf. Milton, *P.L.* iii. 437–9:

on the barren plaines
Of *Sericana*, where *Chineses* drive
With Sails and Wind thir canie Waggon light.

In Abraham Ortelius' map of China beyond the Great Wall, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the wagons are pictured.

249. *Hide-Parke*. *D. is A.* i. vi. 216.

255. *Carmen*. *E.M.I.* III. ii. 70.

260. *skirre*. Fletcher, *Bonduca*, i. i:

The light shadows,
That in a thought scur o'r the fields of Corn.

274. *Baabee*, 'a Scotch coin of base silver equivalent originally to three, and afterwards to six, pennies of Scotch money, about a half-penny of English coin' (*O.E.D.*).

275-6. *the Isle of the Epicænes*. Suggested by Lucian, *V.H.* i. xxii. *πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐκ γυναικῶν γεννᾶσθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρρένων· γάμοις γὰρ τοῖς ἀρρεσι χρώνται καὶ οὐδὲ ὄνομα γυναικὸς ὅλως ἴσασι.*

278. *not heads*, close-cropped: 'knot-headed', *T. of T.* i. v. 22.

280. *laugh and lie downe*. *Cat.* III. 697 n.

313. *the truth*. The Prince impersonates Truth; other masquers are Knowledge (329), Harmony (345), Fame (366).

Procritus. Untraced: it is a properly formed Greek word (*πρόκριτος* 'chosen before others'), but no one bearing that name is recorded in antiquity. That Jonson believed he was quoting here in 'that all their motions be form'd to the music of your peace' is shown by his use of the phrase elsewhere in reference to King James: cf. *King's Ent.* 753, 'the musique of thy peace'; *Irish M.* 159, 'the musique of his peace' (so *P.A.* 68). Drayton also used the phrase in the gratulatory poem *To the Maiestie of King James* at his accession, 1603 (*Works*, ed. Hebel, i, p. 475):

Renowned Prince, when all these tumults cease,
Even in the calme, and Musick of thy peace.

263. *new Wells*. A reference to Epsom. Cf. Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 1662, Surrey, iii, p. 78, 'Medicinal Waters': 'Ebsham. They were found on this occasion some *two and forty years* since (which falleth out to be 1618.) One *Henry Wicker* in a dry Summer and great want of water for Cattle, discovered in the Concave of a Horse or Neats-footing, some water standing. His suspicion that it was the stale of some Beast, was quickly confuted by the clearness thereof. With his Pad-staffe he did dig a square hole about it, and so departed. Returning the next day, with some difficulty he recovered the same place, (as not sufficiently particularized to his memory in so wide a Common) and found the hole, he had made, filled and running over with soft clear water. Yet Cattle (though tempted with thirst) would not drink thereof, as having a Mineral tast therein. . . . Their convenient distance from *London* addeth to the Reputation of these Waters, and no wonder if

Citizens comming thither, from the *worst* of *smoakes* into the *best* of *Airs*, find in themselves a perfective alteration.'

265. *Tunbridge*. The third Lord North in 1606, staying for the sake of his health at Lord Abergavenny's hunting lodge by Eridge in Kent, in what was then a tract of uncultivated forest, noticed a clear spring with a shining scum on its surface, which left a ruddy, ochreous streak in the neighbouring brook; he sent a bottle to London to his physician, who pronounced it medicinal. In three weeks North was cured, and the fame of the Wells began.

the Spaw in the province of Liège, Belgium. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, i. xi. 30:

Both *Silo* this, and *Iordan* did excell,
And th'English *Bath*, and eke the german *Spau*.

PAN'S ANNIVERSARY

THE pastoral setting in a summer atmosphere points to a performance on King James's birthday, 19 June. We therefore follow Rudolf Brotanek in dating it on that day in 1620 and withdraw the statement on page 528 of volume vii, dating the performance on 17 January and Shrovetide when *News from the New World discovered in the Moon* was played at Whitehall. But on 19 June 1620 James was at Greenwich, and there is no record of any performance there or elsewhere. The date 1620 is confirmed by the bill of properties which Dr. Hugh W. Diamond printed in *Notes and Queries*, 1855, series I, vol. xii, pp. 485-6: 'The original', he said, 'is one of the Exchequer documents ordered to be destroyed.' The bill includes a belated fragment for some items in the masque of January.

The exchequer document is as follows:

ffor the Prince's Maske.

Tooth Drewor, I.

	£	s.	d.
Item, for fusten to line the tooth drewor's suit, 6 yardes at xijd. the yard	00	06	00
For baise for it	00	04	00
For canvis and styffeninge for it	00	03	04
For callycoe to face his dublyt and to line his cassacke	00	05	00
For buttons and sylke and loope leace for his dublyt and cassacke	00	08	00
For a paire of baces for him	00	03	00
For xij yardes of coper leace to leace the trappinges of the hobby horse	00	16	00
For fine buckeram to make the trapinges	00	02	00
	02	07	04

Judgler, 2.

	£	s.	d.
For fusten to line his suite	00	06	00
For canvis and styffening for it	00	03	04
For baise for it	00	04	00
For buttons and sylke for it	00	01	06
For callycoe to face it and to line the cassacke	00	04	00
For haire to stuffe his hose	00	01	00
For coper fringe for his dublyt	00	02	00
	01	01	10

Prophet, 3.

For fringe for his robe and cloocke, 7 yardes, at xvjd. the yarde	00	09	04
For styffeninge for the ceape	00	00	03
	100	09	07

Clocke Keeper, 4.

For fusten to line his breeches	00	03	00
For baise	00	02	08
For furr to edge it, and for the ceap	00	04	00
	00	09	08

Clarke, 5.

For fusten to line his suite	00	06	00
For baise to line it	00	04	00
For canvis and styffeninge for it	00	03	04
For buttons and sylke for it	00	02	04
For buttons for his gowne	00	06	00
For russett fusten to make the sleafe of the gowne, and sylke	00	02	00
	01	03	08

(Corn-cutter)

For lineinges for his suite	00	06	00
For baise for it	00	04	00
For canvis and styffeninge for it	00	03	04
For buttons and sylke for it	00	01	00
For callycoe to face it	00	01	00
And for the tinder-box man as much, and for the mowse-trap man as much, and for the bellowse mender as much, and for the tincker as much—which comes to for these five, at 15s. 4d. a peece	03	16	8 ²
For leace for the corne cutter's suite	00	07	00
For stuffe for a boot hose tope	00	00	09
For a tincker's budgett	00	04	00
For poyntes and teape	00	02	00
For bandes	00	03	00
For green leace for the tincker's suite	00	02	00
For makeinge them ten suites, and the hobbye horse a suite	06	13	04
	07	12	01

¹ The adding up of this was at first wrongly made, standing 'ool. 10s. 07d.'.

² There should have been a break here, with a total sum of £4. 12s.

ffor the ffencer.

	£	s.	d.
A ruffe band and cuffes	01	06	00
A bl' silke wrought waistcoate	03	00	00
A white leather jerkin	00	12	00
A paire of pumpes	00	02	06
	05	00	06

ffor the Bellowes Mender.

6 bl' Spanish leather skinns for doublett and hose, att 5s.	01	10	00
A paire of bellowes	00	01	00
A budgett	00	04	00
A hammer	00	01	00
A girdle	00	01	00
	01	17	00

ffor the Tinker.

4 white leather skinns for a doublett, att 2s. 8d.	00	10	08
A budgett of rough haire	00	04	00
A kettle	00	03	06
A hammer	00	01	00
A broad leather belt sett with studdes and a great guilt bosse	00	04	00
A girdle	00	01	00
	01	04	02

ffor the Mouse Trappman.

6 yardes of copper lace to lace <h>is cloake, att 1s. 8d.	00	10	00
6 mousetrappes	00	02	06
12 brushes to scoure pottes	00	00	06
A paire of bl' bastians	00	04	00
A leather belt	00	02	00
	00	19	00

ffor the Iugler.

4 juglinge cuppes	00	03	00
A sticke	00	00	02
A glasse chaine	00	05	00
A dozen of great meddles ¹	00	00	06
6 great ringes	00	00	06
A girdle	00	01	00
	00	10	02

ffor the Cornecutter.

A bl' leather pouch	00	03	00
A hone	00	00	06
2 knives	00	01	06
	00	05	00

¹ 'Counters' was first written.

ffor the Tinder-box Man.

For 3 tinder-boxes w th steeles to them	£	s.	d.
	00	02	06
A leather girdle	00	01	00
	00	03	06

ffor the Clocke Keeper.

A bunch of keeyes	00	02	00
A bell	00	00	06
A sunne diall	00	03	00
A girdle	00	01	00
	00	06	06

ffor the Scribe¹

A penne and inkhorne	00	00	04
A paire of spectacles	00	00	10
A paper booke	00	00	08
A girdle	00	01	00
	00	02	10

ffor the Prophett.

A paire of sheeres	00	02	00
A taylor's yard	00	00	04
	00	02	04
To two porters for goeing of busines between Westm' and Bl' ffriers	00	02	00
Somma	10	13	00

Paid to Taylor.

For a curld white haire and a longe beard	00	06	00
For lyninge to the hose	00	03	00
For makeinge the cop	00	02	00
For silke, rybbon, and makeinge y ^e hose	00	06	00
For makeinge the scarfes	00	02	00
Totall sum	11	12	00
Y ^e Taylor	17	00	10
For vizardes	06	10	00
Two ruffes and cuffes for Mr. Bowy and Mr. Paulmer ²	03	10	00
	38	12	10

£	s.	d.
11	12	0
17	0	10
6	10	0
3	10	0
38	12	10

¹ 'Prophett' was first written.

² The Exchequer Quarterly Receipts for 1620 have an account for masking suits for Humphrey Palmer and James Buy for the January masque of 1620. See page 599.

For the Antick Maske at Xmas, 1620

£	s.	d.
34	10	00
3	10	00
38	00	00

Watsones Bill¹

For the antick mask £38 12 10

On 7 July 1928 the opening portion of the masque was performed by the students at Avery Hill College, Eltham. A dance of the first group of masquers with rustic attendants was followed by a second group of Arcadian shepherds with an antimasque of robots. Three hymns to Pan were sung from a setting by Geoffrey Shaw; there was also a morris dance, and finally the performers unmasked and led forth their guests for the revels.

3. *Censer and perfumes*. So in *L.T.* 82.

14. *drop*. Applied to flowers with pendent blossoms, such as the snowdrop.

the Springs owne spouse. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, xv. 149–50:

The Primrose placing first, because that in the Spring
It is the first appeares, then onely flourishing.

15. *Dayes-eyes*. O.E. *dæges ēage*, from its resemblance to the sun.
lips of Cowes. A blunder: the O.E. form is *cū-sloppe*.

19–24. Cf. Shelley's lyric, 'Music, when soft voices die':

Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
Live within the sense they quicken.

28. *prickles*, light open wicker baskets in which flowers were sent to market.

29. *Corn-flag*, gladiolus.

Adonis flower, the rose. Bion, i. 66, of the dying Adonis, *αἶμα ῥόδου τίκτει*.

30. *Oxe-eye*, corn-marigold. Turner, *Herbal*, 1551, I G1^v, 'Buphthalmus or oxey . . . hath leues lyke fenel and a yellowe floure greater then Camomill, lyke vnto an ey, whereupon it hath the name.'

Goldy-locks or Golden Maiden-hair ('*Muscus capillaris*, siue *Adiantum aureum*'), says Gerarde, a moss with stalks 'not aboue one handfull high, couered with short haire standing very thicke together, of an obscure yellow green colour' (*Herball*, ed. Johnson, 1633, p. 1559).

31. *Goulands*, or gollands, 'a name given to various species of *Ranunculus*, *Caltha*, and *Trollius*' (O.E.D.).

¹ Watson was one of the tellers of the Exchequer. He checks the warrant to Edward Leech for the January masque.

King-cups, butter-cups. W. Turner, *Libellus de Re Herbaria*, 1538, *Ranunculus* . . . Kyngecuppe. The name is also commonly used of the marsh-marigold.

Sops-in-wine, clove-gillyflowers. Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, April, 136-9:

Bring hether the Pincke and purple Cullambine,
With Gelliflowres:
Bring Coronations, and Sops in wine,
Worne of Paramoures.

Where E. K. glosses, 'Sops in wine a flowre in colour much like to a Coronation, but differing in smel and quantitye'. Gerarde, *Herbal*, 1597, II. clxxii, p. 472, '*Caryophyllus* . . . some whereof are called Carnations, others Cloue Gilloflowers.'

32. *Pagles*, or paigles, cowslips.

33. *Flower-gentle* or floramour, amaranthus. Gerarde, *Herbal*, 1597, II. xl. 255, defines amaranthus, 'In English flower Gentle, purple Veluet flower, Floramor'.

34. *Floure-de-luces*. When distinct from the lily, the white iris. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II. vi. 16:

The lilly, lady of the flowring field,
The flowre-deluce, her louely Paramoure.

But in *The Shepheardes Calender*, April, 144, he spells 'flowre Delice', and E. K. notes, 'Flowre delice, that which they vse to misterme, Flower de luce, being in Latine called Flos delitiarum'—a fanciful etymology which obtained in the sixteenth century.

35. *The chequ'd and purple-ringed Daffodillies*, fritillaries. Gerarde, 1597, *Herbal*, I. lxxxix, 'The chequered Daffodil or Jinny-hen floure . . . chequered most strangely'.

36. *Crowne-imperiall*. 'A handsome species of Fritillary (*Fritillaria Imperialis*), a native of Levantine regions, cultivated in English gardens; it bears a number of pendent flowers collected into a whorl round a terminal leafy tuft' (O.E.D.).

Kings-speare, yellow asphodel ('*asphodelus luteus minor*', Gerarde).

37. *Venus Navill*, wall pennywort, navelwort. R. D., *Hypnerotomachia*, 1592, f. 24b, 'With other murall and wall weeds comming out of the chinkes as . . . Venus Navill.'

Lady-smocks, cuckoo-flowers.

38. *Daphnes haire*, the laurel.

39. *gladdest myrtle*. So in *U.V.* xli. 6.

41. *Yellow-golds*, corn-marigolds.

Meadowes Queene, meadow-sweet. R. Holme, *Academy of Armoury*, II. 97, 'Queen of the Meadows, or Meadow sweet, or Mead sweet.'

44. *Panchaia*. *Highgate*, 121 n.

45. *The colours China*. Gifford notes this as an early reference to the colouring of the ware; China houses have been already noticed, *S.W.* I. iii. 36.

54. *showne his quarters*, virtually = 'his person'. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II. iii. 16:

Is not enough foure quarters of a man,
Withouten sword or shield, an hoste to quaile?

The phrase originated in the idea of 'quartering' a traitor's body.

plaid his prizes. C.R. v. iii. 9.

56-7. *hath . . . my*. So E.H. iv. i. 77, 'her . . . my'.

62. *a Bæotian enterprise*. So 248-50. The quick-witted Athenians taxed their Boeotian neighbours with stupidity and attributed it to the climate: 'Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum' (Horace, *Ep.* II. i. 244). *Βοιωτία* ὅς, *Βοιώτιον* οὗς and *Βοιώτιος* νοῦς were all proverbial.

67. *Pan*. The classical Pan was originally an Arcadian god of hills and woods: 'Arcadius deus', Propertius, I. xviii. 20.

68. *the musique of his peace*. N.W. 314.

71. *a Tinker*. Cf. 'To-Pan, Tinker, or Mettal-man of *Belsire*', a character in *A Tale of a Tub*, I. iii. 53.

84. *Cynætheian*. Cynaetha was in the extreme north of Arcadia, the modern Kalavryta.

86. *merry Greekes*, people full of frolic and jest. Compare the character of Matthew Merygreeke in Udall's *Royster Doyster*, who 'enters singing'.

90. *upon the point of his Poynard*. So in Inigo Jones's sketch of the Toothdrawer in Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans* (*Designs*, 262) the tooth stuck on the poinard is depicted: see P. Cunningham's *Life of Inigo Jones*, plate xi.

93. *yeoman of the mouth*. This was the title of an officer of the king's pantry. O.E.D. s.v. 'mouth', quotes the Rolls of Parliament 1450, V. 194/1, 'Yoman of oure Larder for oure Mouth'.

96. *learned Theban*. *King Lear*, III. iv. 153.

97-8. *a Master of Musique*. Harsnet, *Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603, p. 49, 'he had beene by some old Exorcist allowed for the Master setter of Catches, or roundes, vsed to be sung by Tinkers, as they sit by the fire with a pot of good Ale betweene theyr legges: *Hey iolly Ienkin, I see a knaue a drinking*.'

99. *Tickle-foot*. Bolsover, 63, 'Tune the Tickle-foot' of a dance. A piper in G.M. 772 is so named.

108. *Corne-cutter*. Also a character in B.F. II. iv.

109. *finified*. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Pimper*, to sprucifie, or finifie it; curiously to pranke, trimme, or tricke vp himselfe.'

112. *allow'd*, licensed.

115. *A Tinder-box-man*. Inigo Jones's drawing for one in Davenant's *Britannia Triumphans* is in *Designs*, 273, inscribed 'Buy a Tinder-Box'.

125. *to a nick*, 'i.e., what Shakespeare calls "a jar o' the clocke"' (Gifford).

128-9. *a Politician . . . a maker of Mouse-traps*. B.F. Ind. 144-5, and II. iv. 7.

132-3. *a Prophet . . . a Taylour*. There seems to have been some connexion between tailoring, shorthand, and the prophetic afflatus: see

S. of N. III. ii. 126-9, with the note on John Ball, who also talked of 'a time' and 'a half time'. A letter to Laud in the State Papers (Charles I, ccxxiv. 26) records the imprisonment of 'one Greene a taylor' who held that 'god could see no sin in his Children', who 'went to cambridge and in shorte time returnd to london and sett vpp his biles wth this Inscribed shorte hand taught by a Cambridge sculler'. The eminent stenographer Thomas Skelton was a zealous puritan, but his first book was published in 1626.

135. *for those are his Librarie.* S. of N. I. ii. 103.

138. *go through-stitch with all.* C. is A. II. iii. 15.

142-3. *can write . . . read too.* S. of N. 1st Intermean, 45-6.

144. *Brachygraphie*, shorthand. Sir G. Buck, *The Third Universitie of England* (in Howe's Stow's *Annales*, 1615, p. 984): 'In this Citie be taught the arts of *Calligraphie*, or faire writing of diuers handes, & Characters, and of CIPHERING, & *Algarisme*, and (which is much to be regarded) the Art of *Brachygraphie*, which is an Art newly discovered, or newly recouered, & is of very good & necessary vse being well and honestly exercised: for by the meanes and helpe therof (they which know it) can readily take a Sermon, Oration, Play, or any long speech, as they are spoken, dictated, acted, & vttered in the instant. It hath a good part in the Art of *Steganographie*' [i.e. writing in cipher], 'and is a principall member thereof.'

167. *Lycæan mountaine*, in Arcadia, now Dhiaforti. Virgil, *Georgics*, i. 16-17:

Ipse, nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaeï,
Pan ovium custos.

172-89. Re-used for 'A New-Year's Gift to the King', 1635, in *Und.* lxxix.

186. *great Pales*, the Italian country goddess, 'magna Pales' (Virgil, *Georgic*, iii. 1).

207. *Pans orgies.* See Jonson's note on *Hym.* 140.

223. *Belov'd of Pan.* Moschus, fr. ii. 1, ἤρατο Πὰν Ἀχῶς τὰς γείτονας.

234. *a hall.* T. of T. v. ix. 11.

239. *their punishment with the fact.* E.M.I. v. v. 45 n.

250. *their Countrey.* 'Vervecum in patria', Juvenal says of Boeotia, *Sat.* x. 50, where *vervex*, lit. 'a wether', means 'a blockhead'.

262. *fells, fleeces.*

263. *beestning*, the first milk after bearing young.

266. *Tode*, fox.

Brock, badger.

269. *thy lov'd Mænalus.* Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 22-5:

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentes
semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores,
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertes.
Incipe Maenalios mecum, mea tibia, versus.

THE GYPSIES METAMORPHOSED

THIS masque was performed three times in 1621. On 3 August it was performed at Burley-on-the-Hill, and on 5 August at Belvoir; the text was then revised for a final performance at Windsor in September. Brotanek and Reyher suggest 9 September as the date. In the textual introduction to the masque we have attempted to distinguish the early and the later versions from clues afforded by the text. The Marquess of Buckingham was the host at Burley, the Earl of Rutland at Belvoir. In Sir John Beaumont's *Bosworth-field*, 1629, on page 141, is '*My Lord of Buckinghams welcome to the King at Burley*', apparently written for him by Beaumont. Was this substituted for Jonson's prologue put on the lips of the porter?

Sir, you haue euer shin'd vpon me bright,
 But now, you strike and dazle me with light:
 You Englands radiant Sunne, vouchsafe to grace
 My house, a Spheare too little and too base,
 My Burley as a Cabinet containes
 The gemme of Europe, which from golden veines
 Of glorious Princes, to this height is growne,
 And ioynes their precious vertues all in one:
 When I your praise would to the world professe;
 My thoughts with zeale, and earnest feruour presse
 Which should be first, and their officious strife
 Restraines my hand from painting you to life.
 I write, and having written I destroy,
 Because my lines haue bounds, but not my ioy.

Buckingham played the part of the first Gipsy or Patrico; his brother-in-law Baron Feilding was the second Gipsy, and the poet Endymion Porter was the third Gipsy.¹ As the Countess of Buckingham is told in line 513 that two of her sons are gipsies, John, Viscount Purbeck, must have been the fourth Gipsy. The dancing-master John Ogilby was one of the minor performers: Aubrey records that 'when the duke of Buckingham's great masque was represented at Court, . . . he was chosen (among the rest) to performe some extraordinary part in it, and high-dancing and cutting capers, being then in fashion he, endeavouring to doe something extraordinary, by misfortune of a false step when he came to the ground, did spraine a veine on the inside of his leg, of which he was lame ever after' (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, p. 100).

In the Domestic State Papers (S.P. 14, cxxii. 32), under date 21 July 1621, are Sackville Crow's accounts of his disbursements for

¹ See vol. vii, p. 551, for the evidence.

Buckingham out of £1,000 received from Mr. Packer; £200 to Lanier, who evidently set the music for the masque, and £100 to Jonson. Minor items are £2. 11s. to a taborer, £12. 16s. to the fiddlers, and 11s. to the corniter.

Three letters of Chamberlain to Carleton touch on this masque. Writing on 4 August 1621, he says 'as yesterday the .k. was to be entertained by the .L. of Buckingham at Burly in Rutlandshire, a house of the .L. Harringtons that he bought of the Lady of Bedford, where was great prouision of playes maskes and all maner of entertainment; and this day the court remoues to Beauuoir' (S.P. 14, cxxii. 32). Again on 28 August he writes: 'The .k. was so pleased and taken wth his entertainment at the Lord marques that he could not forbear to express his contentment in certain verses he made there, to this effect, that the ayre, the weather, (though yt were not so here) and euery thing els, euen the staggs and bucks in their fall did seeme to smile, so that there was hope of a smiling boy wthin a while, to w^{ch} end he concluded wth a wish or votum for the felicitie and fruitfulness of that vertuous and blessed couple, and in way of Amen caused the bishop of London in his presence to geue them a benediction' (ibid. 77). James's poems are found in the Newcastle MS., f. 1, 'Verses made by King Iames at Burlye in the hill. Aug. 1621':

The heavens that wept perpetually before
Since we came hither, show their smiling cheer;
This goodly house, it smiles; and all this store
Of huge provision, smiles upon us here;
The bucks and staggs, in fall they seem to smile;
God send a smiling boy within a while.

Votum:

If ever in the April of my days
I sat upon Pernassus' forkèd hill,
And there inflamed with sacred fury still
By pen proclaimed our great Apollo's praise,
Grant, glistening Phoebus with thy golden rays,
My earnest wish which I present thee here,
Beholding of this blessed couple dear,
Whose virtues pure no pen can duly blaze
Thou by whose heat the trees in fruit abound,
Bless them with fruit delicious, sweet, and fair
That may succeed them in their virtues rare,
Firm plant them in their native soil and ground,
Thou Jove, that art the only God indeed
My prayer hear; Sweet Jesus, intercede.
Pro fertilitate et faelicitate.

Finally there is a letter of Chamberlain's on 27 October: 'for lacke of better newes here is likewise a ballet or song of Ben Iohnsons in the play or shew at the lord Marquis at Burly, and repeated again at windsor, for w^{ch} and other good seruice there don, he hath his pension from a 100 marks increased to 100^{li} per annum, besides the reuersion of the mastership of the reuells; there were other songs and deuises of baser alay, but because this has the vogue and generall applause at court, I was willing to send yt' (S.P. 14, cxxiii. 62).

There is a dispatch of Tannequy Leveneur, Count de Tillières, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, recording James's behaviour at Buckingham's house, MS. fr. 15989, f. 140; it is in cipher, but most of it has been deciphered by one of the royal secretaries. The first leaf is missing, but a secretary has dated it 28 September, 'Re(çu) le xiii octobre 1621'. It is therefore later than the Burley masque, but it refers to Jonson.

'pour celui qui voudroit représenter toutes les extravagances qui ont este faictes au progres . . il faudroit non seulement vne lettre mais des volumes tout entiers, ce qui sy est passe de plus remarquable et considerable, çà este en la maison de M. de Bouquincan; c'est le seul acte de toute la farce que je représenteray. . . .

'le Roy de la Grande bretagne pensant (que pour) honorer le maison dudit Marq. de bouquincan, il feroit hausser le temps [? ton] plus que de Coustume, se mist a boire à bon escient et quand il commoncea d'estre en lestat que l'on appelle en france entre deux vins . . . Il se leua de sa table puis prit le p. de Galles par la main et alla a celle des seig^{ra} et dames qui estoit toute proche et la commoncea a dire que entre luy et son fils il y auoit vne grande dispute (lequel) des deux aymoît dauantage le Marq de Bouquincan et la dessus allegua plus raisons tant pour luy q̄ po^r lomē qui pouuoient vnider le difference apres il tira des vers de sa pochette que avoit fait son poette nommé Janson à la louange de M. de Bouquincan.'

James also quoted others 'de son Invention sur le mesme subject qu'il jura vouloir estre mis sur toutes les portes du logis pour tesmoignage de la bonne volonte qu'il luy auoit portee. apres cela il demanda a boire'.

Jonson's gipsy characters speak their contemporary jargon. William Harrison in his *Description of England* prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1586 says it 'is not yet full threescore yeares' since begging became a trade, and the first use of the word 'Egyptyan' for a gipsy is in Sir Antony Fitzherbert's *boke of Iustices of the peas*, 1514. Harrison adds: 'Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name *Canting* (but others pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od

words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to understand.' It has, of course, no connexion with Romany.

There is a literature of canting. It begins in 1565 with John (or Sampson) Awdeley's *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes. As wel of ruflyng Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes, with their proper names and qualities*. This defined the types of 'the .xxv. Orders' of Knaves. It was followed by Thomas Harman's *A Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursetors vulgarely called Vagabondes*, 1567. This treats fully the vocabulary. The remaining works are literary piracy. First, *The Groundworke of Conny-catching; the manner of their Pedlers-French*, 1592, stolen from Harman and attributed to Robert Greene. Then Dekker's *The Belman of London*, 1608, also extracted from Harman. S. Rid in *Martin Mark-all, beadle of Bridewell*, 1610, exposed Dekker's theft: he also wrote *The Art of Iugling*, 1612.

We have used the Awdley and Harman reprint with a critical introduction by Viles and Furnivall in 1880 for the New Shakspeare Society.

Prologue at Burley

5. *Welcome*. Compare the greeting at Theobalds quoted on page 401.

12. *your bountie*. Arthur Wilson, *Life and Reign of James I*, 1653, pp. 104-5: 'To speak of his Advancement by *Degrees*, were to lessen the Kings Love; for *Titles* were heaped upon him, they came rather like *showers* than *drops*. . . . Knighthood, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, were the first sprinklings. . . . And Sir *George Villiers* (Baron of *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villers*, and Earl of *Buckingham*, also of the Privy Council) is made Master of the Horse. In this glory he visits *Scotland* with the King and is made a Privy Councillor there. . . . he jumpt higher than ever *Englishman* did in so short a time, from a private Gentleman to a *Dukedom*.'

Prologue at Windsor.

30. *Ptolomees*. Gipsy in its early form *gipcyan* is aphetic for Egyptian; hence the use of such names as Ptolemy and Cleopatra (61).

at ones. From the Middle English *ânes*, *ônes*: see O.E.D.

31. *for the nones*, for that once. *Volp.* II. ii. 203.

52. *five little children*. Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608, G5, describes the gypsies' children as 'some-times caried (like so many greenee geese aliue to a market) in paires of panieres, or in dossers like fresh-fish from Rye that comes on horsebacke, (if they be but infants.) But if they can stradle once, then aswell the shee roagues as the hee roagues are horst, seauen or eight vpon one iade, strongly pineond, and strangely tyed together.'

57. *Iackman*. A misprint for 'Iarkman' in Awdeley, *The Fraternity of Vacabondes*, 1575 (ed. Viles and Furnivall, p. 5), 'A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and set to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.' Harman, *A Caveat for Cursitors*, 1567 (p. 60), 'a Iarkeman hathe his name of a Iarke, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writinges and set seales for lycences and pasporte(s)'.

59. *the fower sonnes of Aymon*. The *Chanson de Geste* of the *Quatre Fils Aimon*, a poem of the Charlemagne cycle, was translated by Caxton about 1489. Wynkyn de Worde published an edition in 1504. *The right pleasaunt and goodly Historie of the foure Sonnes of Aimon* was printed by William Copland in 1554: it had a title-page which depicted the four sons, Renaud, Alard, Richard, and Guichard, sitting fully armed on their one horse, the magic Bayard. An old play, *The Four Sons of Aimon*, is in Henslowe's *Diary*, 1602, ed. Greg, ff. 109, 112; it was licensed to Prince Charles's men in 1624.

70. *beard, and . . . belly*. B.F. iv. iv. 189.

72. *wretchock*, lit. the smallest or weakest of a brood of fowls, hence any puny or imperfect creature. 'Wretchcocke' is a misprint in Jonson's printed text.

75. *broken beare*, stale leavings. *M. of A.* 129. The phrase is illogically extended from 'broken bread' or 'broken meat'.

77. *quinquennium*. The wretchock was seven years old, but looked as if he were hardly five.

78. *ynckle*, a linen tape of different qualities and widths. . . . always to be found in the packs of chapmen and pedlers (Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama*, p. 99). Harman, *Caueat*, E.E.T.S., p. 65, 'These Bawdy baskets be also women, and go with baskets and Cap-cases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pynnes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours.'

82. *ben bowse*. Harman, p. 83, 'bene, good'. 'Bowse' has passed into the language: Harman, *ibid.*, has 'bowse, drynke'.

stauling Ken. Harman, p. 32, 'their stawlinge kens, whiche is their typpling houses', glossing 'a staulinge ken' (p. 83) as 'a house that wyll receaue stolen ware'.

nip a Ian. S. Rid, *Martin Mark-all*, 1610, E3, 'To nip a Ian, to cut a purse'.

cly the iarke. Harman, p. 84, 'to cly the gerke, to be whypped'.

84. *cheates*. S. Rid, *Martin Mark-all*, E2, 'Cheates, which word is vsed generally for things, as *Tip me that Cheate*, Giue me that thing'.

peckage. S. Rid, *ibid.*, E3^v, 'Peckage meat'.

85. *Harman-beckage*, the stocks. Harman, p. 84, 'the harman beck, the Constable. the harmans, the stockes'.

86. *Libkens*. Harman, p. 83, 'a Lypken, a house to lye in'.

Crackmans. Rid, E2, 'Crackmans the hedge'.

87. *skipper*. Harman, p. 83, 'a skypper, a barne'.

Blackmans. Harman, p. 84, 'the lightmans, the daye. the darkemans, the nyght'. *Blackmans* varies '*darkmans*' because of the rhyme.

89. *Cacklers*, fowls. Harman, p. 83, 'a cakling chete, a cocke or capon'; on p. 86 a hen.

Grunters. Harman, p. 83, 'a grunting chete . . . a pyg'. *no grunters*, because of King James's dislike of swine: cf. 280, 1365.

95. *Tiballs*. So 'Theobalds' was pronounced.

96. *chiballs*, 'a species of Allium . . . known also as Stone Leek, Rock Onion, and Welsh Onion, in appearance intermediate between the onion and the leek. Now little cultivated in Britain' (*O.E.D.*). *E. Bl.* 202.

100. *Barnabee* . . . 102. *Gervice*. Evidently attendants in the royal gardens.

103. *the tall man*. *E.M.I.* iv. xi. 48. *Charles* suggests that they hoped to secure the Prince for the part of the first Gypsy; Buckingham, who took that part, was George.

104. *salmon*. Harman, p. 83, glosses 'Salomon, a alter or masse': here the sense appears to be 'worship'. It is found as an oath by people masquerading as gypsies in Middleton's *The Roaring Girl*, v. i. 164, 226, 'by the salomon' (i.e. by the mass).

109-10. *third volume of Reports* . . . in the *lawes of Cantinge*. A parody on the titles of legal reports, e.g. Plowden's *Second part of Reports*, 1594, or *Abridgment des reports de les tres-reverend Judge, Segnior Dyer*, 1602.

112. *Guittara*. In this Spanish form the earliest example in the *O.E.D.*

116. *to a stand*, i.e. at the end of the dance.

121. *Peake of Darby*. S. Rid, *Martin Mark-all*, 1610, A2, speaks of 'a Conuocation of Canting Caterpillars . . . in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake', adding a marginal note, 'Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once euerie three yeeres assemble in the night because they will not be seene and espied, being a place to those that know it verie fit for that purpose, it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground, at first by estimation halfe a mile in compasse, but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost, if hee enter not with a guide.' Alluded to in *D. is A.* i. iii. 34-5, *E. Welbeck*, 96.

121-2. *Darby* . . . *hard by*. The same rhyme in *U.V.* xlv. 21-3.

136. *cut yo' laces*, i.e. faint. Windsor substitutes 'go away', the Ladies' fortunes having been omitted there and the fortunes of the Lords substituted.

145. *Patrico*, hedge-priest. Awdeley, p. 6, though he confuses the name, gives the account found in Harman and thence amplified by Dekker: 'A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill death depart the married folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart euery one of them a seuerall way.' Dekker, *The Belman of London*, 1608, D3, says the *Patrico* 'amongst Beggars is their priest, euery hedge being his parish, euery wandering Harlot and Rogue his parishioner, the seruice he saies, is onely the marrying of couples, which he does in

a wood vnder a tree or in the open field: . . . the wedding dinner is kept at the next Ale-house they stumble into.'

155-7. *a Gentry-Coue . . . Of the Beauer ken*. Harman, p. 83, 'a gentry cofes ken, A noble or gentlemans house'. Beaver is Belvoir Castle, and the allusion is to the Earl of Rutland, the lord-lieutenant of the county.

164. *One or two, if not three*. The King, the Prince, and Buckingham.

166. *Roome-morts*, great ladies. Harman, p. 84, 'Rome mort, the Quene'.

178. *fast & loose*. *Volp.* i. ii. 8.

179. *short cutt & longe*. *C.R.* Ind. 26-7.

182. *Pythagoras lot*. A divination with proper names, assigning numbers to the letters; when added up, they foretold victory in war or success in life to those whose sum was the larger. The locus classicus is Cornelius Agrippa, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum*, ed. 2, 1540?, cap. xv. '*De sorte Pythagorica*': the statement that Aristotle believed it is nonsense.

'Nec illud prætereundum censeo, quod asserebant Pythagorici, & quod alij putant, ipse etiam credidit Aristoteles, literarum elementa certos suos possidere numeros, ex quibus per propria hominum nomina diuinabant, collectis in summā cuius libet literarum numeris, quibus collatis, palmam illi tribuerunt, cuius summa alteram excesserat, siue de bello, siue de lite, siue de coniugio, siue de uita aut alia consimili re quæsitum foret: eaque ratione dicunt Patroclum ab Hectore uictum, illum uero ab Achille superatum, quam rem Terentianus tradidit ijs versibus:

	Et nomina tradunt ita literis facta,
	Hæc ut numeris pluribus, illa sint minutis.
	Quandoque subibunt dubia pericla pugnæ,
	Maior numerus qua steterit, fauere palmam,
	Præsagia lethi minima, patere summa.
Horosco	Sic & Patroclum Hectoris manu perisse,
pia p sor	Sic Hectora tradunt cecidisse mox Achillis.
tes	

Et sunt qui simili computo promittunt sese horoscopa inuenturos, sicut de ijs tradidit nescio quis, nomine Achandrinus, obscurus philosophus, quem ferunt discipulum fuisse Aristotelis. Et narrat Plinius Pythagoræ inuentis etiam illud attribui, propriorum nominum imparem uocalium numerum, orbitates oculorum, claudicationes, consimilesve casus portendere.'

184. *Alchindus*. Abu Yūsuf Al Kindi, styled by pre-eminence 'the Philosopher of the Arabs', flourished during the first half of the tenth century. He wrote, it is said, nearly two hundred books covering the range of the sciences; a few works on medicine, theology, music, and natural science survive. The work on palmistry, Professor S. Van den Bergh tells us, is 'his *eisālah fi'sh-shu'ā'af*, i.e. treatise on the emanations. This is called in the Latin translations *De radiis stellarum*, or *Theoria artis magicæ*, or *De effectu proiectuque radiorum*. Systematized palmistry was based, especially among the Arabs in the Middle Ages, on astrology.

According to this treatise the different powers of the stars determine the differences in the sublunar world, and there is a universal "sympathy" and interaction between all natural phenomena. This work was much read during the Renaissance; for instance, Pico della Mirandola quoted it in his *Apologia* and in his *De hominis dignitate* (*Opera*, Basel, 1572, pp. 121, 169, and p. 338). Pico may have been the source through which Jonson knew of Al-Kindi.

185. *Pharaotes Indus*. Phraotes the Indian king visited by Apollonius of Tyana: see Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, vii. 30. Jonson's reference is to the tests imposed upon candidates for the position of wise men or Brachmans, *ibid.* 30: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀναμανθάνουσι. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἡθῶν ἐρμηνεύουσι, πολλὰ δ' ἐν ὀφρύσι καὶ παρειαῖς κεῖται γνωματεύειν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν σοφοὶ τε καὶ φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ εἶδωλα τοῦς νοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαθεῶνται.

186. *Iohn de Indagine*, Johann van Hagen, author of *Introductiones Apotelesmatiae Elegantes, in Chyromantiam, Physiognomiam, Astrologiam naturalem, Complexiones hominum, Naturas planetarum, Cum periaxiomatibus de faciebus Signorum, & Canonibus de ægritudinibus*, 1522: his portrait is on the title-page, and he describes himself as 'sacerdos, parochus in Steynheim'. Fabian Withers translated the book in 1598.

187. *paginæ*, pages of a book (Latin), a nonce-use for the rhyme.

188. The *faces* of the other texts couple physiognomy with palmistry; the MS. has here a revised reading.

190. *wimbles*, gimlets.

191. *boring for thimbles*, making a hole in a pocket or purse to steal a thimble.

192. *nimbles*, the fingers—a cant use.

194. *socketts*. An indecent use: see *O.E.D.* s.v. 4a.

195. *Simper-the-Cocketts*. Cotgrave, 1611, 'Coquine: f. A beggar-woman; also, a cockney, simperdecockit, nice thing'. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, II. i (1562), Fij, of an old widow marrying:

Vpright as a candle standth in a socket
Stood she that daie, so simpre de cocket.

And *The play of the weather*, 1565, E1^v:

I saw you dayly (= dally) with your simper the cocked
I rede you beware she picke not your pocket.

201. *minte*. Harman, p. 83, 'mynt, golde'.

214. *Knackets* (in the Duodecimo only), a diminutive of 'knack', is found only here. Similar coinages are *Tricketts* and *Tripsies* (217), playful diminutives of 'tricker' and 'tripper' (i.e. dancer).

219. *Lippus*, Blear-eyes (Lat. *lippus*).

221. *Cramp-ring*, fetters. Harman, p. 84, 'Quier crampringes, boltes or fetters', connected with 'Quyerkyn, a pryson house'.

Cippus, the stocks. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. Mayhew, p. 438, 'Stokkys of presonment: Cippus'. Compare Miss Mitford's comment in

Our Village, series ii (1863), p. 436, 'We have stocks in the village, and a treadmill in the next town; and therefore we go gipsyless'.

225. (*His Iustice to vary*). An afterthought in the MS.; in the other texts it precedes line 224 and gives a smoother reading.

227. *cary*— The dash shows where the insertion of 'The George & the garter' should be made.

228. *Kate . . . Mary*, the Marchioness and the Countess of Buckingham. (margin) *a purse and a seal*, the Lord Keeper's. Cf. 562.

234. *the bousing ken*. Harman, p. 83, 'a bousing ken, a ale house'.

235. *draughts of Darby*. In Jonson's day the equivalent of our 'Burton'. Cf. 1119, *E. Welbeck*, 122 foll., and Camden, *Britannia*, 1586, p. 313, of Derby: 'Nunc verò celebritas est è . . . ceruisia, quam coquit optima, nos *Ale* dicimus, . . . Opulentia autem ferè omnis est ex propolia, scilicet ex frumento emendo, & montanis reuendendo, sunt enim incolæ omnes quasi propolæ.'

237. *braggatt*. *H.W.* 261.

stale. The original sense of left long enough to clear, free from dregs, and so old and strong. *M.A.* 193.

248. *lifte*. *B.F.* iv. iv. 2.

249. (*our Trades increase*). The brackets are equivalent to our inverted commas. The allusion is to a ship of 1,100 tons sent out by the East India Company in 1609; the King and Prince Henry christened it at Deptford. Its unusual bulk made it famous. R. M., *Micrologia*, 1629, D6, says of Bridewell, 'It may not vnfitly bee termed the Trades Increase, or Cities Hope-well, where her stubborne youth are made wieldy, brought vp in handicraft professions.'

251. *bralls*, dances. *V.D.* 229.

252. *Kitt-Callot*. According to S. Rid (*Martin Mark-All*, 1610, G4) Giles Hather 'inuented' the 'fellowship' of the Gipsies, and Kit Callot was his mistress. In *The Art of Iugling*, 1612, B1^v, he says: 'This *Giles Hather* . . . together with his whore *Kit Calot*, in short space had following them a pretty traine, he tearming himselfe the King of Egiptians, and she the Queene, ryding about the cuntry at their pleasures vncontrolled: at last about forty yeres after, when their knauery began to be espied, and that their cosonages were apparant to the world, (for they had continued neere thirty yeares after this manner, pilling & polling, & cousening the cuntry) it pleased the Councell to looke more narrowly into their liues, and in a Parliament made in the first and second yeares of *Phillip* and *Mary*, there was a strict Statute made, that whosoeuer should transport any Egiptians into this Realme, should forfeit forty pounds.' For 'callet' cf. More, *Confutation of Tindale*, 1532 (*Workes*, 1557, p. 423, col. 2): 'Frere Luther and Cate calate his nunne, lye luskyng together in lechery'; Shakespeare, *Othello*, iv. ii. 121-2:

A beggar in his drink

Could not have laid such terms upon his callet.

In 1562-3 Alexander Lacy entered on the Stationers' Register 'the xx orders of Callettes or Drabbys' (Arber, i. 208).

258. 2. *Gypsie*. '1 Gypsie' in the Duodecimo, which alone preserves the line. But, as Dr. Cole points out (p. 42), the first gipsy is the Jack-man, who would naturally sing the ensuing song.

262-71. Compare Herrick's handling of this metre, evidently borrowed from Jonson, in *The Night-piece* to Julia (*Works*, ed. Moorman, p. 217):

Her Eyes the Glow-worme lend thee,
The shooting Starres attend thee;
And the Elves also,
Whose little eyes glow
Like the sparks of fire, befriend thee.

265. *Noone of night*. *Sej.* v. 325, with Jonson's note.

266. *firedrake*. *S.S.* II. viii. 48.

279. *Ile kisse it*. Cunningham remarks that the Captain was not to be envied, referring to A. Weldon's *Court of King James*, 1650, p. 178, 'his skin was as soft as Taffeta Sarsnet, which felt so, because hee never washt his hands, only rub'd his fingers ends sleightly with the wet end of a Napkin'.

280. *love a horse and a hound*. In the *Domestic State Papers* of James I, xc. 66, under date 14 February 1617, is an affidavit accusing Thomas Napleton of Faversham of saying, 'It is pittie that ever this king came to the Crowne of England, he hath more regard of his dogge then he hath of his subiectes or common wealth'.

284. *borne . . . to more* reads like a revival of the English claim to France.

286. *hauings*. *E.M.I.* I. iv. 61.

287. *table*. In palmistry the 'table-line' runs from beneath the little finger to the base of the index-finger; the quadrangular space between this and the middle natural line is the 'table'.

288. *Mons Veneris*. *Alch.* IV. ii. 46. The mount of Venus encircles the root of the thumb; the *line of life* (290) beginning 'at the hill of the forefinger, passing by the midst of the palm, goeth to the wrist' (John de Indagine, *Chiromancy*, transl. F. Withers, 1598, B7).

290. *the line of yo' life*. With the reference to marriage, cf. Launcelot Gobbo, 'Go to, here's a simple line of life; here's a small trifle of wives: . . . aleven widows and nine maids is a simple coming-in for one man' (*Merch. of Venice*, II. ii. 146-9).

292. *barnes, bairns*. 'Barn still survives in northern English and was used by Shakespeare' (*Winter's Tale*, III. iii. 69).—*O.E.D.*

293. *Mercuries hill*, the bottom of the little finger.

295. *Iupiters Mount*, the bottom of the forefinger.

322-33. A reference to James's peace diplomacy and what he attempted rather than achieved.

356. 2. *Gypsie*, Lord Feilding, Buckingham's brother-in-law.

369. *She is sister . . .* The Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III of Spain and sister of Philip IV. The first reference in Jonson to the proposed Spanish marriage.

375. *even wth the Sunne*. 'The Spaniards' boast, "the sun never sets in their king's dominions"' (Whalley).

381-6. Inspired, as Dr. Cole suggests, by the similar wish in King James's 'Votum' at Burley.

403. *a Constellation*. A reference to Charles's Wain.

407. *Lady Marques Buckinghams*. Katharine, daughter of Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland and his first wife Frances, daughter of Sir H. Knevet. She married the Duke on 16 May 1620. After Buckingham's death she married the first Marquis of Antrim in April 1635. She died in November 1649 and was buried at Waterford.

409. 3. *Gypsie*, Endymion Porter.

410. *an olde shoe*. *E.M.O.* iv. viii. 145-6.

416. *dispose*, 'bestow', is the *difficilior lectio* of the MS. The variant *depose*, 'lay down, deposit', is in the other texts, except that Newcastle has 'despose'.

421. *by theise ten*, more fully 'by these ten bones', i.e. the ten fingers. *Jack Juggler*, Malone reprint 449, 'I am a seruant of this house by these ten bones'. Variants are, Chettle and Munday, *Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, v. i (1601, K), 'By these ten ends of flesh and blood, I sweare'; and Dekker and Webster, *West-ward Hoe*, v. iii (1607, I), of a serjeant's arrest, 'Your *Harpy* that set his ten commandements vpon my backe'.

431. *A Man out of wax*, 'used as a term of emphatic commendation', *O.E.D.* adding that the origin of the expression is not clear and suggesting 'as faultless as if modelled in wax'.

432. *aks*. *ax* was archaic in the seventeenth century, but survived in dialect.

437. *yellow*. His face was stained for the gipsy's part. The pun on 'yellow' and 'iealous' has occurred in *E.M.I.* (quarto), v. v. 389, and *E.H.* v. v. 186.

442. *A Table . . . newlie rast*. *C.R.* v. vii. 52, 'an abrase table'.

460. *the Countess of Rutlands*. Cecily, daughter of Sir John Tufton of Hothfield, Kent, knight and baronet, and sister to Nicholas, first Earl of Thanet. She was the Earl's second wife, marrying him in 1608. Their two sons died in infancy from the supposed effects of sorcery: hence the allusion in line 468 to fortune's spite. Her first husband was Sir Edward Hungerford. She died on 11 September 1653 and was buried in her brother's vault in St. Nicholas' Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

477-8. Slightly varied from *Hym.* 563-4.

479. *the Countess of Exeters*. Frances, daughter of William, fourth Lord Chandos, and widow of Sir Thomas Smith, married as his second wife Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter, who was thirty-eight years her senior. Hence the allusion to the 'old man's wife'. He died in 1623, and she remained a widow till her death in 1663. The slander of her by the Lake family led to proceedings in the Court of the Star Chamber, 1619, and the ruin of Secretary Lake.

493. *the Countess of Buckinghams*. Mary, daughter of Antony Beaumont, mother of the favourite. She married Sir George Villiers, and

afterwards Sir Thomas Compton. She was created Countess of Buckingham in 1618.

495. 4. *Gypsie*. Probably John, Viscount Purbeck, son of the preceding.

506. *Too slipperie to be lookt vpon*. *S. of N.* iv. ii. 73 n.

515. *Importunes*, imports, portends. 'A Spenserian misuse'—*O.E.D.*, quoting *The Faerie Queene*, iii. i. 16.

517. *George*, the Marquess.

Su. Susanna Villiers married Sir William Feilding, created by the influence of this marriage Baron Feilding in 1620 and Earl of Denbigh in 1622. She followed Henrietta Maria to France and was a patroness of Crashaw, who dedicated his *Sacred Poems* to her in 1651 'In hearty acknowledgment of his immortall obligation to her Goodnes & Charity'.

520. *The Lady Purbecks*. Frances, youngest daughter of Sir Edward Coke and Lady Elizabeth Hatton, married Sir John Villiers on 29 September 1616, her mother bitterly opposing the marriage. Villiers was created Baron Villiers of Stoke, Buckinghamshire, and Viscount Purbeck of Dorset on 19 July 1619. He lost his reason, and in the year of this masque his wife deserted him and cohabited with Sir Robert Howard, to whom she bore a son. She died at Oxford in 1645.

526. *Saturne*. The remotest and oldest of the planets: if he were won over, the others would consent.

535. *all his torches* . . . 537. *bathes of milke and roses*. *C.R.* v. iv. 439-41 n.

538. *bancks of blisses*. *D. is A.* ii. vi. 86-7 n.

544. *Lady Eliz: Hattons*. See page 442.

546. 5. *Gypsie*. Not identified.

547. *Table*. Cf. line 287.

551. *gi'n you*. So *N.I.* i. v. 18, iii. i. 57.

562. *The Lo: Keepers*. John Williams had secured Buckingham's favour by bringing about his marriage with Lady Katharine Manners. He was appointed Bishop of Lincoln in August 1621, and succeeded Bacon in the Lord Keepership. Jonson paid a tribute to him in *Und.* lxi. The odd comments 'You never had wife', 'You may when you will' (576-8) suggest some contemporary gossip on an engagement. A. Weldon, *The Court of King James*, 1650, p. 138, has this gossip of him: 'And now is Williams, sometimes Chaplaine to the Lord Keeper Egerton, brought into play, made a privie Councillor, deane of Westminster, and of secret Councell with the King, he was also made Bishop of Lincolne, and was generally voyced at his first step, to marry *Buckingham's* Mother, who was in her husbands time, created a Countesse (he remaining still a C. silly drunken sot) . . . Williams held her long in hand, and no doubt, in nature of her Confessor, was her secret friend, yet would not marry, which afterwards was cause of his downfall at the present.'

574. *A Iudge of a yeare*. *Cat.* 2 Chorus, 394; Horace, *Odes*, iv. ix. 39, 'consulque non unius anni'.

585. *The Lo: Treasurers*. Henry Montagu, recorder of London 26 May 1603, knighted on 23 July; Lord Chief Justice in succession to Coke, November 1616; Lord High Treasurer in 1620, an office for which he paid £20,000, and Baron Montagu of Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville; in 1621 Lord President of the Council; Earl of Manchester on 5 February 1626; a vigorous member of the Court of Star Chamber and one of Charles's most trusted followers. He died 7 November 1642. He is best remembered now as the author of *Manchester al Mondo*, published anonymously in 1631 and frequently reissued in the seventeenth century.

596. *pensions*. Chamberlain told Carleton on 13 October 1621, 'All pensions are suspended, for necessity has no law' (S.P.D., 1619-23, p. 298). Florio's case is quoted by Miss Yates (*John Florio*, pp. 296-7); he had been granted a pension of £100 a year on 19 January 1620. On 11 November 1621 he petitioned for the payment of £250 arrears; in 1623 he appealed again, 'I am now creditor for full three yeares and a half, that is, 350 pound' (ibid., p. 299). In the Pell Order Book, E 403, f. 128, is an entry 'Beniamino Johnson gen^e de annuitate sua ad lxxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d p annū, ei debit' p diō anni finit ad ffr^m Annunc' bte Marie virgis anno R^s Jacobi xx^s', endorsed by 'Henshawe'. In the Historical MSS. Commission's Report IV, p. 282, Earl De la Warr MSS., 'pressing payments' on 31 March 1620 amount to £22,301; they include £33 'to Benjamin Johnson, the King's poett'; another entry on p. 310, for 1619? is 'Benjamin Johnson 66l. 13s. 4d. for service; arrears 150l.'

598. *The Lo: Privie Seales*. The Earl of Worcester: see page 439.

609. *The Earle Marshalls*. The Earl of Arundel, appointed 29 August 1621: see page 428.

615. *a nurse of the Arts*. An appropriate tribute to the great art-collector and patron; he is said to have discovered the talent of Inigo Jones.

625. *whether, whither*.

627. *Roringe Boyes*. S.W. 1. iv. 17 n., 'the terrible boyes'.

628. *The Lo: Steward*. Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox: see page 435. In line 643 'office' alludes to his name.

640. *written ffrancke*, i.e. openly written.

641. *Venus bancke*, the *Mons Veneris* of line 288.

646. *The Lo: Marquess Hamilton*. James, second Marquis: see page 433.

651. *latelie imployed* as Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament held at Edinburgh in July 1621; he succeeded in the difficult task of getting the Five Articles of Perth enacted into law.

659. *Doxie*. Harman, ch. xx, p. 73, 'A Doxe': 'These Doxes be broken and spoyled of their maydenhead by the vpright men',—the second class in the gipsy hierarchy—'and then they haue their name of Doxes, and not afore.' Then simply 'harlot', as in *Alch.* III. iii. 23.

663. *Earl of Buchclougs*. Walter, second Lord Scott of Buccleuch, succeeded his father in 1611; on 16 March 1619 he was advanced to

the titles of Earl of Buccleuch, Lord Whitchester and Eskdale in the peerage of Scotland. He died in 1633.

670. *intendments*, designs, purposes.

671. *bent for the Warre*. He commanded a regiment in the service of Holland (F. Cunningham).

678. *The 10: Chamberlaines*. Jonson's patron, the Earl of Pembroke: see the dedication to *Catiline*. In the other texts his fortune comes first in its proper place among the great officers of state; the leaf containing it was misplaced in the MS.

681. *key* pronounced 'kay': *Hym.* 897-8, 'kayes . . . displayes'.

694. *Mars his trenche*. John de Indagine, *Briefe Introductions . . . unto the arte of Chiromancy*, tr. Withers, 1598, Book I, ch. i, the lines of the hand: 'these be chiefe and principall, the wreast which deuideth the hand from the arme, and is almost ioyned to the line of life, or of the heart, the which beginneth vnder the hill of the forefinger, as it were betwene the forefinger and the thombe. . . . In the same side of the hande at the hill of the forefynger, beginneth a line which passeth ouerthwart the hande . . . and is called the middle or meane naturall line. And these two lines thus beginninge and passinge sundrye wayes, make the forme and shape of a Triangle . . . the space conteyned within these lynes, is attribute and giuen vnto *Mars*, and is called the Triangle of *Mars*, noted with this figure ♂.' A diagram is given on B3^r.

730. *for their gutts*. *H.W.* 153.

738. *by their gingle*. Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1609, ch. viii, of gipsies: 'the men weare scarfes of Callico, or any other base stuffe, hanging their bodies like Morris-dancers, with bells, & other toyes.' *E.M.O.* II. i. 41.

739. Fletcher, *Women Pleased*, iv. i, to a man who appears 'un-morris'd':

Where are your bells then?

Your rings, your ribbands, friend? and your clean napkins?

Your nosegay in your hat, pinn'd up?

where Dyce notes that the napkins were held in the hand or tied to the shoulders, comparing *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, iv. v, 'With bells on legs, and napkins clean unto your shoulders tied'. The girl who danced the morris at Chelmsford with Kempe in his *Nine Daies Wonder*, 1600, ed. Dyce, p. 7, 'would haue the olde fashion, with napking on her arms'.

741. *forgotten*. *B.F.* v. iv. 222 n.

742. *Maid-marrian*, the companion of Robin Hood and a performer in the May-day pageants.

ffrier. Friar Tuck, Robin Hood's chaplain.

752. *the Moone men*. Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608, devotes chapter viii to 'Moone-men', 'a strange wild people very dangerous to townes and country villages', and illustrates our text. *Oliue-coloured sprites* (735): cf. 'A man that sees them would sweare they had all the yellow Iawndis, or that they were Tawny Moores bastardes'. *Morris-*

dancers by their gingle (738): cf. 'Their apparell is od, and phantastike, tho it be neuer so full of renst: the men weare scarfes of Callico, or any other base stuffe hauing [hanging?] their bodies like Morris dancers, with bells and other toyes, to intice the countrey people to flocke about them.' Fortune-telling (811-82): cf. 'Upon daies of pastime & libertie, they Spred them selues in smal companies amongst the Villages: & when young maids and batchilers . . . do flock about them, they then professe skil in Palmistry, & (forsooth) can tel fortunes.' There is a close parallel with line 887, 'Yet looke to yo^r selfe, you'll ha' some ill lucke': cf. 'one of them wil tel you that you shal shortly haue some euill luck fal vpon you, and within halfe an houre after you shal find your pocket pick'd, or your purse cut.'

756. *Mort*, woman. Harman, op. cit., p. 84, 'a gentry morte, A noble or gentle woman'.

761. *Cant*, beg. *Mill*, steal. Harman, ibid., 'to myll a ken, to robbe a house'.

771. *pouertie of Pipers*. O.E.D. quotes only one example, *The Book of St. Albans*, 1486, f. vj b, 'A Pauerty of pypers', and defines it as an 'alleged name for a company of pipers'. But for this earlier example we should have supposed 'poverty' to be a blunder of Puppy's.

772. *Ticklefoote*. P.A. 99.

776. *Claw a Charle* . . . *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, II. vii (1562, Iv), 'Claw a charle by thars, and he shytheth in my (? thy) hand'.

778. *Iade* . . . *heel*. Rarely used of a man: Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 245, 'I know he'll prove a jade.'

779. *It's an ill winde* . . . *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, II. ix (1562, Kijj): 'An yll wynde that bloweth no man to good, men say.'

779-92 cr. note. *drawing Indentures*, zigzagging, and so beating about the bush.

780. *Minstrelle*, Minstrel's, and in 798 'Minstrells'; but in the Folio and Newcastle MS. 'Pipers', perhaps because of Cheeks and Ticklefoot in 772.

787. *the two shires*, Rutlandshire and Leicestershire.

803. *dells*. Harman, p. 75, cap. 21: 'A Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet knowen or broken by the vpright man.'

824. *Go to't in rime*. S. of N. II. iv. 23.

829. *Are you aduisd?* S. of N. II. v. 101.

832. *stalkes*. *Maunds* in the Duodecimo, begs; for 'stalkes' cf. 1185.

834-6. *Dowcetts* . . . *the sweet bitt*. S.S. I. vi. 7, 'the sweet morsels, . . . Dowcets!'

842-3 (Folio text). *horse-flesh* . . . *the Vicars wife*. Gifford compares T. May, *The Heire*, v. ii (1622, H2): 'Par. . . . bid God giue vm ioy. *Shal*. I care not greatly if I do, he is not the first Parson that has taken a gentlemans leauings. *Fran*. How meane you Sir? *Shal*. You guesse my meaning, I hope to haue good luck To horse-flesh now she is a Parson's wife. *Fran*. You haue laine with her then sir.' And Glapthorne, *Wit in a Constable*, II. i (1640, C2^v):

Clare. If he be a Parson;
And I his wife, I sure shall make my friends
Lucky to horse-flesh.

848. *in hell . . . lead apes.* *The London Prodigal*, 1. ii (1605, B1^v):

But tis an old proverbe, and you know it well,
That women dying maides, lead apes in hell.

854. *at post & at paire.* *Alch.* 1. i. 55.

861. *hangs an arse*, holds back.

869. *non vpstante*, notwithstanding, as the Duodecimo reads: Puppy's corruption of the legal formula for a dispensation, *non obstante aliquo statuto in contrarium*.

875. *A Turke Gypsie* (Duodecimo) is a good antithesis to Christian, and may be the original reading (W. W. Greg).

883. *fortune my foe.* The old ballad also alluded to in *C. is A.* iv. viii. 79.

891. *Beckharman.* Cf. line 85.

898. *cheates.* Apparently the Patrico means, 'Leave me to do the tricks'.

912. *ransacted.* *T. of T.* iv. i. 62.

913. *Outcept.* *T. of T.* i. iii. 50.

wth child of an Owle (as they say). Evidently Clod quotes a far-fetched effort to bring the preternatural home to rustic minds. The idea would have been more appropriate on the lips of a witch; indeed there is a phrase 'witched by an owl'. *The London Prodigal*, 1. ii (1607, H2):

Ciuet. Soule, I thinke I am sure crossed,
Or witcht with an owle, I haue hunted them:
Inne after Inne, booth after booth, yet cannot finde them.

Cf. Harsnet, *Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603, xxi, p. 137, 'No doubt but mother Nobs is the witch, the young girle is owle blasted and possessed.'

924. *a Mill sixpence.* 'In 1561, a new process of coining was introduced by a Frenchman, by means of the mill and screw. . . . The pieces struck by this process, which are known by the name of milled money, are similar to the hammered in type, but better executed, much neater in appearance, rounder in form, have their edges grained with various patterns, and are without inner circle.'—E. Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 1876, p. 396. The inventor was Antoine Brucher.

926. *harper.* An Irish coin, the harp-shilling, bearing the figure of a harp, worth ninepence of English money. After the collection is made, Clod in the Duodecimo says 'here's nine-pence in the whole' (cr. note to 779-92). Gifford compares Dekker and Webster, *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607, E):

Rod. Sir George Harper fled?
Wiat. I nere thought better of a Counterfeite,
His name was Harper, was it not? let him goe,
Henceforth all Harpers for his sake shall stand
But for plaine nine pence, throughout all the land.

931. *upper lip*. The Folio reading 'his upper lippe; Money' suggests revision by Jonson, and it is confirmed by the Duodecimo, 'Yes, a Bag-piper may want both', where 'both' is pointless without the word 'money'. Cf. *John Heywoodes woorkes*, II. ix (1562, Kijj):

He can yll pype, that lacketh his vpper lip.

Who lackth a stocke, his gaine is not woorth a chip.

932. *race*, root of ginger. Boorde, *Breviary of Healthe*, 1547, § 16, 'Take and eate a race of grene ginger.'

932-3. *a Iett ringe . . . to drawe Iacke Strawe*. *E.M.I.* II. iv. 35.

935. *Nutmeg, all guilded ouer*, i.e. 'endored', glazed with the yoke of an egg. It was used to spice ale (*S. of N.* I. iii. 65 n.). For the nutmeg as a love-gift Gifford cites Barnfield, *The Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594, ed. Arber, p. 14: 'A guilded Nutmeg, and a race of Ginger.'

936. *at Oxford*. In Meg's eyes still a centre of mysterious learning, as in the time of Roger Bacon.

937. *white pinnes*. Cf. 'white money'.

939. *bride-lace*. *T. of T.* I. iv. 20.

943-4. *Couentrie blewe*. Cf. W. Sampson, *The Vow-Breaker*, 1636, B4, a lover's parting gift: 'I leave an hand-kercher with you, 'tis wrought with blew coventry.' Jonson notes the decline of the trade at Coventry in *M. of O.* 117-36.

947. *Practise of Pietie*. *M.L.* IV. iv. 39 n. Cf. the Duke of Newcastle, *The Triumphant Widow*, iii (1677, p. 41), 'Waiting Maid. I have a new Bible too; and when my Lady left her Practice of Piety, she gave it me.' Cf. line 1005.

647. *bowed groate*. John Heywood, *Epigrammes*, 1562 (*Woorkes*, Cc), 'Of syluer to be borrowed': 'Hast thou any bowde syluer to lende me Ione?' The silver coins of that date were thin and easily bent; Christian's is bent for a love-token.

948. *whoop Barnabe*. *N.I.* IV. i. 10.

957. *marrowes*, mates.

968. *at afternoone*. All the performances were at night (1284, and the marginal alternative at Bever, 1280; and 'late now at night', 1313). Dr. Cole suggests that the text is dramatic time; palmistry with its accompaniment of picking pockets would naturally be practised in the daytime.

979. *Twinger*, lit. one who gives a twinge, makes you smart. Day, *Law-Trickes*, ii (1608, Cij): 'a priuate puncke, one *Tristella*, . . . a twindger, a meere Horsleach.'

1004. *Mell's*, meddles.

1023. *Drinckalian*. S. Rid, *Martin Mark-all*, 1610, C2^v, the land of Thevingen: 'Their Beere is of that force, and so mightie, that it serueth them in steade of meate, drinke, fire, and apparrell, which they learne of their neighbour Drink[t]alians to brew'; *ibid.* C3, 'so that the inhabitants round about them are wonderfully plagued with them, as the Eatealians, the Drunkalians, Lecheritanians, and especially the Fooli-

anders'. Iacke Dawe, *Vox Graculi*, 1623, f, 'hee that will not spend a penny with his friend, by the Counsell of **Drinkalius*, shall be thrust out of all good Company for a Hoggrubber', with note '* One of the learned Doctors of the *Labour-in-vaine*'.

Drinke bragatan, a drinker of 'bragat' (H.W. 261).

1024. noise. *Sej.* v. 452.

1025. *Bearewards*. *M. of A.* 131-3.

1026. *flagon-fleakian*. 'Flagonfeakian' in the Duodecimo; 'Flagonfekian' in the Folio: these forms may be correct, the MS. '-fleakian' repeating the 'fl.' of 'flagon'. Obviously a slang word, and it may be connected with 'feak' and 'feague', to whip. Cf. Bailey, *Dictionary*, 1721-1800, 'Feag, to beat with Rods, to whip'; Shadwell, *The Humourist*, 1671, iii, 'Come in . . . and feague your violins away, fa, la, la, la.' This line should be in the Patrico's answer; his name was written low down in the margin of the MS. (Greg).

1028. *diuells-ars-a-peakian*. Cf. 121-4.

1029-32. *Niglington . . . Wappington*. S. Rid, *Martin Mark-all*, 1610, C4, of Knaves' borough: 'In this plaine are situate diuers petty villages and hamlets, as Filchington, Foystham, Nymington, Liftington, Swearinghampton, the great and the little.'

1029. *Niglington . . . 1032. Wappington*. Rid, op. cit., E3, 'Nigling, company keeping with a woman: this word is not vused now, but *wapping*, and thereof comes the name *wapping morts Whoores*.' Harman, p. 84, 'to nygle, to have to do with a woman carnally'; ibid., p. 87, 'a wapping he went, he dokte the Dell'.

1041. *Cock-Lorell*—the name means 'arch-roguer'—is first mentioned in Wynken de Worde's tract *Cocke Lorelles Bote* (c. 1515) as a captain who summoned people to go aboard his ship of jovial rogues. He is mentioned in R. Copland's *Hye Way to the Spyttle House* (c. 1530). In Awdeley's *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes* including 'The .xxv. Orders of Knaues, otherwyse called a Quartern of Knaues, Confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell', the Uprightman states that 'Our Brotherhood of Vacabondes' dwells in Gravesend barge, and Cock Lorell answers

Some orders of my Knaues also
In that Barge shall ye fynde.

S. Rid in *Martin Mark-all*, 1610, G3^v, G4, ends a list of arch-thieves with 'one Cocke Lorrell, the most notorious knaue that euer liued: by trade he was a Tinker, often carrying a panne and a hammer for a shew: but when he came to a good booty, he would cast his profession in a ditch, and play the padder and then would away, and as hee past through the towne, would crie, Ha you any worke for a Tinker. . . . This Cocke Lorrell continued among them longer then any of his predecessors before him, or after him: for he ruled almost two and twentie yeares, vntil the yeare *An. Dom.* 1533. and about the sixe and twenty yeare of K. Henry the eight.'

The idea of the dinner goes back at least to the *Songe d'Enfer* of

Raoul de Houdenc, the twelfth-century trouvère: see *Trouvères Belges*, ed. Scheler, 1879, xv, pp. 176–200. The writer goes down to hell and dines with Satan, at whose table fat usurers and old female sinners are served up with a variety of symbolic sauces. Rabelais in *Pantagruel*, iv, ch. xlvi, has some slight allusions to Lucifer's diet: 'he generally dines off lawyers, perverters of right, and robbers of the poor; and he has them in abundance.' 'He makes a good supper off merchants, usurers, apothecaries, forgers, coiners, and adulterators of wares'; and sometimes, 'when he is in a good humour', he makes a second supper off serving-maids who steal their masters' good wine and fill up the cask with water.

1063. *into the Peake*. Cf. the pamphlet of 'the witches bidding the Devill to dinner at *Derbie*' (*New World*, 48–9).

1072. *Promoter*. Originally an officer of the Exchequer or the King's Bench who denounced and prosecuted offenders against the law; later, one who prosecuted in his own name and that of the king, so virtually informer.

1076. *Baud*, with a quibble on the provincial senses of 'hare'. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 126–8: '*Mer*. A bawd, a bawd, a bawd! So ho! *Rom*. What hast thou found? *Mer*. No hare, sir, unless a hare, sir, in a lenten pie.'

1080. *fethermen*. *Alch.* I. i. 128–9 n.

1083. *greene sawce*. 'See the Recipes for "Pur verde sawce" in *Liber Cure Cocorum*, p. 27, and "Vert Sause" (herbs, bread-crumbs, vinegar, pepper, ginger, &c.) in *Household Ordinances*, p. 441. "Greene sawce is good with grene fische"—John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, Sawce for Fische.'—F. J. Furnivall in Percy Folio version of the song.

1086. *carbonado'd*. Cotgrave, 1611, '*Carbonade*, a Carbonadoe, a rasher on the coales; also, a slash ouer the face which fetcheth the flesh with it.'

paines. A quibble on the senses in cookery, 'certain Messes proper for Side-dishes, so call'd as being made of Bread, stuff'd with several sorts of Farces and Ragoos' (Phillips, quoted by Furnivall).

1089. *mace*. A quibble on *mace*, 'spice': see Brainworm's joke on the mace 'made like a young artichoke', *E.M.I.* iv. xi. 6, 7.

1092. *foxt and furr'd*, their gowns trimmed with fox-fur. There is also a quibble on 'foxed', intoxicated. Cf. W. M., *The Man in the Moone*, 1609, D4^v, 'His gowne is throughly foxt, yet he is sober.'

1095. *a pudding of maintenance*. A quibble on 'cap of maintenance' (*N.I.* II. v. 45).

1097. *hinche-boyes*. *Christmas*, 262.

1099. *vp . . . broake*, carved. 'Termes of a Keruer. *Breke* that dere.'—Wynkyn de Worde, *Boke of Keruing*.

1104. *pettitoes*, a pig's trotters.

1105. *a Captaine*, like Lieutenant Shift or Captain Pistol.

1109. *coffin'd in crust*. *S. of N.* II. iii. 74. *hoary*. A Bodleian MS. (*Engl. Poet.* f. 10) marks the quibble with the spelling 'w-hoarie'.

1112. *sippetts*, small pieces of toasted or fried bread.

1117. *Churchwarden Pye*. A quibble on 'warden', the large cooking pear: 'I must have saffron to colour the warden pies' (*Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 43-4).

1124. *flirted*. 'The nearest sense recorded in *O.E.D.* under the verb *flirt* is to flick with the finger. But under the substantive, which usually means a rap or a quick movement of the hand' (cf. 1206), 'it records a rare use for a gust of air with a quotation of 1699, "some small flurts of a Westerly Wind". In *flirted*, then, we undoubtedly have, I think, Jonson's original reading' (W. W. Greg).

1132. *the Devils glister-pipe*. Repeated 1360.

1133. *Polcat*, prostitute. Dekker and Webster, *Northward Hoe*, I. i (1607, A2), 'to take their leaues of their London Polecats, (their wenches I meane Sir)'.

1134. *weed* . . . *Ling*. Cf. 1365-9, where Gifford quoted *Witty Apothegms delivered by King James*, 1658, p. 4, 'His Majesty professed, were he to invite the Devil to a dinner, he should have these three dishes. 1. a Pig, 2. a pole of Ling, and Mustard, and 3. a Pipe of Tobacco for digesture.' Scott commented in *Waverley* (ch. xx) on the dislike of the Scotch for swine's flesh.

1140. *breast*, voice. *E. Blackfriars*, 58.

1140-1. *a Prelate of the order*. Cf. 153-4.

1142. *grudging*. *S. of N.* I. ii. 80.

1169. *refell*, repulse (Lat. *refello*).

1180. *ben-bowsy*. Cf. 82, 'ben bowse'.

1210. *our Ptolemæes knot* means no more than 'a gipsy's knot', some dodge used in their thieving.

1244. *se defendendo*. *S. of N.* v. v. 49.

1250-1. *loose* . . . *fast*. *Volp.* I. ii. 8.

1252. *Marshall*, the provost marshal (*Alch.* I. i. 170).

1260. *Eache Iack wth his Gill*. *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, II. iii (1562, Fiv^v), 'al is wel. Iack shall haue gill'.

1274. *long sine*. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, VI. xi. 44, 'Knowing his voice although not heard long sin.'

1275. *Gowrie*. *Hadd. M.* 226 (Jonson's note).

1280. *a hall*. *T. of T.* v. ix. 11.

1287. *deane of Dunstable*. Nabbes, *Covent-Garden*, v. vi (1638, p. 71), 'and for Latine, I have lesse then the Deane of Dunstable'.

1322. *beare the bob of the close*, 'take up the refrain, join in the chorus'. —*O.E.D.* quoting Fielding, *Amelia* (*Works*, 1775, xi. 121), 'We'll sing it next Sunday at St. James's Church, and I'll bear a bob.'

1327-85. In MS. 19.3.8 of the Advocates' Library (an anonymous copy), and in the 1711 folio of William Drummond's *Works*, p. 55 of the 'Poems', is a scathing satire on the King called 'The Five Senses' attacking the influence of the Duke of Buckingham: it has the same refrain as Jonson's poem. The poem is discussed by A. H. Gilbert in *Modern Language Notes*, January 1947, pp. 35-7.

1335. *A smock rampant*. So Dol Common is called, *Alch.* v. iv. 126. Chamberlain tells Carleton, 20 February 1619, that 'the king is in a great vein for taking down high-handed women' (S.P.D., Jas. I, cv. 121).

1336. *putting on the britches*. A woman who controlled her husband was said proverbially 'to wear the breeches': 'She that is master of her husband, must weare the breeches' (Breton, *Choice, Chance, and Change*, 1607, D1^v).

1340. *From a Lawyer*. Nichols illustrates from a proclamation for Parliament in November 1620 penned by the King himself, who would not be entreated by Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, and Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, to leave out the words 'wrangling lawyers' (Chamberlain in S.P.D., Jas. I, cxvii. 68, 9 November 1620).

1341. *like a drum*. 'A perpetuall talker, and made a noyse like a drumme in a roome' Aubrey says of the buffoon Charles Chester, the prototype of Carlo Buffone (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, p. 184).

toung without a file. *F.I.* 271, 'Æsop . . . filing a Fox tongue'; *Und.* lxxxvi. 14, 'And for the troubled Clyent fyl's his tongue'; *U.V.* xxvi. 68, Shakespeare's 'true-filed lines'. In the old version of the *Romance of the Rose*, line 3812, 'His tunge was fyled sharpe & square'.

1346. *the Cuckow . . . in June*. *1 Henry IV*, III. ii. 74-6:

So when he had occasion to be seen,
He was but as the cuckoo is in June,
Heard, not regarded.

1347. *the Candlesticks of Lothbury*. *Alch.* II. i. 33-4; Davenport, *A New Trick to Cheat the Devil*, II. i (1639, C1^v):

He make . . . your Bed
As if you were to lodge in *Loth-bury*
Where they turne brazen Candlestickes.

1348. *wiues of Banbury*, Puritan zealots. Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in *B.F.* is 'a Banbury man'.

1358. *the students in Beares-Colledg*, the bears at the Paris Garden in Southwark: *Poet. Apol.* Dial. 45.

1359. *Tobacco*. James's *A Counter-blaste to Tobacco* had been published in 1604.

1365-8. *A sowes babie . . . Ling*. Cf. 1134.

1376. *Courtship*. Cowley, *Davideis*, 1635, II. 60-1:

Why does that twining plant the Oak embrace?
The Oak for courtship most of all unfit.

1377. *S^t Anthonies old fire*, erysipelas.

1385. *a fall*. This fate befell James near Burleigh in 1603 with a horse belonging to the Haringtons, and again in November 1614, when he was badly bruised, says Chamberlain, and he fell off into the New River on 9 January 1622. According to Scott he sat so insecurely in the saddle that one of a special shape had to be made to hold him in it (Nichols).

a foule day. This interfered with hunting.

1389. *while hee's mortal, wee not thinck him so.* *E. Welbeck*, 334-5.

1405. *Glorie of o^{rs} . . .* So of Prince Henry in his *Barriers*, 154, 'Glory of knights, and hope of all the earth.'

1407. *fame and fortune.* The Spenserian doctrine set forth in the dedication to Prince Henry of *The Masque of Queens*, 4-14.

1413-16. Southey quoted in his *Common-place Book*, 3rd series, p. 36, Bernini's remark, 'There is sorrow written on this face' when, working from a triple portrait of Charles by Vandyke, he made a marble statue which was destroyed in the Whitehall fire of 10 April 1691.

1417-22. Repeated in *Und.* vii. 15-19.

1433. *For, that Contemn'd . . .* *Sej.* I. 502.

1457-8. *Volp.* I. iii. 26.

1478. *Good Ben slept.* Horace, *A.P.* 359, 'bonus dormitat Homerus'.

1482. *Mr. wolfs.* John Wolfgang (Wolf) Rumler, appointed apothecary to the Queen, the Prince, and the royal children on 20 July 1604, and to the King on 7 November 1607 (S.P.D., James I, I. viii and xxviii). He was paid £40 a year (*Truth brought to light*, part iii, the abstract of His Majesty's revenue, p. 50). On 4 October 1624 he was examined, along with Dr. James Chambers, because they threatened to burn the sign of an inn near Kenilworth Castle where they found no provisions, and a drunken man, Gilbert Tonckes, who overheard them, said, 'You might travel three days in Scotland and find neither food nor lodging' (S.P. 14, clxxiii. 16). *Mercurius Elenticus*, no. 19 (19 March-5 April 1648), p. 148, records 'Mr: Wolfe the Kings Apothecary, lives still at Twitnam by Richmond House'.

1485. *ball, soap.*

1487. *Fashioner.* Cf. the character in *S. of N.*, 'FASHIONER *The Taylor of the Times*'.

The Cock-Lorell Song

(lines 1062-1137)

There are more transcripts of *Cock-Lorell* than of any other poem of Jonson. The sixteen stanzas of the Heber MS. (ll. 1062-1125) show the form in which he originally prepared it for delivery at the masque. Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript (B.M. Add. MS. 27879) has five extra stanzas between lines 1113 and 1114 with another version of the stanza 1114-17.

Then broyled and broacht on a buchers pricke,
the kidney came in of a holy sister;
this bitt had almost made his devillshipp sicke,
that his doctor did feare he wold need a glister.

'ffor harke', quoth hee, 'how his belly rumbles!'
& then with his pawe, that was a reacher,
hee puld to a pye of a traitors numbles,
& the gibblets of a silent teacher.

The Iowle of a Iaylor was serued for a ffish,
 wth viniger pist by the deane of Dunstable;
 tow aldermen lobsters a-sleepe in a dish,
 with a dryed deputye & a sowcet constable.

These gott him soe fierce a stomacke againe,
 that now he wants meate wheron to ffeeda:
 he called for the victualls were drest for his traine,
 and they brought him vp an alepotrida,

Wherin were mingled courtier, clowne,
 tradsmen, marchantę, banqueroutę store,
 Churchmen, Lawyers of either gowne,
 of civill, commen, player & whore,

Countess, servant, Ladyes woman,
 mistris, chambermaid, coachman, knight,
 Lord & vs her, groome & yeaman;
 where first the ffeend with his forke did light.

The first of these additional stanzas, 'Then broyled and broacht', is found in Egerton MS. 923, Rawlinson poetry 160, and a later hand has inserted it in Bodleian Tanner MS. 465. These lines, in spite of some weak touches, are in keeping with the tone and style of the poem: did Jonson write them? If he did and finally discarded them, he made the poem more compact. In any case the three concluding stanzas on tobacco were an afterthought. The Percy Folio has them, and they were printed in the Duodecimo and the Folio of 1640. They may have been spoken at Windsor. They would delight King James, and the opening line (1130) has a sly glance at the royal *Counterblast*: 'And this was Tobacco, the *learned* suppose.'

Manuscript copies freely transpose the stanzas, and there are a large number of variant readings too trivial to record here. Two only are important: most copies for 'Cock-Lorel' read 'Cook-Lorel' (or 'Laurel'), a change evidently made to harmonize with the dinner. Rawlinson poetry MS. 62 was compiled by a Cambridge man; the poems are chiefly about Cambridge from 1627 to 1643. In line 1098 the scribe has substituted 'An *Oxford* cuckold' for 'A *London* cuckold'.

The manuscripts which contain the poem are, besides the Percy Folio, British Museum Harley MS. 3991, ff. 22, 23b, 'Cooke Lawrell', which contains the nineteen stanzas; Harley MS. 3511, ff. 30b-32a; Egerton MS. 933, ff. 22b, 23a; Sloane MS. 1792, ff. 55b, 56a; these manuscripts containing sixteen stanzas. The Bodleian MSS. are Malone 19, pages 95-8, 'Ben Johnson on the Peake'; three Rawlinson poetry MSS.: no. 62, ff. 32, 33a, 'The Devills Arse a' Peake, alias Satans tayle in y^e Peake'; no. 160, f. 175, 'A Song'; no. 172, f. 78b, a short version of 7 stanzas; Tanner MS. 465, f. 85, 'A feast for the devill, at the divells arse ith' Peake'; English poetry, f. 10, ff. 100b, 101a, 'Ben: Johnsons diuells dish

before y^e Kinge'; English poetry e. 14, formerly Phillipps MS. 9257, 'Ben Iohnson on the Peake', an illiterate copy. All these manuscripts stop at line 1125.

There are printed versions in *Merry Drollery*, by W. N., C. B., &c., ii, pp. 26-8, 1661, '*The Feasting of the Devil by Ben Johnson*' ('Cook-Laurel'), 19 stanzas, reprinted in 1670; *Wit and Mirth. An Antidote against Melancholy*. By H. Playford. The Third Edition Enlarged 1682, with music, pp. 54-6 '*Benj. Johnson's COOK LORREL*', 19 stanzas, reprinted in 1719; *The New Academy of Compliments*, 1671, pp. 260-2 '*Cook Laurel*', 17 stanzas, including 'Then broyled and broacht'. There are three issues in broadside ballad form, undated, but after 1682, perhaps about 1687: these also have the seventeen stanzas including 'Then broyled and broacht': (1) *A Strange Banquet or the Devil's Entertainment by Cook Laurel At the Peak in Derby-shire; with An Account of the several Dishes served to Table*. In the Roxburghe Collection, ii. 445. 'Sold by J. Deacon at the Angel in Guiltspur Street': he traded there 1682-1701. (2) A version 'Printed for F. Coles, in Vine-street, on Saffron Hill near Hatton-garden'. (3) A version 'at the Peak in Devonshire', 'Printed by F. Coles, T. Vere, I. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger'. The nineteen stanzas are found in *The Second Part of Miscellany Poems . . . Publish'd by Mr. Dryden, Tonson*, 1716, pp. 142-4, 'A Song on the Devil's Arse of the Peak. By Ben Johnson', and in *The Second Part of Penkethman's Jests, or Wit Refin'd*, 1721, pp. 66-8.

The music is in Chappell, ii, p. 259, to the tune of 'Packington's Pound'.

THE MASQUE OF AUGURS

THIS masque was performed on 6 January 1622 and repeated in an enlarged form on 5 (or 6) May. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 11 May, 'The new Spanish Ambassador Don Carlo de Columa (of the house of Count Elves or Yelves in Valentia) had audience the fourth of this moneth, and the next day was invited to the second part of the christmas maske where he and Gondomar sat on either side of the king' (S.P. 14, cxxx. 60). For the date 6 May see below, page 639. The additions—such as the ballad of John Urson—strengthened the element of comedy which at this period encroaches more and more on the antimasque. There is also a modification of the denouement, as Reyher pointed out (op. cit., pp. 184-5). New characters appear at the close to heighten its grandeur, rounding off the masque proper (which was a recitative mingled or followed by songs) with a brilliant ending. 'A partir de 1622, avec le *Ballet des Augures*, la plupart des "Masques" prennent fin de cette manière;

les successeurs de Jonson ne manquent pas de tirer tout le parti possible du procédé afin de satisfaire le goût de plus en vif de leurs contemporains pour les beaux effets de mise en scène.'

The *Masque of Augurs* was the first masque to be played in the existing Banqueting Hall at Whitehall. Inigo Jones was the producer, and a note appended to the second state of the Quarto of 1622 pays a tribute to him: '*The SCENE . . . was wholly his, and worthy his place of the Kings Surueyour, and Architect, full of noble obseruation of Antiquitie, and high Presentment.*' Ferrabosco and Lanier supplied the music. One of Inigo's scenes survives, a rough pencil drawing of the College of Augurs (*Designs*, no. 63, reproduced by Nicoll, p. 85). The scene is a piazza, with a large arcaded building on the left, and houses with openings between them on the right; in the background a domed temple with a portico resembling the Pantheon. Three figures are on the steps leading up to it, and in the middle, near the edge of the stage, are two augurs holding their staves, straight staves, not the crooked *litui* of the Roman augurs. Above, in the centre of the sky, is a circular cloud containing five deities ('Jove, with the Senate of the Gods', 429-30); two single figures, one of whom may be Apollo, are in chariots on clouds over the buildings on either side. The top of the proscenium is a flat elliptical arch formed by a pair of wings attached to a grotesque mask.

Various entries in the State Papers relate to this masque. The Audit Office accounts of Sir W. Uvedale for 1622 (A.O. 1. 60/391) include making ready 'the banquetting house for the Masque the first tyme vj daies'. In the Pell Order Book, E 403/2741, f. 53, 2 January 1622: 'By Order dated xxviij^o Decem^r 1621 to Michaell Oldisworth esquire the some of fower hunderd pounde to be by him laid out and imployed for the charge of a masque to bee pformed in his Ma^{te} Court this Xpmas by his dearest sonne the Prince To be taken without imprest accompt or other charge to be sett vppon him his executo^{rs} Adm^{rs} or Assignes for the same some or anie pt thereof p bre dat xxviij^o Decem^r 1622', subscribed 'L. Cranfeild Rich: Weston', checked by 'Hen Shawe'.

The Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, Warrant 30 June 1624 (E 101/436, no. 4), notes the payments 'ffor fower maskinge suites and other expences of a Maske viz.'—

Paid to Patrick Blacke for makinge and furnishinge
iiij suites of white satten cutt with and vpon taf-
fatae and lined with taffetae at vj^{li} a peece with
patternes xxiiij^{li}. for cuttinge pinckinge & iagging
the iiij suites at xxx^s a peece, vj^{li}.

xxx^{li}.

To Robert Austin xxxiiij yardes lack a naile of rich white ffloraunce satten for iiij maskinge suites and for paterns at xvj^s. vjd., xxvij^{li}. iijs. vd. ob. for xv ellnes iiij quarters and a naile of white taffatae to line the suites at xv^s. xj^{li}. xvij^s. ijd. q^s. and for viij ellnes one quarter an halfe and a naile of white ffloraunce taffatae sarcnet for two payer of longe hose att vj^s. iiij^{li}. xij^s. ix^d. ob. q^s.

xliij^{li}. xiijs. vd. ob.

To Richard Millar for xxvj yardes of white silver tinncell for a Robe at ij^s. vjd., lxv^s. and for halfe a yard of white ffloraunce satten for a Capp vij^s. vjd.

lxxij^s. vjd.

To Robert Iones for makeinge a new Cappe raised of white satten printed and lined with taffatae and for washinge and settinge the feathers, xxx^s. and for makeinge two white Capps of satten raisinge and lineinge them with taffataes washinge the ffeathers for Mr. Pallmer and Mr. Bowey at xxx^s. lx^s.

iiij^{li}. x^s.

To Thomas Peake for vj venitian maskes cutt coulloured lined and perfumed,

iiij^{li}. iijs.

To Robert Wadeson for iij paire of long white silke stockings att l^s. a payre, vij^{li}. x^s. one paire of silke hose for Mr. Pallmer, l^s. one paire of silke hose for Mr. Wray, xlij^s. two dozen of white ribban points cawled, xij^s. six dozen of white poynts at iijs., xxiijs. fower paier of shoos tyes at ij^s. vjd., x^s. eighteen yardes of viij^d ribban, xij^s. and one paire of taffatae garters for Mr. Wrey, xiijs. iiij^d.

xv^{li}. xiijs. iiij^d.

To Miles Corney for iiij imbrodered girdles, xxviij^s. and for one payre of gloves trimmed with satten, viij^s,

xxxvj^s.

And to Samuell Paske for two gross and fower dozen of white flatt buttons xvij^s. xv ounces of white sowing and stitching, xl^s. viij yardes of white looplace, iijs. tenn yardes of white vjd ribban, v^s. and for nine yardes of white ribban deliuered to the Habderdasher, iijs. vjd.

lxvij^s. vjd.

The total cost is given as 'Cvj^{li}. xvj^s. ix^d. ob.'. In the *Dramatic Records* of the Lord Chamberlain (Malone Society Collections, II. iii, p. 342), Wardrobe accounts, C. 5/50, p. 273, under the heading 'Moneys paid vpon Bills sithence the feast of St Michael Th'arch-angle 1621' the seventh item is 'To the ffive Maskers for Maskin suite—CCiiij^{xx} xix^{li}'.

Finett records trouble with ambassadors over both performances. He says of the first:

‘Twelftide appearing, and a Maske being to be presented by the Prince and other Lords and Gentlemen, my Lord Chamberlain gave me in charge to repaire to the Venetian Ambassador, Seignieur *Girolenio Landi* with this message as from himself (with request of his Secrecy) That whereas he had told him two or three dayes before that no Ambassador should be invited to the Maske (as the King had signified to him his intention) he perceived that the Spanish Ambassador (the Count of *Gondemar*) had under-hand pressed his Majesty to be invited, so as not to appear to have doubled with him in what he had told him, he bade me let his Excellency know, that if he would for forme sake be invited and frame some excuse for his not comming, he would himselfe (as from his Majesty) send him an invitation. But if he would be really invited and come, his request should be, that he would make his way to it by the Marquis of Buckingham. When I had delivered this message to the Ambassador in hearing of his Secretary (whom he called in) he made answer, That for excuse of his not comming (though for forme invited) he would never give that advantage to the Spanish Ambassador to say of him, that one day he would be well, and another ill for his satisfaction (as he knew some had been) as if he stood in awe of him; and for the other point of making his way by the Marquis of Buckingham, he would never do it, since he had alwayes (he said) made his access to his Majesties Presence by the right door of the Lord Chamberlain, and would now enter by no other.

‘But since he saw (he said) what this tenderness meant, he desired me to intreat his Lordship in his name, that he would be pleased to go directly to his Majesty, and by way of remembrance (no otherwise) put him in mind from him, That the last year the French Ambassador Extraordinary Monsieur *de Cadenet*, and the Ordinary Monsieur *de Tilliers* were invited to the Prince his Maske at Christmas, and the Spanish Ambassador to the same Maske repeated at Shrovetide, to which he could and might justly have taken Exceptions, that he was both times omitted, but that the King of Bohemiaes Ambassador, being not then (no more then he) invited, he was content to suffer with him; but that now (though he might in reason expect, that he should be (as in his turne) invited alone) he would not be so punctuall, but would referre all to his Majesties pleasure, yet if any other Ambassador should be invited, he would expect the like honour, as a respect due to the Prince and State he represented, who in all publicke places had, and were to have entertainment *al par delle teste Coronate* equall with Crowned Kings. And as for the Spanish Ambassador (he said) his presence at the Maske should not be an Exclusion to him; with whom though he had no correspondency of business nor visits, he had yet of Salutation and civill respects, which had many times in incounters in the Streets, passed between them, and might and should pass on his part at the Mask, if he should there meete him: This message returned by me to the Lord

Chamberlaine, and seconded at the same time by the Ambassadors Secretary, and my Lord conveying it to the King, his Majesty was pleased that he should be (as he was the next day) invited, and was at the Maske entertained with the like respect as was the Spanish Ambassador. The States Ambassadors were not at the same time invited with respect to the incompatibility between them and the Spanish, and the Russian then here might with as little reason expect it, in regard he had questioned precedence of all other Kings Ministers. The French Ambassador had an Invitation *pro forma tantum*, with a civill request of his next comming to avoid question, which it seemes, he tooke not with discontent, because his Wife and Neece were there present invited' (*Philoxenis*, pp. 91-2).

Girolamo Lando gives his own account of it in a dispatch from London dated 21 January 1622:

'There was some idea not to invite me to the masque, which is one of the two annual ceremonies attended by the ambassadors. France was not asked because Spain had been. When I heard that they proposed to leave me out because Spain and I did not visit each other, I tactfully contrived to convey that your Serenity ought not to be deprived of the customary honour on that account, and finally I gained my point, to which I attached importance. The ceremony was most sumptuous. The ambassador and I conversed together most amiably without using any titles, except once he let slip a Most Illustrious, but seeing me ready to respond with the same, he gave over, showed me great honour, and even made way for me' (*Venetian State Papers*, xvii, p. 216).

Finett says of the May performance:

'The night following¹ was represented a Maske, Acted the Christmas before by the Prince &c. At which were present (seated with his Majesty) the Spanish Ambassadors Don *Carlos de Coloma*, and the Count *de Gondemar*, though this <last> had taken his leave three or four dayes before, his Son and other their Followers of quality had their seates neere the King in a Scaffold on his right hand; the rest of them were bestowed together with the States, and other strangers promiscuously on a Scaffold behind the King, over the entrance there on the left hand of his Majesty. The young Landsgrave of *Hess* was brought in by me the back way through the Garden, and supping with the Duke of *Lenox* (as did also the Baron of *Paperhezin* remaining here after the departure of the Emperours Ambassador) was seated amongst the great Ladies.

'The French Ambassador *Monsieur de Tillier(s)* receiving a kind of Invitation, by way of offer, to be present at this Maske, returned answer, that he most humbly kissed his Majesties handes for the honour intended him; but his stomach would not (he said) agree with cold meat, and desired therefore his absence might be pardoned, hereby pointing at the

¹ This would be 6 May, in view of Finett's previous date on page 104: 'On Fryday *May* the fifth.'

Invitation and presence of the Spanish Ambassador in the first place at the same Maske the Christmas before now repeated' (*Philoxenis*, pp. 105-6).

The elaborate ritual of augury in this masque is derived mainly from three sources—*Commentarius de Praecipuis Generibus Divinationum* by Caspar Peucer of Bautzen, Wittenberg, 1572; *Romanarum Antiquitatum libri decem. E variis Scriptoribus collecti* by Joannes Rosinus of Eisenach in Thuringia, Basel, 1593; and the chapter on Apollo in Natale Conti's *Mythologia*, 1581, pp. 227-43. Peucer was one of the authors Rosinus copied, but we have quoted Rosinus in preference as Jonson acknowledged help from him in the archaeology of *Sejanus*. These authorities have been duly cited by Professor E. W. Talbert in 'Current Scholarly Works and the "Erudition" of Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*' (S.P. xliv, 1947, pp. 605-24). But the professor discounts Jonson's knowledge of first-hand authorities by tracing his references to Robert Estienne's *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 1531, 1573, and Charles Estienne's *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum*, 1581, 1596. Jonson did use these in annotating the poets enumerated in line 286 and the prophetess of line 299; he reproduced three comments almost verbally and three errors. Needing short notes on Linus, Orpheus, Branchus, Idmon, and Phemonoë he turned to the dictionaries and copied without verification. But this does not warrant the inference that he had to dig out of a dictionary Homer's ἐκηβόλος (267), Horace's 'Augur Apollo' (281), and Apollo's fourfold function as god of archery, healing, song, and augury. 'That Apollo taught or presided over the Muses' is not only 'frequently expressed in C. Stephanus', but it is a commonplace of poetry from Virgil to Matthew Arnold. Any educated scholar knows such points from his own reading. In composing the main masque Jonson repeated his achievement in *The Masque of Queens*;¹ he wrote the poetry from a full memory and afterwards annotated it. From whatever source he selected his notes it is unnecessary to belittle his erudition.

3. *St. Katharines* by the Tower.

4. *Notch*, so named from the 'notch' or nick in a score; *Slug* from the slow movement of the lighter.

5. *Lady Alewife*. 'The trade of brewing was confined almost wholly

¹ See the dedication to Prince Henry, 32-41, and the record of Jonson's memory in *Disc.* 479-87, where he states that, till he was past forty, he could repeat anything he had written. Professor Talbert questions the statement in *The Masque of Queens*, which is fatal to his theory; he believes that Jonson had his rough notes at hand as he wrote, and that the reference to Prince Henry is no more than a 'courtly compliment'.

to women' (H. T. Riley, note to *Liber Albus*, p. 307). With the present character and the dancing bears compare *S. of N.* III. ii. 106-7, 'an Alewife in Saint Katherines, At the signe o' the dancing Beares'.

8. *I ha' seene the Lyons.* *C.R.* v. iv. 112. The point of the phrase here is that Notch lived near the Tower.

24. *some Dutch Hulke.* For the Dutch in St. Katharine's see *D. is A.* I. i. 61-2.

34. *Bouge of Court.* *L.R.* 105.

36. *mistake.* *B.F.* II. ii. 101.

sixe Torches. In 1526 'Ordinances made at Eltham', January of 17 Henry VIII, cap. 17, coped with this trouble: 'Item, it is ordeyned that the King's groom-porters and Queen's shall fetch noe waxe-lightes, wood, nor coales, more then reasonable ought to be spent, by the oversight of the Gentlemen ushers; and that the said groome porters doe dayly bring in the remaine of torches and other waxe remaining overnight, by nine of the clock in the morrow; and for lack of doeing thereof to loose for every time one weekes wages; the same to be overseen and executed by the clerk comptroller from time to time.'

38-9. *carried coales.* The same quibble as in *E.M.O.* v. iii. 37.

47. *drunkards.* For 'disguise' (intoxicate) see *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes*, 1562, Z iv^v, 'Three cuppes full at once shall oft dysgyse thee'; Massinger and Dekker, *The Virgin Martyr*, III. iii (1622, H), 'Harp. I am a Prince disguisde. *Hir.* Disguisde! how! drunke?'

49. *the old English word.* *T. of T.* v. ii. 30; *F.I.* 285; Bacon, *History of Henry VII*, 1622, p. 245, 'Masques (which they then called Disguises)'. 'Disguise' was the vernacular name in the fourteenth century; in the records of Henry VIII's reign 'mumming' and 'disguising' are practically identical (Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, i, pp. 393-401).

56. *Comrogues* (or 'comragues'), fellow-rogues. Heywood and Brome, *The Lancashire Witches*, v (1634, K):

Nay rest by me,
Good Morglay, my comrague and bed-fellow.

Massinger, *The City Madam*, iv. i (1658, p. 48):

Holdfast. Here are rude fellows Sir.

Dingem. Not yours, you rascall? *Holdfast.* No, Don pimp: you may seek 'em

In Bridewell, or the hole, here are none of your comrogues.

61. *Widgin.* *F.I.* 431. The widgeon or wild duck was supposed to be a stupid bird; hence 'gull' or 'ninny'. John Taylor, *Divers Crabtree Lectures*, 1639, 122, 'I', said the Poulterer's wife, 'call him Goose, and Widging, and Dotrell, and Woodcock.'

67. *bloat-herrings.* *M.V.* 97.

71. *the Brewhouses in Saint Katherines.* The King's brewery was there; see the *Diary of H. Machyn*, under date 9 October 1551 (Camden Society, ed. J. G. Nichols, p. 10).

72. *smoak'd.* *E.M.I.* iv. x. 30.

74. *in a mist*. Nashe, *Haue with you to Saffron-walden*, 1596 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 25): 'in *Cole-harbour*, where they liue in a continuall myst, betwixt two Brew-houses.'

82. *Hops, till all hopt*. A joke of John Heywood's quoted in Camden's *Remaines*, 1614, p. 300: 'When a man of worship, whose beere was better hopped then moulted, asked him at his table how hee liked of his beere, and whether it were well hopped: *Yes by the faith of my body* (said hee) *it is very well hopped: but if it had hopped a little further, it had hopped into the water.*'

88. *the Welsh Embassadour*, the cuckoo. Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, iv. v (1608, H): 'thy Sound is like the cuckowe, the welch Embassador.' In the manuscript play *The Welsh Ambassador*, circa 1623, the Clown asks (Malone reprint, 1499-1501), 'pray m^r Reese ap shon what is the reason that wee english men when the Cuckoo is vppon entrance saie the welsh ambassado^r is Cominge?' Nares suggests that the name refers to the bird's migrating from the west.

99. *a jacke of beere*, the 'leather bottel', or 'black jack', coated externally with tar.

104. *Burdello*. *E.M.I.* i. ii. 92.

116-17. *where the Priest fell in*. Cf. line 201 and *E.H.* iv. i. 69; Harington, *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, p. 30: 'Beleeue me I would faine haue made him speake good rime in English, but . . . I beate my braines about it, the space that one may go with the tyde from London bridge, down where the Priest fell in vpon the mayd, and from thence almost to Wapping, and yet I could not couch it into a cleanly distichon.'

123. *Englands joy* in 1602, not, as Jonson says, 1603: see *L.R.* 50.

127. *Cattle*. The term included all live animals held as property: Fuller calls the Gadarene swine cattle.

128. *cheat loafer*. *E.H.* v. i. 141.

bombard. *L.R.* 104.

129. *broken beere*. *G.M.* 75.

131-2. *the Kings game*, . . . *The Beares*. *G.M.* 1024-5.

142. *Parish-Garden*, the Bear Garden on Bankside, also called Paris Garden (*Und.* xliii. 147). The form 'Parish Garden occurs', says W. Rendle (*N. & Q.* vii. iii. 433), 'in all the earlier notices; afterwards it is indifferently Parish and Paris.' 'Parish' at this date was the popular form and is therefore appropriate on the lips of Slug: cf. Notch's 'Antick-mask' (149).

145. *ground measure*, '? a dance set to a "ground" or ground-bass' (*O.E.D.*): see *H.W.* 284, note on 'measure peddar'.

149. *Antick-mask*. A popular form repeated in line 265.

152. *Porters Lodge*. Servants were punished there: cf. Massinger, *The Duke of Millaine*, iii. ii (1623, G3^v):

Grac. Whipt like a rogue. . . .

My credit sinke for euer, I am now

Fit companie, only for Pages and for footboyes,

That haue perused the Porters Lodge.

156. *not fright the Ladies* recalls Bottom's precautions in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

165. *Ballad*. For the copies of this see vol. vii, p. 627. The most important is its use as a ballad in the play of *The Drinking Academy*, edited by S. A. Tannenbaum and H. Rollins as a work of Randolph (1930), but more probably, as G. C. Moore Smith suggested, a play of Robert Baron, a servile imitator both of Randolph and of Jonson. In Act III, scene ii, Bidstand sings the ballad to enable him to rob Simple, just as Cokes is robbed in *Bartholomew Fair*: 'Come sirs pence a peece, here is a new ballat, a dainty new ballat newly printed and newly come forth concerning his maiestyes subiects the beares on the palace garden and Vrcen ther reuerend instructor.' The opening stanza with the dialogue on it is as follows:

Bid: Tho it may seme rude for me to intrued
With thes my beares by chance-a
Twere sport for a king, if they cold sing
As well as they can daunce-a.

Come sirs by a pace, by my fine new ballats

Sim: Haue they any fine pictures I tro at them?

Bid: Yes of 3 dancing beares an(d) Vrsen

Sim: Is Vrcen a beare too?

Bid: No he is there graue instructor that teaches them to dance.

Sim: Dus he teach to dance?

Bid: O rarely he is arch dancing master to all his maiesties cattle in the beare garden.

See Moore Smith's review in *R.E.S.* vi, 1930, pp. 476-83.

183. *Prayes for their souls*. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 295-7: 'Speed. . . . She brews good ale. Launce. And thereof comes the proverb: "Blessing of your heart, you brew good ale".'

187. *Vintry Cranes*. *S.W.* II. v. 114.

188. *St. Clements Danes*. Apparently not mentioned thus elsewhere.

189. *the Devill*. See the *Leges Convivales*.

193. *stale*. *G.M.* 237.

199. *th'yron Gate*. This structure, decorated with a Catherine wheel, has disappeared.

235. *Ars van de Catopricks*. Catoptrics (from the Greek *κάτοπτρον*, a mirror) are the phenomena of reflection, i.e. formation of images by mirrors. We have not identified the original of Vangoose; he appears to have been some inferior showman who gave an exhibition of moving pictures by the aid of mirrors and called it a masque. The satire, though lost to us, would be clear to the Court. For instance, the Master of the Revels on 14 August 1624 granted a licence to Edward James 'to sett forth a *Showing Glass*, called the *World's Wonder*': this was evidently some tricks with mirrors.

249. *or some Welsh Pilgrims*. We suggested in the critical apparatus the loss of a line as the Quarto prefixes 'Nor.' to this speech—something

like 'Gro. I, I know whom'. Professor P. Maas suggests that this brief speech should be given to Slug, who takes part in the dialogue, the printer having repeated 'Nor.' from the previous speech.

265-6. Cf. the criticism in *N.T.* 220-3.

268. *Hochos-pochos*. *S. of N.*, 2nd Intermean, 15.

Paucos Palabros. *E.M.I.* iv. ii. 40, '*pauca verba*'.

273. *frighted away*. As the Witches in *The Masque of Queens* vanished when the main masque began (356-7). But the change here is cruder: Apollo driving off John Urson is not a brilliant idea.

275, note *a*. *Artes . . . quatuor*. Plato, *Cratylus*, 405a, deriving the god's name from ἀπολύω: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτι ἂν μᾶλλον ὄνομα ἤρμοσεν ἐν ὧν τέτταρσι δυνάμεσι ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε πασῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τρόπον τινὰ μουσικὴν τε καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ τοξικὴν. Cited by Conti, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

279. *Reare townes*, as in the legends of Troy and Thebes; hence the suggestion in line 326 for the College to be reared to music.

286. Jonson, as Professor Talbert points out, took his notes on these sons of Apollo from Charles Estienne's *Dictionarium . . . Poeticum*, 1531 and 1573. (1) Thus *Linus*, 'Apollinis & Terpsichores filius . . . Paus. 9'. Pausanias (ii. xix. 8) calls Linus' mother Calliope or Psamathe: Jonson copied the mistake, if it is one. (2) *Orpheus*, 'Calliopes & Apollinis filius' (Estienne, quoting Virgil). (3) *Branchus*, 'ut scribit Lactant. *Filius fuit Apollinis ex filia Iancis & Suceronis coniuge susceptus. . . . Branchi meminit Stat. 3 Theb. 479. Strabo lib. 14*' (R. Estienne, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*). Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1632, p. 459, '*Branchus* the sonne of *Apollo*, whom he begot of *Iance*, *Sucerons* daughter (saith *Lactantius*) when he kept *Admetus* heard in *Thessaly*.' Lactantius Placidus, the grammarian, in his *Commentary* on Statius' *Thebais*, viii. 198, said 'Branchus Apollinis filius et ipse peritissimus futurorum deus'. Strabo, *Geographia*, xiv, § 634, said of the temple of Apollo at Miletus, ἄλλοι δὲ σηκοὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνέχουσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ μυθεύεται τὰ περὶ τὸν Βράγχον καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ Απόλλωνος. (4) *Idmon*, 'the knowing', was the son of Asteria, daughter of Coronus, according to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 139. He was one of the soothsayers who joined the Argonauts. 'Idmon, vates inter Argonautas, Apollinis & Asteriæ filius' (C. Estienne).

288. *sleepe, not death*, as in the legend of Merlin (*Pr. Henry's Barriers*, 118).

299. *Phoemonoe*, or rather Phemonoë (Φημονόη), the first priestess at Delphi. Pliny quotes her (*N.H.* x. iii. 7, viii. 21), evidently from some book of augury, on eagles and hawks. 'Phoemonoe, filia Phœbi, & vates quæ prima carmen heroicum cecinit, vt est author Hesiodus in *Theogonia*' (C. Estienne). But Hesiod does not mention her.

310. *ravish*. Horace, *Odes*, iii. xxv. 1, 2, 'Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum?'

327 note *m*. Rosinus, *Rom. Antiq.*, 1583, p. 95: 'Augurum disciplina vetustissima fuit, à Chaldæis & Græcis vsurpata: maximè autem in

Hetruria floruit, vnde ad Latinos & Romanos peruenit . . . primi Augures à Romulo instituti sunt, quia & ipse excellens Augur fuisse constanter asseritur, a Dionysio, Liuiio, Plutarcho, & aliis. Fuit autem ab eo, trium Augurum Collegium institutum, ita, vt singuli ex singulis Tribubus legerentur, quorum sacerdotium deinde confirmauit Numa.' Pliny, *N.H.*, VIII. xxviii. 103, 'Auguria quidem artem fecere apud Romanos et sacerdotum collegium vel maxime sollemne.'

ut apud Liu. lib. i. A mistake: Livy says (iv. iv. 4): 'Pontifices, augures Romulo regnante nulli erant: ab Numa Pompilio creati sunt.' But Cicero (*De Republica*, II. ix) says Romulus chose an augur from each tribe.

334. *Salian rites.* The Salii (literally 'leapers', 'dancers') were priests of Mars. *Salius*, ὑμνωδός, *vet. glos.* and the spurious line of Pacuvius, said by Alexander Guarinus to be in his *Armorum Iudicium*, are taken from Charles Estienne, s.v. The variant form *Salisubsalus* occurs only in Catullus, xvii. 6.

336. *Temple* used like the Latin *templum*, the open space for observation marked out by the augur with his staff: see Jonson's note.

336 note o. From Rosinus, op. cit., p. 97: 'Augur captaturus auspicia ex arce, cœlo non turbido, nec procelloso, sed silenti, placido, sereno, & puro aere lituum sine nodo: hoc est, baculum à summo inflexum in parte, qua robustior erat, manu tenebat. Erat is insigne augurale, quo cœli regiones describebant, & designabant metas, intra quas se obseruatos signa constituerant, vt quod dextrum esset, quodue sinistrum, oculis animoque metiri possent. . . . Ex distinctis regionibus antica in ortum vergebat, postica à tergo occasum, dextera meridiem, boream sinistra respiciebat. . . . A precibus considebat velato capite, & duplici amictus toga augurali, quæ læna dicta est, vel trabea ex purpura & cocco, defixisque in cœlum oculis, & attente solliciteque circumspectis, ac perlustratis cardinibus omnibus expectabat, nunquid alicunde ostenderet sese, & vnde nasceretur ac prodiret: ac si obijceretur auis aliqua, huc ne an illuc volaret: an prono, obliquo, supinoue motu corporis ferretur, quo flecteret, contorqueret, porrigeret, contraheret membra: an hac, vel in illa se parte occultaret: à dextrane, vel sinistra parte canerent oscines.' For the end cf. Peucer, *Commentarius*, 1572, f. 201: 'Ab auguribus . . . a media nocte ad mediam diem usque peragebant. Septima aut sexta diei hora non decebat: incipiente enim die aut crescente, non deficiente, iusta auspicia fieri existimatum est: Nec post Sextilem mensem auspicari licuit, quod aues aut imbecilles tunc, aut morbidi erant, & pulli imperfecti. Homerus Orientem dextrum: Occidentem facit sinistrum.'

337. *a starre*, i.e. a torchbearer.

350 note p. *Aves . . . significant.* Quoted from Servius on *Aeneid*, iii. 367.

Triorches. Holland's *Pliny*, x. ix, 'the Hawke called Triorches . . . is reputed a bird of good presage . . . the Romans call it *Buteo*, i. a Buzzard.' Holland renders *milui* kites or gleeds; *noctua*, owl; *bubo*, scritch-owl; *ulula*, 'howlet'.

352. *Which hand the Crow cried on.* Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 85, 'Quid habet augur cur a dextra corvus (raven), a sinistra cornix (crow) faciat ratum?'

353. *The Vulture.* *Sej.* III. 496.

358. *Night-Crow.* *S.W.* III. v. 17. *Swallow.* Cf. *Ant. and Cleop.* IV. xii. 3-6 (a touch borrowed from Plutarch):

Swallows have built
In Cleopatra's sails their nests: the augurers
Say they know not, they cannot tell; look grimly
And dare not speak their knowledge.

371 note *r*. From Servius on *Aen.* i. 393. Compare the doves that led Aeneas to find the golden bough, *Aen.* vi. 190. So Pierio *Hieroglyphica*, p. 159: 'Adnumerantur verò Columbæ inter eas alites, quæ Regibus auspicia faciant. Hinc Maroniano Æneæ, Columbæ geminæ à matre in auspiciis missæ.'

379. *Hernshaw*, strictly a little or young heron; here, as in current seventeenth-century use, a heron.

394 note *t*. From Festus, *De significatione verborum*.

401. *Dietie*. So *Und.* xxii. 25. A well-attested form of 'deity' at this date. It rhymes with 'piety' in T. Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues*, 1637, Hrv, and A. H. Bullen proposed to read it in *The Tempest*, IV. i. 92, to rhyme with 'society'.

422 note *x*. Cf. Rosinus quoted on 327 note *m*. *Turnus*, who fought with Aeneas, called 'rex Turnus' in *Aen.* ix. 327, 369; his favourite augur Rhamnes was killed, *ibid.*, 325, but as a king he could take the auspices.

Rhamnetes, & *alij*, i.e. the Ramnetes (or Ramnes), the Titienses, and the *Luceres*, the three primitive tribes of Rome, each of whom had an augur (Livy, x. vi).

Lacedemonij . . . dabant. From Cicero, *De Div.* i, § 95.

Cares. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* vii. lvi. 203, 'Auguria ex avibus Car, a quo Caria appellata, (invenit); adiecit ex ceteris animalibus Orpheus.'

429-30. *Jove, with the Senate, . . . were.* *Sej.* v. 167-8.

456. *our wrong, wronging us.* *Sej.* III. 668 n.

458-60. *E. Welb.* 339-41.

464. *firmes.* *I.M.* 168.

TIME VINDICATED TO HIMSELF AND TO HIS HONOURS

THIS masque was performed in the Banqueting House at Whitehall on Sunday, 19 January 1623. It had been planned for Twelfth night, when the title-pages of the Quarto and the Folio texts both say that it was performed. The existence of the Quarto of 1623 was revealed in 1930 when a copy in the original wrappers and stitching, measuring $8\frac{5}{16}$ inches by $6\frac{3}{16}$ inches, was sold at Sotheby's.

Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer acquired it and rendered a service to scholarship by publishing a facsimile of it in the catalogue of his library. Like the two masque quartos which followed it, *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* in 1624 and *The Fortunate Isles and their Union* in 1625, *Time Vindicated* has no imprint, and it was not entered on the Stationers' Register. This suggests that these quartos were privately printed. The premature announcement of Twelfth night as the date of the performance of *Time Vindicated* shows that the Quarto was brought out early in January, when the only persons who would need it were the actors. Copies for patrons would be given after the performance.

The change of date from January 6 to January 19 is explained by Finett, who tells us:

'A Mask to be presented by the Prince, the Marquis of Buckingham, and other Gentlemen on Twelfthnight, 1622', i.e. 1623, 'was for that day, and a second remitted till Sunday the ninth¹ of *January*, principally with regard to his Majesties indisposition, but as some thought, not without expectation that the States Ambassadors would first be gone, to avoide the distaste that might be taken from their not Invitation, whereto it seemed his Majesty (for some Spanish respect as was thought) had no great affection. But they staying, (their business with the Merchants, about composing the East-Indian differences being not yet concluded) divers underhand passages, and discourses for and against the sight of the Maske, were carried to and fro as much as might be to content them, and not displease others. For first, they had an offer made them to have a Boxe appointed them apart and by themselves only, which they absolutely refused, Ambassadors Ordinarie before having had (said they) the honour to sit with his Majesty in the same place together with the French, and other Kings Ambassadors (as also with the Spanish, till that Question fell between him and Sir *Noell Caron*) but the intention in truth was, that they should not then be invited (at least to be ranked in publick, as they pretended it to be their due *al par delle Teste Coronate*) and reasons were framed to keep them off from discontent, as well as from their apparence there, but they might seem not of the Substantiallest. As first, that the States having given their assistance to the Rochellers against the French King, the presence of their Ministers would be distastfull, and in a manner incompatible *eodem loco, tempore & honore* with that Kings Ambassadors, but this proved not exclusion, the French intended to make no such, having (as he said to me) no order for it, neither had the pretended distasts for the States former assistance yet passed (he said) so far, as to publick notice, and exception from the King his Master. Another exclusion was obtruded upon their pretence of Precedence to the Duke of Savoy's Ambassador, but no such Ambassador being now in England,

¹ A mistake for 'nineteenth'.

there wanted ground for that exclusion also. The last was against their number,¹ that they could not all there be conveniently seated together with his Majesty, with the other Ambassadors invited; but this Bar they removed by their answer, that if they might have the honour of an Invitation, there should be but one of them present to receive it, esteeming that a sufficient honour to the rest absent. In a word, when neither these reasons, nor others would serve to still their Exceptions against their not being invited, they were referred to adventure of content, or not content, and so were not at all invited, Onely a dozen of their followers had places assigned them over the Lord Chamberlains Box at the entrance into the Banquetting House from the Princes Galleries. Monsieur de' *Arsennes* Son, and their Secretary Sr. *Constantine Huggins*, were placed on the fourme beneath the Lords. The French Ambassador that night, and the Venetian supped with the Duke of *Lenox*, and entered the Roome with the King, both seated there on his left hand; the French even with him, and the Venetian somewhat more forward' (*Philoxenis*, pp. 115-16).

To the same effect *Alvise Valareno*, the Venetian ambassador, reports: 'Sunday next has now been appointed for the prince's masque. The French ambassador and I are invited. They say that the Spanish ambassador excused himself, but he had previously attended a rehearsal privately. Everyone thought that he would be invited because among other reasons as a new comer he had never before attended such functions' (*Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, xvii, p. 549, 20 January 1623).

Finally, there is Chamberlain's account to Carleton on 25 February 1623:

'the cause of my silence was the often deferring of the maske and the .ks. remouing, caused by his indisposition, for here was nothing to write of but dauncing and feasting w^{ch} was more frequent all this christmas than euer I knew or remember, and continues euer since euen till now. but the departure of the french ambassadors Lady wth her niece mademoiselle St Luc (who bare a principall part in all these meetings) was the cause that the maske could not well be put of longer then sunday last, the french and venetian ambassadors were present and they say yt was performed reasonablie well both for the deuice, and for the handsome conueyance and varietie of the scene, whereof *Innigo Jones* hath the whole commendation. Ben *Iohnson* they say is like to heare of yt on both sides of the head for personating *George withers* a poet or poetaster as he termes him, as hunting after fame by beeing a crono-mastix or whipper of the time, w^{ch} is become so tender an argument that yt must not be touched either in iest or earnest' (S.P. 14, cxxxvii. 18).

In the Office-book of the Master of the Revels, Sir John Astley,

¹ The margin names '*Arsennes, Seavenets, and Basse*'.

for 1622-3 is the following account, preserved in Malone's *Variorum Shakespeare*, vol. iii, p. 147:

'Upon Sonday being the 19th of January, the Princes Masque¹ appointed for Twelfe daye, was performed. The speeches and songs composed by Mr. Ben. Johnson, and the scene made by Mr. Inigo Jones, which was three tymes changed during the tyme of the masque: where in the first that was discovered was a prospective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting House; the second was the Masquers in a cloud; and the third a forrest. The French ambassador was present.

'The Antemasques of tumblers and jugglers.

'The Prince did lead the measures with the French ambassadors wife.

'The measures, braules, corrantos and galliards being ended, the Masquers with the ladyes did daunce 2 contrey daunces, namely The Soldiers Marche, and Huff Hamukin, where the French Embassadors wife and Mademoysala St. Luke did <dance>.'

Only the third of these changes of scene is mentioned in Jonson's text, 'the whole Scene being chang'd to a Wood' (447), out of which Hippolytus comes. The second might be inferred from the stage-directions, 'The *Masquers* are discovered, and that, which obscur'd them, vanisheth' (308-9), and 'the *Masquers* descend' (316). These descents were always made from a cloud, which was a prominent feature in masque scenery; it contrasted with the splendour in which the masquers were afterwards revealed.

One drawing of Inigo Jones for this masque has survived—the figures of the Curious in the antimasque (*Designs*, no. 64; Nicoll, p. 189). There are four figures, the two below being the Eyed and the Eared: the former has a lorica in which the corselet is covered with eyes, the latter a corselet covered with ears. Above are two men gesticulating to the spectator. The second of them ought to be the Nosed, but the drawing gives no clue. The first might then be Chronomastix, but he is without his whip. The Eyed holds with his left hand a baton resting on his thigh; nothing in the text suggests that this has any point. All the dresses are fantastic and old-fashioned. Altogether Inigo's drawing, while certainly relating to this masque, appears to be a very lax interpretation. Thus, in line 60, the Eyed has four eyes; that is, the performer wore a Janus mask. The designs of Constantino dei Servi for Campion's masque at the marriage of the Earl of Somerset in 1613 have points of resemblance. Rumour is 'in a skin coate full of winged Tongues, and ouer it an antick robe; on his head a Cap like a tongue, with a large paire of wings to it. *Curiosity* in a skin coate full of eyes,

¹ Gifford confused this with a supposed Dulwich MS. which, he said, called *Time Vindicated* 'the Prince's Masque': his confusion is explained by P. Maas in *R.E.S.* xviii, p. 465.

and an antick habit ouer it, a fantastic Cap full of Eyes. *Credulity* in the like habit painted with Eares, and an antick Cap full of eares' (*Description of a Maske*, 1614). So in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, 1611, pp. 113-14, *Curiosità* is depicted in a dress full of ears, and *Fama* (p. 154), following Virgil's description, has eyes, mouths, and ears corresponding to her feathers.

In the Audit Office accounts (A.O. I, 54/2424, 1622-3) Henry Wickes includes 'fitting and setting vp the degrees and galleries in the Bankettinghouse and boording them against the maske'. In the Pell Order Book, E 403/2742, p. 125, 16 December 1622, is the entry 'By Order dated xiiij^o Decembris 1622 To Michaell Oldisworth esquier seruant to the right honorable the Earle of Pembroke Lord Chambleine of his Ma^{te} houshold the some of ffouer hundred pounde to be disbursed and imployed toward the charge of a Masque to be pformed before his Ma^{tie} at Christmas next by his dearest sonne the Prince wthout accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vpon him or his Assignes for the same or for anie pt thereof p bre dat ix^o Decembr 1622', subscribed 'Middlesex: Rich: Weston', and checked by 'Seymour'. Arrears of £100 paid were paid to Oldisworth 24 December 1623: see the entry for *Neptune's Triumph*.

In the records of the Queen's Remembrancer, E 101/436/4, from Michaelmas 1622 to St. John the Baptist 1623, is the bill for

'Two maskinge suites and other charges of a Maske
at xpīmas 1622, viz.

'Paid to Robert Austin mercer for xvj yardes and an halfe of scarlett coullour in graine satten for two suites att xvjs. vjd p yard, viij^{li}. xij^s. iij^d. nine ellnes of white taffatae to line the suites and bases at xiiij^s. vj^{li}. vjs. fower ellnes and an halfe of incarnadine taffatae for ij payer of hose at xvjs., lxxij^s.<.) one yard of scarlett coulloursatten for patternes, xvjs. vjd. one yard and halfe a quarter of yellow satten for patternes at xv^s., xvjs. x^d. ob. one yard and an halfe of diuerse coullours for patternes at xv^s., xxijs vjd. two yardes and an halfe of scarlet coullor satten for ij Capps at xvjs. vjd. xlj^s. iij^d. and for iij quarters of white taffatae to line them at xiiij^s., x^s. vjd. xxviij^{li}. xvijs. x^d. ob.

'To Samuel Paske silkman for iij ounces and an halfe of incarnadine and white silke, vij^s. vj dozen of siluer buttons at xij^d p dozen, vjs. two yardes of siluer loopelace at xvij^d., iij^s. iij yardes of vjd ribban, ijs. iij yardes of broad siluer plate lace. for ij girdles, xix^s. one dozen of incarnadine ribban to the habberdasher, vjs. and vj longe siluer laces of a yarde longe, xv^s. lvij^s.

'To Patrick Black Taylor for makinge and furnishinge two suites one for his Highnes and one for Iames Bowey, doublet hose and bases of satten cutt and pinkd in with workes drawn vpon tyncell, xij^{li}. for cutting and printinge the suites, lxv^s. xxx yardes of white tyncell at

ij^s. iiij^d p yard, lxx^s. and for furnishinge makeinge and printinge the suites, lxx^s. xxx yardes of white tyncell at ij^s. iiij^d p yarde, lxx^s. and for furnishinge makeinge and drawing iij patternes in diuerse workes for the same Maske at xxx^s. a peece, iiij.^{ll} x^s. xxiiij.^{ll} v^s.

'To Robert Wadeson for iij paire of carnacon longe silke hose of a yard and quarter longe at lxx^s a paire, xv.^{ll} v^s. fower dozen of white and silver points at xvj^s p dozen, lxiiij^s. two paire of white and silver tyes at vj^s. viij^d., xiiij^s. iiij^d. one peece of white ribban, xxiiij^s. and vj payer of longe vnderhose to practice at xij^s. lxxij^s. xix.^{ll} iiij^s. iiij^d.

'To Robert Iones for makinge two capps of Carnacon satten cutt and drawen out with siluer tyncells at xiiij^s., xxvj^s. one faire white plume with a topp of Egretts for Mr. Bowey, vj.^{ll} and one fayre white plume with a topp of Egretts for his Highnes, vj.^{ll} x^s. xiiij.^{ll} xvj^s.

'To Robert Peake for iiij venitian maskes cutt coulloured lined pfumed and ribbanded at xiiij^s. lvj^s

'To Miles Corney for ij imbrodered girdles with Carnacon and white at ix^s. a peece, xviiij^s. one with imbrodered girdle with silver, xxiiij^s. and for one paire of imbrodered gloves, xiiij^s. lvj^s

In all as by the Boke of the particulars thereof appeareth.' The total is given as £93. 12s. 2½d.

The chief object of the antimasque is to castigate George Wither for attempting satire. Jonson had discharged a similar mission forcibly enough himself. 'My language', he had said in the induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* (13-18),

Was neuer ground into such oyly colours,
To flatter vice and daube iniquitie:
But (with an armed, and resolved hand)
Ile strip the ragged follies of the time,
Naked, as at their birth.

In this field, compared with Jonson, Wither is an amateur; he lacks depth and concentration. His earliest attempt in 1613, *Abuses Stript, and Whipt, or Satiricall Essaies*, had been popular, but it landed him in the Marshalsea prison. He dedicated the work 'To himselfe', giving seven reasons for this abnormal choice of patron: 'Selfe-loving Braggart' (98) is Jonson's comment upon it. Wither twice refers to Jonson: in the preface to the reader, whom he warns not to 'looke for *Spencers* or *Daniels* wel composed numbers; or the deep conceits of the now flourishing *Johnson*;' and in a defence of poetry (R2) he regrets that he had never seen Sidney, but he hopes to see Daniel, Drayton, Jonson, Chapman, and Silvester:

I hitherto haue onely heard your fames
And know you yet but by your workes and names. . . .
I am in hope you'l not disdain my *Youth*.

Wither's tone is friendly, and there is nothing here to provoke a hostile reply, but Jonson's estimate of him in the masque is contemptuous. He attacks Wither's sincerity as well as his art, calling him 'wretched Impostor' and 'Mountebanke of witte' (96-7).

As Jonson derides the ambling movement of Wither's verse (117), a sample may be quoted from the first satire of the second book:

Well Nobles; I'le the Court eare-long suruay,
And if I find amongst you such as stray
Through Vanity or Pride; vnlesse it be
Into some small faults through infirmitie,
If there be no man that dare taxe you for't,
My Muse shall doe it, e'ne to make me sport:
For though she keepe but a plaine hobling forme:
Shee shall haue wit enough to make you storme.
I will not spare you thus till death doth fet yee,
But rub you whilst you are alive to fret yee.
Yet doe not thinke I meane to blaze your shame,
In scattered Libels, that shall want a name.
No, I hate that: I'le tell the illes you doe,
And put my name for witnesse thereunto.
Then 'tis but fetching me *ad Magistratum*,
And laying to me *Scandalum Magnatum*.

The *Abuses* dissect with mild satire abstract qualities such as love, lechery, fear, jealousy, envy. They are followed by a poem entitled *The Scourge*. In the 1615 edition this is preceded by a picture of a Satyr with a hairy body, ape-like face, spaniel tail, and prominent phallus. In his left hand he holds a trumpet, and in his right a scourge with five lashes, each tipped with a star-shaped spike. In the enlarged edition of 1617 this is styled 'Vices Executioner' and is described in some commonplace verse. It is strange that Wither, capable in happier moments of pure and delicate poetry, chose this coarse animal type to embody his conception of a chronomastix.

The frontispiece of *Wither's Motto*. *Nec Habeo, nec Careo, nec Curo* in 1621 exhibits a more refined conception. It is the 'gentleman-like *Satyre*' of Jonson's description (73). It depicted Wither himself sitting on a rock

.. To shew, that He Contemnes, and makes a mocke
Of Force, or Vnderminers.

He is naked—a sign of his poverty in the eyes of others—except for a mantle embroidered with heart's-ease. His head, crowned with a laurel wreath, rests against a pillar, typifying his fortitude. Behind him is a cornucopia, the emblem of content. His right hand points

downward to a landscape with trees, a river, a horse, and houses: 'Nec habeo' is on the scroll reaching to them from his finger. He is looking up to heaven, his eye fixed on a bright cloud inscribed with 'Jahveh' in Hebrew letters; a ray from this descends to his breast; a scroll from his lips says, 'Nec careo'. His right foot spurns a globe on which is a rude outline of the world; the scroll by his foot reads 'Nec curo'. There is something humourless in this complacent self-portrait, and Jonson fastened on his pretensions in the lines:

have I, I say,
From *Envies* selfe torne praise, and bayes away,
With which my glorious front, and word at large,
Triumphs in print at my admirers charge?

But Wither could afford to treat the taunt with equanimity if, as he asserted in *Fragmenta Prophetica*, 30,000 copies of the book sold in a few months. For all that, he had to pay another visit to the Marshalsea.

There was trouble over the printing of the *Motto*. John Marriot printed off the first edition before it was licensed; Nicholas Okes reprinted this, using Marriot's engraved frontispiece without his leave. According to Okes this edition was licensed after some cuts had been made in the text. Both printers were fined.¹ There was no printed title-page, so that the name of Okes did not appear in his reprint. This transaction may be glanced at in Jonson's gibe at 'his Printer in disguise' with his press in a hollow tree and the compositor working by 'glow-worme light' (164-6).

But Jonson's gibe would suit better a later publication of Wither's, *The Schollers Purgatory, Discovered In the Stationers Common-wealth*, which was *Imprinted For the Honest Stationers* in 1624 or 1625. Wither had secured a monopoly for his *Hymns and Songs of the Church* in 1623, requiring it to be bound up with every copy of the Psalms in metre, which the Stationers' Company printed. Hence a quarrel with the Company, and a further quarrel with the booksellers because he would not agree to their terms for selling it. The book was printed without licence by George Wood, whose presses were destroyed in 1621, 1622, and 1624. In 1622 the reason given by the authorities was his use of secret presses.² But he is not known to have printed any earlier work of Wither.

In *Britain's Remembrancer*, 1628, which it took Wither two years to set up himself, no printer being willing to print it, he wrote on

¹ See *S.P.D.*, James I, 1619-1623, pp. 268, 274-5.

² *Ibid.*, 1623-5, p. 143.

the plague, treating it as a judgement of God upon England. He has some mild allusions to Jonson's attack upon him. He classes

*a frothy Masque, an idle Song,
The witlesse jesting of a scurrilous tongue,*

with the work of buffoons, informers, and pamphleteers.

*Foule Scandals, thy best actions have attended.
And (as if on thy Infamy depended
The Kingdomes glory) Pamphlets false and base,
Yea, publike Masques, and Playes, to thy disgrace
Were set abroach; till justly they became,
To those that made, and favour'd them, a shame.*

He has a fling at copyists of the classics,

Whose quaint *Inventions* must be trimd and trickt
With curious dressings, from old *Authors* pickt.

. . . My *Muse* no whit envies
That they from all their heathenish *Poesies*
Have skimm'd the *Creame*; & to themselves (for that)
The stile of *Prince of Poets* arrogate.
For, *Plautus*, *Horace*, *Perseus*, *Juvenal*,
Yea *Greece* and *Romes* best *Muses*, we may call
Their *Tributaries*; since from them came in
Those *Treasures* which their princely *Titles* win.

Jonson was certainly one of these. Finally, there is an open reference to *Time Vindicated*. Wither is harping on his traducers.

With words ironically, they doe revile me:
The *Valiant Poet*, they in scorne doe stile me,
The *Chronomastix*.¹

Jonson's nickname had stuck, and so had his slight hit at 'the brave *Satyre*' (72). His attack on Wither was criticized at Court, as we have already seen from Chamberlain's letter.

Motto: *qui se mirantur* . . . Martial, *Ep.* XIII. ii. 7, 8—Martial's satirical advice to a critic of his slight book of 'Xenia', distichs written to go with the Roman equivalent of Christmas crackers at the time of the Saturnalia: 'Keep your venom in reserve for self-admiring authors: such lines as these *I* know to be nothing.'

13. *More then you understand.* S. of N., Induction, 31.

22. *Protestant* . . . a *Time-server*. Wither in *Britain's Remembrancer*, 1628, enumerates among 'Ambodexters' of religious strife '*Church-Papists*; *Time-observing Protestants*'.

25-6. *Kronos* . . . *Chronos* identified in a late Greek etymology with Saturn, the mythical king of Italy who introduced agriculture. See Jonson's note, *Hym.* 696.

¹ *Britain's Remembrancer*, ff. 88, 90, 137, 205.

28. *eates up his owne children*. Cronos swallowed his children immediately after their birth, a myth to symbolize the consuming power of time. Rhea his wife, when Zeus was about to be born, concealed him in Crete and gave Cronos a stone wrapped up in cloth which he swallowed, believing it to be his son.

29. *sith*. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* xii, 'Times sieth'. From O.E. *siðe*; 'scythe', is first found in the seventeenth century.

32. *Lord of misrule*. E.M.O. Dedication to the Inns of Court, 'when the gowne and cap is off, and the Lord of liberty raignes'.

33. *Cincinnatus*. The story is in Livy, III. xxvi, of his appointment 'seu fossam fodiens palae innisus seu cum araret: operi certe . . . agresti intentus'.

41. *Saturnalia*. The chief festival of ancient Rome from the 17th to the 19th of December. Slaves enjoyed temporary freedom: see Horace, *Sat.* II. vii. 4, 5.

69. *whipp*. As in the engraving prefixed to Wither's *The Scourge*, 1615.

73. *The gentleman-like Satyr*, as in the emblematic picture of himself crowned with a laurel wreath prefixed to *Wither's Motto*, 1621.

88. *more then most accurst*. E.M.O., Induction 114. Rather an antiquated expression in 1623.

90. *stoop*. *Alch.* IV. iv. 10.

91. *flirts*, giddy and flighty.

98. *Selfe-loving Braggart*. Wither dedicated his *Abuses Stript, and Whipt*, 1613, 'To himselfe'.

115-16. *my glorious front* . . . Another reference to the frontispiece of *Wither's Motto*. Cf. Butler, *Hudibras*, part I, canto 1 (ed. Waller, p. 20):

The Praises of the Author, penn'd
By himself, or wit-ensuring friend,
The Itch of Picture on the Front,
With Bays, and wicked Rhime upon't.

word = motto. C.R. v. vii. 32, 41, 48, 56.

141. *the Bosse of Belinsgate*. A quibble on 'bosse'. (1) 'A water-conduit running out of a gor-bellied figure' (Bailey's *Dictionary*, 1731); (2) 'A fatt bosse. *Femme bien grasse & grosse; vne coche*' (Cotgrave, ed. Sherwood, 1632). For the conduit at Billingsgate cf. Stow, *Survey* (ed. Kingsford, i, p. 208), 'On the North side is Bosse Alley, so called of a Bosse of spring water continually running, which standeth by Billingsgate, against this Alley, and was sometimes made by the Executors of *Richard Whittington*.' S. Rowlands in *Good Newes and Bad Newes*, 1622, F3^v, mentions as the chief sights of London

The water-workes, huge Pauls, old Charing Crosse,
Strong London bridge, at Billingsgate the bosse.

Apparently country folk were taken to Billingsgate to see the 'Bosse',

expecting to see a fishwife, but were shown the fountain. For the quibble cf. Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatyse of a Galaunt, with the Maryage of the Fayre Pusell the Bosse of Byllyngesgate vnto London Stone*; it has a slanderous tale

How the Bosse of byllyngesgate | hath had a chylde
By the well with two buckettes in bysshop gate street.

Henslowe paid for a play *The Boss of Billingsgate* in March 1603; nothing is known about it.

151. *A quondum Justice*. Not identified.

153. *in capite*. A quibble on 'tenure *in capite*', holding land directly from the king. Here *in capite* means no more than 'in his head'. *Lewd levity* is such ignorant trifling as using Wither's poems in his charges to the jury; gravity should have been the attribute of a judge.

157. *in a casket*. Recorded in Pliny's *Natural History*, ed. Holland, 1635, VII. xxix, of Alexander the Great: 'hauing found among the spoils of *Darius* the king, his perfumier or casket of sweet ointments, and the same richly imbellished with gold and costly pearls and precious stones, when his friends about him shewed him many vses whereto the said coffor or cabinet might be put vnto, considering that *Alexander* himself could not away with those delicate perfumes, being a warriour, and flurried with bearing armes, and following warfare: when, I say, his gallants about him, could not resolute well what seruice to put it to: himselfe made no more ado but said thus, I will haue it to serue for a case of *Homers* bookes.'

158. *O happy Man*. A reference to the story of Alexander standing by the mound at Sigeum where Achilles was supposed to be buried, and crying 'Happy man, to find a Homer as the herald of your valour!' (Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 24).

164. *his Printer in disguise* may be George Wood, but he did not print Wither's *Scholar's Purgatory* till 1625. See page 653.

171. *a Schoolemaster*, Alexander Gill, the elder, High Master of St. Paul's School and Milton's schoolmaster (1565-1635). The reference is to his work on phonetics, *Logonomia Anglica*, 1619, p. 93, where a quotation from Spenser is followed by 'Nec te pigeat à Iuuenali nostro Georgio Wiðerz, vbi satyræ asperitatem seposuit frequentem audire Metaphorā Fāier bj natvr biing born . . .'. This was Gill's favourite method of complimenting poets: cf. 'Lucanus noster Samuel Daniel' (ib., p. 94); 'Harringtono lepidissimo nostro Martiali' (p. 104); 'apud Sidneium Anacreonta nostrum' (p. 106).

177. *Infantry*. So Milton of the Pygmies, 'that small infantry Warr'd on by Cranes' (*P.L.* i. 575-6); Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, 1650, ii, p. 301, of the innocents at Bethlehem, 'the soules of these children are charitably conceived by the Primitive Church all marched to heaven, as the *Infantry of the noble Army of Martyrs*'.

178. *This Man of warre*. Not certain. In a 'Piece of Drollery' appended to *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, 1653, pp. 54-6, there is

a satire 'On Doctor Gill, Master of Pauls School', the younger Gill, 'a noble Ferker', and one of his pupils (p. 56) is

*A Captain of the Train'd Band
Sirnam'd Cornelius Wallis:
He Whipt him so sore.*

For Captain Wallis (or rather Waller) see *Und.* xlv. 53 n. As an old Pauline, he might be the person indicated here.

199. *Ἀποθέωσις* scans 'Apothéosis', the Greek being read by accent. Cf. C.R. Persons, 'Phronēsis', n. Sir T. Smith in his *De recta & emendata Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione*, 1578, p. 31, protests against distinguishing the quantity of vowels. 'Itaque in quo nobis cum inveterato vsu controuersia est? Primum illud est, quod inter longas vocales et breues differentias obseruamus: aliterque sonamus *a* & *i* cum longæ sunt, quàm quando correptæ.' Vaughan in *Olor Iscanus*, 'An Elegy', 5, 6 (*Works*, ed. Martin, i, p. 9), shortens *μετεμψύχωσις*:

and prove
In them the Metempsucosis of Love.

200. *Pompion*, pumpkin. The *Ἀποθέωσις* will prove an *Ἀποκολοκύντωσις*, the title of Seneca's skit on the deification of Claudius (Greek *κολοκύνθη*, a pumpkin).

211. *in Pauls*. The centre of news gossip: see the third act in *E.M.O.*

220. *blacke Sanctus*, or black saunt, a burlesque hymn or babel of music. Originally, according to Nares, a hymn to St. Satan, ridiculing the monks and parodying the 'Holy, Holy, Holy' of the Romish Missal. Harington gives a specimen in the prologue to *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*. Cf. Holland's *Livy*, 1600, v. xxxvii, 'With an hideous and dissonant kind of singing (like a blacke Sanctus) they filled all about with a fearful and horrible noise'; and Fletcher, *The Mad Lover*, iv. i (1647, p. 15):

Lets sing him a blacke Santis, then lets all howle,
In our own beastly voices.

222-3. *the Man I'the Moone . . . his bush*. N.W. 112-13.

224. *piping Lachrimæ*. A tune by the lutenist, John Dowland (1562-1615), in *Lachrimæ; or Seauen Teares*, 1604. Cf. Fletcher, *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, iv. ii (1647, p. 45), 'thrice pilloried, twice sung *Lacrymæ* to the Virginalls of a carts taile'; Middleton, *No Wit like a Woman's*, ed. Bullen, i. i. 227:

Sir O. Twi. Now thou play'st Dowland's *Lacrymæ* to thy master.
Sav. But shall I dry your eyes with a merry jig now,
And make you look like sunshine in a shower?

254. *Prentises, on a Shrove tuesday*. S.W. i. i. 158.

266. *The curious are ill-natur'd*. Plautus, *Stichus*, 208, 'Nam curiosus nemo est quin sit malivulus'.

270. *persues*. Spelt like the Latin *persequor*.
 286. *his owne*, viz. the golden age.
 289. *votes*, vows (Lat. *votum*). *N.T.* 353, *F.I.* 476.
 322. *feature*, comeliness. *King Richard III*, i. i. 19, 'I, that am . . . cheated of feature by dissembling Nature'.
 345-6. *Cupid . . . a jocund Sport*. Horace, *Odes*, i. ii. 33-4:

Erycina ridens,
 quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido.

356. *goes out*, i.e. quits the dancers and comes forward.
 388. *a Deacon in his craft*, i.e. a leader, chief—the technical term in Scotland for the president of an incorporated trade in any town. The *O.E.D.* quotes the Scottish Acts of James I, 1424, § 39, 'The Craft suld haue ane Deakon'. For Jonson's occasional scotticisms cf. 'baubee', *N.W.* 274.
 425. *Idalian bralls*. *V.D.* 229.
 458. *Hippolitus*. Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, specially associated with Diana. Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 15-19, so describes him:

Φοίβου δ' ἀδελφὴν Ἄρτεμιν, Διὸς κόρην,
 τιμᾶ, μεγίστην δαιμόνων ἡγούμενος·
 χλωρὰν δ' ἂν' ὕλην παρθένῳ ξυνὼν αἰεὶ
 κυσὶν ταχείαις θῆρας ἐξαιρεῖ χθονός,
 μείζω βροτείας προσπεσὼν ὀμιλίας.

462. *Cephalus*. Another huntsman, the husband of Procris, whom he accidentally killed in his hunting.
 526-31. Another reference to the peace policy of King James.

NEPTUNE'S TRIUMPH FOR THE RETURN OF ALBION

THIS masque was planned for Twelfth-night 1623-4, when the title-page of the Quarto and the head-title of the Folio say it was performed. Quarto copies, which have no imprint, were printed off for the actors and for Court patrons. Charles had returned to England without a Spanish bride on 5 October 1623, and roused a storm of enthusiasm, for the match with Spain was thoroughly unpopular. Jonson alludes to this outburst in lines 163-72.

Sir Edward Conway, writing to the Earl of Bristol on 18 December 1623, says, 'The King has been indisposed, but is better, the Prince and the Duke (of Buckingham) are well, and practise the maske diligently every day' (MSS. of G. W. Digby, *Historical MSS. Commission, Report VIII*, pt. i. 216). Chamberlain similarly reports to Carleton on 3 January 1624, 'there is much practising against the

maske on twelfth night and many meetings at noble mens houses in the afternoones' (S.P. 14, clviii. 5). Writing on 17 January, Chamberlain tells Carleton, 'the maske for twelfth night was put of, by reason of the k^s indisposition, as was pretended, but the true cause is thought to be the competition of the french and Spanish ambassadors, w^{ch} could not be accomodated in presence, and whethersoever of them were absent yt wold sound to his disgrace, and so much the Spanish ambassadors did intimate vpon notice that the french was first inuited, and forbare not to say (that among many other) they shold take this for the most notorious affront' (ibid. 17). Finett gives the details with his usual prolixity:

'A Maske being prepared by the Prince (with the Duke of Buckingham, and others &c.) for Twelfthnight a message was sent from his Majesty to the French Ambassador (by whom carried I could not learne) to this purpose. That whereas there was a Maske towards, and that his Majesty was desirous that the Marquess *de la Inojosa*, who had not seene any in this Kingdome, should be at it, he intended to visit him also (the French Ambassador, and in the first place) but would take it, as a respect to his satisfaction, if (to avoid the incounter, and question about their Precedence) he might before hand know, that he would be absent, framing some such excuse, as he should think fittest. To this the Ambassador returning at that instant no satisfieing answer, he soone after intreated the Earle of *March* to present one from him to his Majesty in these words. That about two yeares since upon the like occasion, he had received the like message, but knowing how strongly his Majesty stood then affected to the Alliance with Spaine, he would give him no distast, but with excuse of his indisposition kept himselfe absent, that if he should now againe do the like, he should in the sight of the world put a scorne upon himselfe, and do an unanswerable wrong to the King his Master, between whom, and the King of Spaine his Majesty knew (if he would be pleased to declare his knowledge) that there was no question to be made of the right of Precedence; that in this regard, he humbly beseecht his Majesty to proceed plainely, and fairely without useing any more colourable, or alternative Invitations (as he had done,) which might imply a Parity, in no sort to be yeelded to by the King his Master, in whom was the absolute right of Priority. That if his Majesty intended to invite him, he hoped he would intend also to entertain him with fitting respects, for come he would, if he should be invited, and if he should not, and the other should, he would protest against it, and immediatly returne home to the King his Master with the account of his Treatment. That further his Majesty would be pleased to consider, that whereas he was at that instant sending a Person of quality to the King his Master, he might with reason expect, that whatsoever want, or omission he (the French Ambassador) should meet with here, it would be returned in France in the same measure. This message (the substance whereof he repeated to me two or three dayes after) was

brought little sooner to the King, then it was made known to the Marquess *de la Inojosa*, who instantly sent for the Master of the Ceremonies, and in a storming manner gave him a message (repeating it twice or thrice) to be delivered to his Majesty by him in this sence; that he knew what respect had been formerly given the King of Spaines (his Masters Ministers) especially those that had been here Extraordinary, and what alternative course of invitation had been used with them, and the French; that he looked for no less honour to be done to him then to his Predecessors, and that since it was both his right and his turne to be now invited, he would expect it, beseeching his Majesty not underhand to invite the French Ambassadors (as he knew (he said) he was intended) but to invite him directly, and openly first, and only, that so if he (*Inojoso*) must be made a Subject for gazers abroad, it might be to some purpose, and that he might have a just, and an apparent cause to write to his Master of the wrong done him here in his Minister, with other words in an high Spanish Stile to that purpose, which when the Master of the Ceremonies had twice or thrice requested him to temper, to take time to think better of them, and to communicate his intended message with his Colleague (*Don Carlos*) he only yeelded to satisfie him in this last of communicating his intention (as he did that night with that much more temperate and considerate Gentleman) from whom wresting (as *Don Carlos* himself after acknowledged) a consent for the carriage of that message to the King by Sir *Lewes Lewkner*, the Maske was thereupon respited &c.' (*Philoxenis*, pp. 133-5).

In the Audit Office accounts of Henry Wickes (or Weeks), 1624-5 (A.O. 1/54/2424), is an entry for 'makeinge a rocke in the vaulte vnder the banquetting house, setting vpp degrees and making ready the banquetting house for the maske'. W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies*, p. 190, questions whether the rock was for *Nephtune's Triumph*, 'An examination of the text . . . reveals no necessity for the provision of a rock.' But Jonson's stage-directions are so scanty, and the last scene with the fleet may have had a rock. Mr. Lawrence cannot place the rock in any other performance of this date.

In the Pell Order Book, E 403/2743, f. 57, 2 January 1624, is the entry: 'By Order dated xxix^o Decembr 1623 To Michaell Oldisworth esquier aswell the some of fflower hundred pounde to be disbursed to seūall psons towarde the charges of a Masq to be pformed in his Ma^{te} Court this Christmas by his Ma^{te} dearest sonne Charles Prince of Wales, as also the some of One hundred pounde more for the full satisfacon of the arrerage of the expence and charge of a Maske pformed by his Ma^{te} said sonne at xmas last, to be taken to him wthout accompte imprest or other charge to be sett vppon him his heires executors administrators or assignes for the same or

anie pt thereof p bre dat xxvj^{to} December 1623.' Subscribed 'Middlesex Rich: Weston', and checked by 'Henshawe'.

Two entries for *The Fortunate Isles* may be added here: A.O. 1/55/2424, account of 'Henry Wickes', 1624-5 for Whitehall 'in repairing the Banckettinghouse for a Maske there'; and the Pell Order Book, E 403/2744, 4 February 1625: 'By Order dated xxviij^o Decembris 1624 To Michaell Oldisworth Esquier the some of fouer hundred pounde to be by him paid over to such psons as shalbe imployed for and concerning a Masque, w^{ch} his Ma^{te} pleasure is to haue pformed in his Court this Christmas by his dearest sonne Charles Prince of Wales wthout accompt imprest or other charge to be sett vppon him his heires Executors or administrators for the same or anie part thereof p bre dat xxij^o December 1624', subscribed 'James Ley: Rich: Weston'. The £400 was paid in two instalments 'isto die CC^{li} Brooke et iiij^o Ianuary 1624 CC^{li} Henshawe in plen solut'.

The two bills which follow may be due to the masque being postponed; both appear to belong to this masque. Note the sky-colour for the masquing dresses, with their suggestion of the blue sea.

The Exchequer Queen's Remembrancer (E 101, bundle 436, no. 2) in the account of Spencer, Lord Compton, master of the wardrobe to Prince Charles, 1622-4, gives the detailed bill for the dresses of the Prince and James Bowy at 'The Maske of Christmas 1623':

'Robert Austen for xvij yardē dī¹ of skye Collored Satten } xvij^{li} ij^s id ob:
for two Maskinge shuites at xv^s ij^d

xij Ellns v Nayles to lyne the shuites and Basses of } ix^{li} vj^s ij^d ob:
white taffita at xiiij^s p elln

xj yardē ij Nayles of sky Collo^r watered taffita for two } iiij^{li} xix^s:
paire of hose at xvj^s a yard

ij yardē q^{ter} of divers Collo^r Sattin for pattornes at } xxxiiij^s ij^d 3:
xv^s ij^d—

ij yards of sky Cullor Satten for borders honors² & } xlv^s ix^d:
foulds and other sundry patterns deli^ued to the Im- }
brodrer at xv^s ij^d

One yard dī of skye collo^r Satten to the Haberdasher } xxiij^s x^d ob:
to make two Cappes at xv^s ij^d the yard

One ellne dī q^{ter} of white taffita to lyne them at xiiij^s—xv^s ix^d:

'Samuel Paske xxxvij ozes dī of silver Spangled lace wth } xj^{li} xviij^s vj^d:
plate in yt at vj^s iiij^d p oz—

vj dož of silver buttons at xij^d— } vj^s:
vj ozes dī of soweinge and stichinge Silke at ij^s viij^d— } xviij^s iiij^d:

iiij yards of Loope lace at vj^d a yard— } ij^s:

ij yards of white Ribban to the Haberdasher at vj^d— } iiij^s vj^d:

¹ Half (dimidium).

² Decorations.

<i>'Iohn Shepley</i> for imbroderinge two shutes for the Maske vpon Skye collo ^r satten w ^{ch} were garnished and Brodered and wrought riche all over w th silver twiste Silver purells ¹ plates and Spangles, w th w ² Silke and for all manner of stufte and workemanshippe—		Lx ^{li}
ffor Imbroderinge sundry sortes of pattornes & Sampells vpon colloured Satten w th gold silver and Silke: ffor thride Canvas and othe(r) necessities		iiij ^{li} . xvj ^s
<i>'Patrick Blacke</i> for makeinge the two maskinge Shutes of Skye co ^r Sattin Imbrodred the Basses winges and Skyrtes wrought in thick wrokes ³ with samle ⁴ silver lace for all furniture to both Shutes iiij ^{li} vij ^s ij ^d p Shute— for makeinge & drawinge 3 pattrons of Buckrome & Callico in Sundry workes for cuttinge the two suites in sundry Workes		x ^{li} xv ^s vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d vj ^{li} x ^s xl ^v ^s
<i>'Robert Wadson</i> for two paire of skye collo ^r silke hose of a yarde and q ^{ter} longe at iiij ^{li} x ^s a payre ij paire of sky collo ^r and siluer tyes at vj ^s viij ^d — iiij doz of silke pointes at v ^s a doz— One peece of skye collo ^r and white Ribbans—		vij ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d xx ^s xxiiij ^s
<i>'Iulian Elliott</i> ffor vij yardes iiij q ^{tres} of roll worke att xiiij ^s the yard— vij yardes iiij q ^{tres} of fine purle for the bond and Cuffes at x ^s vj ^d ffor Cambrecke for the Ruffe and the stocke—		v ^{li} viij ^s vj ^d iiij ^{li} xvj ^s o ^b iiij ^s
<i>'Robert Iones</i> for making ij Cappes of Skye collo ^r Satten w th flowres at xx ^s a peece one plume of w ² feathers for his highnes W th many Egerite— one plume of w ² feathers for Bo ^y e		xl ^s v ^{li} x ^s iiij ^l v ^s
<i>'Mylles Corney</i> for two paire of rich ymbrodered Gloues at xv ^s a paire One payre of ymbrodered Gloues trymed ffor makeinge vp one Gyrdell		xxx ^s xx ^s iiij ^d
Some of the said maske		clxxj ^{li} xix ^s vj ^d o ^b . q ^{rs} .

The details of two masking suits, one of them for the Prince, and one for Thomas Carey, are recorded by the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer Receipts for 1624-5 (E 101, 436, 4):

'Preparaçons for a Maske intended at Xmas a^o dni 1624

'Paid to Robert Austin for nine yardes one quarter of skyecoullour satten for a maskinge suite at xvj^s., vij^{li}. viij^s. six ellnes an halfe and halfe a quarter of white taffetae to line the suite and bases at xvj^s., Cvj^s. two ellnes a quarter and an halfe of skyecoullourd taffetae for

¹ Purls.

² White.

³ Sic, for 'workes'.

⁴ Sic, for 'smale'.

ij payer of hose, xxxviij^s. one yard an halfe for patternes, xxiiij^s. iij quarter of a yard of skye collour satten for a capp, xij^s. and a quarter an an halfe of taffetae to line it, vj^s. xvj^{li}. xiiij^s.

'To Samuel Paske for xvj ounces iij quarters of silver spangled lace at vj^s. viij^d, Cvj^s. viij^d. three ounces of white silke at ij^s. viij^d, viij^s. one dozen and an halfe of silver buttons, ij^s. one yard of silver looplace, xvij^d. one large silver pointe, xij^d. and for xvij yardes of white riban delivered the Habberdasher, ix^s. vj^{li}. viij^s. ij^d.

'To Iohn Shepley for imbroderinge one maskinge suite vpon sky-coullourd satten with silver twist, silver spangles, silver plates and white silke. and for all manner of stufes and workmanshipp, xxxj^{li}. and for thredd canuas and lights with all other necessaryes, xxxvj^s. xxxvij^{li}. xvj^s.

'And to Patrick Black for makeinge the said suite for Thomas Carey, Cvij^s. vj^d. for all furniture therevnto, lxviij^s. ij^d. for cuttinge it in workes, xxvj^s. vj^d. and for repairinge his Highnes maskinge suite and Thomas Boweys, xl^s. xij^{li}. xviij^s. ij^d.

'To Robert Wadeson for ij payer of silke stockings a yard and a quarter longe at lxx^s, vij^{li}. ij payer of rich tyes, xiiij^s. iiij^d. iiij dozen of silke points, xx^s. and for one peece of skyecoullour white ribbon xxiiij^s. ix^{li}. xviij^s. iiij^d.

'To Miles Corney for iij payer of imbrodered gloves with silver vpon watchett satten att xv^s.— xlv^s.

'To Robert Iones for makeinge a Capp of seagreene Satten for Thomas Carey, xx^s. and for one fayre white plume with xxv dozen of Egretts for him, iiij^{li}. x^s. Cx^s.

'And to Robert Peake for iiij venitian viseardes cutt coullourd lined and pfumed at xiiij^s, lvj^s. and for new coullouringe lineinge and perfuminge of them att iij^s. vj^d. a peece, xiiij^s. lxx^s.'

The total cost of the above is given as £89. 2s. 8d.

Inigo Jones's beautiful design for the Palace of Oceanus has been preserved (*Designs*, 65, plate ix). In the foreground on each side is a lofty Ionic pillar—the 'two erected Pillars, dedicated to *Neptune*' (2, 3); the blank cartouche tablets suspended from drapery would be inscribed 'NEP. RED.', 'SEC. IOV' (4, 6). The capital of the left-hand pillar is 'surmounted by a Triton, that on the right by Arion with his harp, both riding on dolphins. Both sides of the scene consist of three wings in the form of quadrangular structures of heavy rusticated masonry with two stories of open semicircular arches in each. The piers supporting the arches are each faced with two nude statues of men bearing the architrave on their heads; on the top of every wing are two statues of tritons blowing conch shells.

In the distance beyond the furthest pair of wings are twin lighthouses with diminishing superstructures' (*Designs*, pp. 51-2). Together with the Island which floated in with the masquers, Inigo Jones contrived a very suggestive picture of sea-architecture, and it made a fine foil to the Cook's antimasque.

Jonson, having the text of the masque left on his hands, re-used in *The Staple of News*, iv. ii, the discussion on the affinity of cookery to poetry, which he had borrowed from Athenaeus, and he reset the main masque with variations in *The Fortunate Isles* and referred it to Henrietta Maria and the French marriage.

Motto from Martial viii. xv. 2, substituting '*Deum*' for '*Iovem*'.

4. NEP. RED. with a standing figure of Neptune is found as a reverse type on gold and silver of Vespasian and of Titus as Caesar in A.D. 72-3, and on bronze sesterces of Hadrian in A.D. 125-8. The inscription probably refers to the arrival of the Emperor at Rome—almost certainly in the case of Hadrian, who got back from a long tour of the Empire late in 125 (J. G. Milne). *Neptuno reduci*, 'To Neptune that brings back home' has the idea of the sea-god watching over the traveller's safety.

6. SEC. IOV. Jonson's reference is to Statius, *Achilleis*, i. 48-9.

7. *to disperse the Argument*. 'Disperse' implies distributing something like the modern program, the 'Play-bill' of *D. is A.* i. iv. 43. An 'argument' or 'book' or 'plot' was sometimes given to the chief personage present—e.g. to the King in *The Spanish Tragedy* (iv. iv. 10), or to the Prince in the masque contained in Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, iii. iii. The argument of *The Masque of Queens* is printed in vol. vii, pp. 318-19.

11. *plucke for*; 14. *colour for*; 15. *encounter*; 19. *What went you vpon?* All technical terms of primero: see the notes on *Volp.* iii. v. 36 and *Ep.* cxii. 18-22.

42-4. Euphron quoted by Athenaeus, *Deipn.* i. 13:

οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει.

ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἐκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.

59-62. So *S. of N.* Ind., 27-31.

77-113. Repeated in *S. of N.* iv. ii. 7-40: see the notes.

103. *bare-breech'd*. So *F.I.* 18-20. 'Airy brethren' in the corresponding passage of *S. of N.* iv. ii. 34.

112-13. *Fury . . . diuine*. Sidney, *Apology for Poetry*, ed. Gregory Smith, p. 206, 'To beleue, with *Landin*, that they', i.e. poets, 'are so beloved of the Gods that whatsoever they write proceeds of a diuine fury'; Cicero, *De Div.* i. 37. 80, 'Negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse.'

133. *Chiefe in the art of riding*. Neptune was regarded as the creator of the horse and believed to have taught men the art of managing horses by the bridle. In the *Homeric Hymn* to Poseidon, xxii. 4, his two attributes are expressed:

διχθά τοι, 'Εννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο,
ἵππων τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι σωτῆρά τε νηῶν.

Hence the allusion to Buckingham (137, 154) as Hippius (ἵππιος). Buckingham was master of the horse to James I. So John Ashmore in the Epigrammes appended to his *Selected Odes of Horace*, 1621, p. 41, addresses Buckingham:

Sing *Iō*. Buckingham doth Seas controule:
He Horses rules, and Waves that proudly roule.
So, 'mongst the gods, *Neptune*, that bravely glides
Through Crystall streames, courageous Horses guides.
Then, let none think this double Power unfit,
Sith even the gods, themselves, have practiz'd it.

138. *Proteus, Father of disguises*. Sir Francis Cottington (1578?–1652), the Prince's private secretary, an expert in Spanish affairs, as he had lived in the country. He went with Sir C. Cornwallis to Spain as English agent, 1609–11, and was English consul at Seville 1612. In 1616 he acted as ambassador in Digby's absence. He was made a knight and baronet in 1623. He disapproved of the escapade to Madrid, but went with the Prince. Clarendon says he 'perfectly understood Spanish (which he spake as a Spaniard)', but 'his greatest fault was that he could dissemble' (*History*, xiii. 30). One is half-inclined to suspect a touch of ironic reference to this in the allusion to Proteus. On his return from Spain he was disgraced through Buckingham but returned to power later. In July 1631 he became Baron Cottington of Hanworth, Middlesex.

For the classical Proteus see *Beauty* 73, with Jonson's note.

147. *neare . . . to be lost*. On 12 September 1623 Charles reached Santander where English ships awaited him. Late in the evening he inspected the *Prince* in which he was to sail. He tried to row back to the town where lodgings had been prepared for him, but a high wind rose and the boat was nearly swept out to sea. Sir Sackville Trevor in the *Defiance* threw out ropes attached to buoys with lanterns, and this was the means of saving Charles, who spent the night on board the *Defiance*. See Waller's poem, 'Of the danger his Majesty escaped in the Road at Saint Andrew's' (*Poems*, ed. Thorn-Drury, i, pp. 1–7).

156. *steru'd snakes*. *Poet.*, Induction 6.

159. *why not this, till now?* An interesting reference to the postponement of the masque.

163–4. *extemporall dinne Of balladry*. *Und.* xxiii. 19–24, and *Conv. Drum.* xvii. 475, 'a Poet should detest a Ballet maker'.

169. *bonfires*. See the details in Taylor the Water-poet's *Prince Charles his welcome from Spaine* (*Works*, 1630, p. 103): 'I heard it credibly reported, that there was one Bonefire made at the Guildhall in London, which cost one hundred pounds (belike it was some Logwood which was prohibited and vnlawfull to bee vsed by Dyers, and being forfeited, was ordained to be burnt in tryumph:) . . . Some in Smithfield

burnt their old Coaches, (and I wish they had all beene so well bestowed) . . . But in *Paules Churchyard* was exceeding benighted triumphs for on the crosse round about were placed, on the battlements and on the top of it, as many burning Linkes, as the Prince his Hig(h)nesse was yeares old: and in some good distance from the Crosse, were two mighty bonfires; besides there was a crosse of wood erected which extended into foure branches, and vpon euery branch a pitch barrel was fastned, and one in the midst on the top, which made a braue shew in the burning: then were there Cressit Lights, and most excellent fireworks, with squibs, crackers, rackets, which most delightfully flew euery way. And it is certaine to be proued, that betwixt *Paules Churchyard* and London-bridge in the nearest way that could be gone, there were 108.'

172. *the Sea-Monster Archy*, 'Amphibion' (261). Archibald Armstrong, the court-jester (S. of N. III. ii. 131). Howell, *Familiar Letters*, I, section 3, xviii: 'Our Cousin *Archy* hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his Fool's-coat where the *Infanta* is with her *Menina's* and Ladies of Honour, and keeps a-blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists.' On one occasion he even twitted the *Infanta* with the Armada.

185-91. Repeated S. of N. III. iii. 34-40.

195-203. From Strabo, *Geographia*, xv, § 21: 'Ονησίκριτος δὲ καὶ περιεργότερον τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουσικάνου διεξιὼν, ἃ φησι νοτιώτατα εἶναι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, διηγείται μεγάλα δένδρα τινά, ὧν τοὺς κλάδους αὐξηθέντας ἐπὶ πήχεις καὶ δώδεκα, ἔπειτα τὴν λοιπὴν αὐξῆσιν καταφερῇ λαμβάνειν ὥς ἂν κατακαμπτομένους ἕως ἂν ἄψωνται τῆς γῆς· ἔπειτα κατὰ γῆς διαδοθέντας ῥιζοῦσθαι ὁμοίως ταῖς κατώρυξιν, εἴτ' ἀναδοθέντας στελεχοῦσθαι· ἐξ οὗ πάλιν ὁμοίως τῇ αὐξήσει κατακαμφθέντας ἄλλην κατώρυγα ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἄλλην, καὶ οὕτως ἐφεξῆς ὥστ' ἀφ' ἐνὸς δένδρου σκιάδιον γίνεσθαι μακρὸν πολυστύλῳ σκηνῇ ὁμοῖον. λέγει δὲ καὶ μεγέθη δένδρων ὥστε πέντε ἀνθρώποις δυσπερίληπτα εἶναι τὰ στελέχη. Raleigh, *The History of the World*, 1614, i, p. 67, where he disposes of the theory that the *Ficus Indica* was the Tree of Knowledge in Eden: 'a tree *se semper ferens, alwaies planting it selfe*; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselves vnder it.' He gives a full description of the growth and adds that he has travelled a dozen miles together under them. So Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ix. 1101-7:

The Figtree . . . such as at this day to *Indians* known,
In *Malabar* or *Decan* spreads her Armes
Braunching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters grow
About the Mother Tree, a Pillard shade
High overarch't, and echoing Walks between.

198. *the Indian Musicana*. Strabo calls it 'the land of Musicanus' (ἡ τοῦ Μουσικανοῦ, xv, § 33); it was on the banks of the Indus.

213-23. Compare the criticism of the antimasque in *M. of A.* 265-8.

223. *By-workes*, πάρεργα.

225. *all the heauen awrie*. *E.M.O.* Appendix, x. 5.

236. *the boyling house*. *L.R.* 123.

240. *Olla Podrida*. *S. of N.* III. iii. 29.

245. *di stato*. *C.R.* I. iv. 84.

248. *cortines*, curtains. *Volp.* IV. vi. 82.

253-4. *they are fishes, But ha' their garlick*. Of the real business of state they know nothing, and they are as mute as fishes about it. But this does not prevent their talking about the affairs of state and poisoning the news as the breath of the eater of garlic poisons the air. Cf. Webster's preface to *The White Devil*, 'yet after all this divine rapture, *O dura messorum ilia*, the breath that comes from the incapable multitude, is able to poison it'.

261. *Amphibion*. Cf. '*Amphibion Broker*', *S. of N.* II. iv. 132, defined there as 'A creature of two natures, Because he has two *Offices*'.

274. *Gally-mawfrey*, in its literal sense, 'a dish made by hashing up odds and ends of food'.

292. *lac'd Mutton*, strumpet. 'Mutton was used alone in the same sense. The adjective may mean "wearing a bodice", possibly with a pun on the culinary sense *Lace*' (to make a number of incisions in the breast of a bird), 'though the latter is not recorded so early' (*O.E.D.*).

295-6. *Mr. Ambler* and *Captaine Buz* reappear in *S. of N.* I. v. 110, III. i. 12.

298. *A Gentleman of the Forrest*, an officer in charge of a forest, especially of a royal forest, a verderer.

299. *Graces street*, Gracechurch street, 'Grasse street' in Stow.

329. *Nam lusus* . . . Martial, VII. viii. 10 (with *si* for *nam*).

335. *sieges*. *Oberon*, 294.

343 note 'i'. *Portumnus*, more correctly *Portunus*, a sea-god identified with the Greek *Palaemon* (*L.T.* 102), protector of harbours.

353. *votes*. *T.V.* 289.

362 note 'k'. *Saron*. The proverb is found in the *Paroemiae* of the sixteenth-century scholar Michael Apostolios, ed. Heinsius, 1619, xvii. 27, with the comment 'Οὗτος ὁ Σάρων, δαίμων ἦν ναυτικώτατος· ἐξ οὗ καὶ πέλαγος Σαρωνικὸν ἐπικέκληται.' According to Pausanias (II. xxx. 7) he was the third mythic king of Troizen, and was drowned in the gulf named after him.

363. *State*, the royal chair.

375. *true fires*. Cf. the epigrammatic 'when logs not burne, but men', *For.* xiv. 60.

410. *Haliclyon*, Buckingham as Lord High Admiral. The title presupposes a Greek adjective ἀλικλύων, which is not found. But Hesychius has a form ἀλικαύων as an epithet of Poseidon in a comedy of Sophron, and ἀλικλύων is evidently a conjectural emendation of this, with a change only of the letter Α to Λ. It is not recorded elsewhere: was it a conjecture of Jonson's?

419. *laying forth their tresses*. Strictly there were only two Sirens; Jonson is thinking of Nereids or Mermaids.

467. *Proteus hears*, seals.

Orkes. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, ii. 95, 'The uglie Orks, that for their Lord the *Ocean* woove', with a marginal note, 'Monsters of the Sea, supposed *Neptunes* Gard'.

481. Pallas according to the legend had a contest in weaving with Arachne, whom she turned into a spider.

494. *Amber-gris*, grey amber. 'To this substance the name Amber originally belonged; after its extension to the resin, *ambre jaune* or *succin*, the amber proper was distinguished as *ambre gris*, which has become in English its regular name' (*O.E.D.*).

526-7. Castor and Pollux were protectors of travellers at sea, Neptune having given them power over wind and wave; the lights ('St. Elmo's fires') which appear on the masts of a vessel at a time of electrical disturbance were attributed to them, the '*lucida sidera*' of Horace, *Odes*, i. iii. 2.

527. *hayles*, hauls.

528. *Leucothoe*, Leucothea, or Ino, the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia. When Poseidon wrecked Odysseus, Leucothea gave him her wimple for a life-buoy and saved him (*Odyssey*, v. 333-55).

THE FORTUNATE ISLES AND THEIR UNION

THIS masque was, as Jonson says on the title-page of the Quarto, 'designed' for performance on Twelfth-night, 1625. Herbert's Office-Book notes that 'the Masque being putt of, and the prince only there, *Tu Quoque*, by the Queene of Bohemias servants' was acted in its place (*Variorum Shakespeare*, iii, p. 228). But 'Upon the Son-day night following, being the ninthe of January 1624(-5), the Masque was performd' (*ibid.*). Chamberlain had noted on 8 January the signs of the King's ill health: 'The King kept his chamber all this Christmas, not coming once to the Chapel, nor to any of the plays; only in fair weather he looked abroad in his litter to see some flights at the brook': the masque, he says, was 'put of till to-morow, and perhaps longer or altogether, as it was last year' (S.P. 14, clxxxi. 29). Finett had to deal with the ambassadors:

'The fourth of *January* I received Order for the invitation of the French Ambassador (the Marquess *de Fiat*) the Venetian Seignior *Pesaro* (not long before arrived here in place of Seignior *Valeresso*) and two Agents (Monsieur *Brumeau* for the King of Spaine, and Monsieur *Van Mal* for the Archdutches) to a Maske of the Prince, with certaine Lords and Gentlemen on Twelfnight. I propounded, and obtained of the Venetian that he would (Sir *Lewes Lewkner* being then absent) call in his way to Court, and accompany thither the French Ambassador[s], that I might with one labour attend them both, and introduce them (as I had directions) by the Parke through the Galleries at eight of the

clock at night (the place, and hour assigned also the Agents) but being the next morning, assured by the Prince himself, that the Maske was to be put off till Sunday the ninth of *January*, I was upon his Highness intimation sent to disinvite them all which I performed with the French personally, and with the rest by Letter. But on Saturday reinvited them for the next day, when about four of the clock, the Marquess *Hamilton*, (Lord Steward of his Majesties Household, then supplying the place of the Lord Chamberlaine indisposed) gave me in charge to repaire to the Ambassadors, and to let them know, that in regard of the inconveniency that would grow from the intrusion of multitudes of people by way of the Galleries (if they were left open) he desired they would enter the Court by the great Gate, and thence pass for their repose to the Marquesses Lodgings, till the King should come by, and take them along with him. This intimation was given also to the two Agents, who had the same Order for their Entrance as the former, but were likewise diverted, and conducted to a Roome apart in my Lord Stewards Lodgings, which was so ordered of design to avoid their, and the French Ambassadors incounter, not with apprehension of strife for place, their difference of qualities of Agents and Ambassadors clearing all such question, but of distast perhaps to either from their incompatibility; a regard taken also in placing their Followers in severall Scaffolds to avoid differences and wranglings that might occurre even amongst those of inferior condition, if seated promiscuously together in a Scaffold; a provisionable care that the King himself had, and expressed that day at his Dinner. The Ambassadors were seated with the King (as accustomed) and the Agents bestowed amongst the Lords, beneath Earles, and above Barons' (*Philoxenis*, pp. 143-4).

Inigo Jones's sketch of the group Johphiel, Scogan, Skelton, and Merefool (*Designs*, 66) was reproduced in the volume on Inigo Jones published by the Shakespeare Society in 1848. Johphiel faces the spectator on the left, winged and wearing tight-fitting vest, short breeches, and buskins; over his right shoulder he wears a scarf. He wears a hood, but has not got the chaplet of flowers, the gloves, and the silver fan of Jonson's description. His hands are outstretched as if he were indicating something to his companions. Scogan on his left facing the spectator wears a cap and short tunic reaching to his thighs. Skelton wears a cap and a voluminous gown and the long shoes with upturned toes 'which, under the name of Crackowes, first made their appearance in Richard the Second's reign' (J. R. Planché). To the right of the group is Merefool, bearded and wearing a very high-crowned hat, a slashed doublet, close-fitting breeches and stockings. This again hardly agrees with Jonson's description of him as 'in bare and worne clothes, shrowded vnder an obscure cloake, and the eaues of an old hatt'. The group is inscribed 'Aery spirrit Scogã Scelton A Brother of the Rosicros'.

The Fortunate Isles. 'Insula Fortunata' is the scene of *E.M.O.* Ind. 273.

Hic choreae . . . Tibullus, i. iii. 59.

4. *the Intelligence of Jupiters sphere.* The Intelligences were a lower order of angels who directed the spheres. Adam addresses Raphael in *P.L.* viii. 181, 'Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene'. Johann Tritheim published at Nuremberg in 1522 *De Septem secundeis. id est. intelligentijs siue spiritibus mouentibus orbes*. He gives Zachariel as the presiding intelligence of Jupiter's sphere and does not mention Johphiel. In this he is followed by Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, 1567, iii, ch. xxiv, p. 377.

6. *haire*, wig.

28. *bombing sighs.* In *E.M.O.* III. vi. 1 Shift 'vented a sigh' in Paul's so deep that 'I thought he would haue blowne vp the church'.

30. *No intelligence.* Merefool's disappointment recalls Fitzdottrel's at not being able to conjure up the devil, *D. is A.* i. ii. 15-25.

34. *Brethren of the Rosie-Crosse.* *S. of N.* III. ii. 99. The Society was supposed to have been founded in Germany by Christian Rosenkreuz, who died in 1484, but it is first mentioned in the *Fama Fraternitatis des löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreuzes*, 1615. It laid claim to secret and magic knowledge and power over the elements; like alchemy it aimed at the prolongation of life and the transmutation of metals. There was a flood of Rosicrucian literature in Germany and Holland from 1616 onwards. In *Und.* xliii. 72-5 Jonson sneers at

the Chimæra of the *Rosie-Crosse*,
Their Seales, their Characters, Hermetique rings,
Their Jemme of Riches, and bright Stone, that brings
Invisibilitie, and strength, and tongues.

39. *the flie.* *Alch.* v. iv. 35-9.

69. *whimsie*, dizziness.

86. *By contraction Mere-Foole.* So in *M. of Q.* 89 Jonson spells 'Merely merely' for 'merrily'.

92. *Outis*, or Nobody, according to the joke in the *Odyssey*, ix. 364-412.

96. Alluding to the title of Thomas Heywood's play, *If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody*, part i, 1605, part ii, 1606, frequently reprinted.

99. *The Castle in the aire.* Cf. *N.W.* 209-12, 'The brethren of the *Rosie Crosse* have their Colledge within a mile o'th Moone; a Castle i'th'ayre that runs upon wheelles with a wing'd lanthorne— Pr. I ha' seen't in print.' The print was Theophilus Schweighardt's *Speculum Sophicum Rhodo-stauroticum*, 1618, with an engraving of the castle. It has the wheels and wings, the latter projecting from a miniature temple on the top; it is foursquare with corner turrets, in each of which is a warrior armed with a huge quill pen. The arm of a giant protrudes from a window, and below this is written 'Iulian de Campis'. In the

Bodleian Library is a Latin translation of the tract (MS. Lat. misc. e. 74) with some slight variations in the picture of the castle. On page 11 the author says, 'Vides Collegium suspensum in Libero aere, vbi Deo placet: Ipse potest illud dirigere, mobile est et immobile; Constans, et inconstans: fidit alis et rotis suis: et quamuis suauibus tubis fratres exclamant Venite, Attamen etiam adest *Iulianus de Campis*, stricto gladio, Huius examini necesse est vt te subijcias.' The 'good old *Hermit*' appears in an opening above, with a gold shield in his right hand and a palm-branch in his left. Men are attempting, successfully and unsuccessfully, to gain admittance.

100. *Rhodostaurotick* (Greek *ῥόδον*, rose, *σταυρός*, cross) has not acclimatized itself in English; the adepts used it as a late Latin form.

101. *Iulian de Campis*, a pseudonym of Julius Sperber, a councillor of Dessau in the duchy of Anhalt, who died in 1616. He was the author of *Sendbrieff oder Bericht An Alle welche von der Newen Brüderschaft des Ordens vom Rosen Creutz genant etwas gelesen oder von andern per modum discursus der sachen beschaffeneit vernommen. Es seind viel die im Schrancken lauffen etliche aber gewinnen nur das Kleinot. Darumb ermahne Ich, Iulianus De Campis. O.G.D.C.R.F.E. Das diejenigen Welche von einer glücklichen direction, vnd gewünchster impression guberniret worden sich nicht durch ihrer selbst eigenen diffidens, oder üppiger Leute vnartiges judiciren, wendig machen lassen. Milita bonam militiam, seruans fidem, & accipies coronam gloriæ. Gedruckt Im Jahr 1615.* It was reprinted in the 1617 edition of *Fama Fraternitatis, oder Entdeckung der Brüderschaft des löblichen Ordens des Rosen Creutzes*. He had already written mystical theology in *Kabalisticæ Precationes*, 1600, and *Isagoge*, 1608, printed 1674.

111. *content to die for you*. Like Security's irony in *E.H.* II. ii. 152-3.

135. *Kaball. Und. xliii. 71-3*. The Rosicrucians tried to link their mystical notions with the Hebrew Cabbala.

136. *Principall Secretarie to the Starres*. Suidas called Aristotle *γραμματεὺς τῆς φύσεως*. Cf. S. Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, 1614, p. 505: 'Some also pretending themselves Natures Principall Secretaries, haue found out (in Indian plants) . . . not only temperatures . . . but Signatures of Natures owne impression.' For signatures cf. *L.T.* 162.

138. *diuine rods*, the enchanter's wand, such as that of Prospero or Comus.

155. *your Order*. In Germany the rose was a symbol of silence, sculptured in a ceiling of a banquet hall to warn the guests not to repeat what they heard literally *sub rosa*.

162-3. *A broken sleeue . . . S. of N.* I. ii. 121.

173. *riss. Gr.* I. xix. 29-31.

176. *Empyreum*. The earliest use of this form, but 'empyrean' is earlier, 1614.

185. *fortunate purse*. As in Dekker's play of *Old Fortunatus*.

188. *Collyrium*. Here used loosely for an application not only to the eyes, but to the skin.

195. *I long . . . D. is A.* i. ii. 31.

205. *Zoroastres*, famous in classical antiquity as the founder of the wisdom of the Magi.

227. *Hermes Trismegistus*, Thoth, the Egyptian god of wisdom, the reputed author of the sacred 'Hermetic' books.

229. *ὁ τρισμέγιστος*, Milton's 'thrice great Hermes' (*Penseroso*, 88).

232-7. *Howle-glasse*. See *Poet.* iii. iv. 139, and for the form *Vlenspiegel*, *Alch.* ii. iii. 32.

243. *Iamblichus*, founder of the Syrian school of Neoplatonic philosophy, and author of a work, partly extant, on the philosophy of Pythagoras. He died about A.D. 330.

244. *Porphyrie* (A.D. 233-304), a Neoplatonist, pupil of Plotinus and master of Iamblichus. There are extant his lives of Pythagoras and Plotinus, a treatise *De Abstinencia*, and an *Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle*.

Proclus (A.D. 412-85), the leading representative of the later Neoplatonists. He wrote commentaries on the Platonic dialogues, a treatise on Plato's theology, and works on astronomy and grammar.

257. *beanes*. The tradition was that Pythagoras abstained from eating beans, but this is doubtful: see Aulus Gellius, iv. xi.

260. *Archimedes*, the great scientist and inventor killed at the siege of Syracuse, 212 B.C.

271. *filing a Fox tongue*. *G.M.* 1343-4.

276. *disguising*. *M. of A.* 45.

279-80. *Skelton . . . Scogan*. All the characters of the antimasque are dramatic or literary. Henslowe's *Diary* notes the composition of a play on Scogan and Skelton by Hathway and Rankins, 23 January-8 March 1601 (ed. Greg, pp. 125, 134-5). Thomas Colwell in 1656 issued the jests of John Scogan, Court fool to Edward IV, and in 1567 the *Merry Tales* attributed to Skelton. But Jonson's reference in lines 284-8, and the epithet 'morall Scogan' (427) show that he confused the jester with Henry Scogan (1361?-1407), a friend of Chaucer, author of *A moral balade made by Henry Scogan squyer. Here folowethe next a moral balade to my lorde the Prince, to my lord of Clarence, to my lord of Bedford, and to my lorde of Gloucestre; by Henry Scogan, at a souper of feorthe merchande(s) in the vyntre in London, in the hous of Lowys Iohan*. It is printed in all the early editions of Chaucer, a poem of twenty-one stanzas in which Chaucer's *Gentilesse* is inserted after stanza 13. Chaucer addressed to him *Lenvoy a Scogan*. See Skeat's *Chaucer*, i, pp. 82-4.

291. *flowand*. For the form cf. *S.S.* ii. i. 37 'command'.

292. *paid for it*. Equally outspoken with the reference to unpaid pensions in *G.M.* 596-7.

298-9. *Dabler In rime*. An old grievance: see *C.R.* ii. i. 48-9, 'a rimer, and that's a thought better then a poet'. Was Jonson thinking of Sir John Maynard, who wrote the masque for Buckingham at York House on the Prince's return on 18 November 1623, and a masque at Burley on 1 August 1624?

302. *Brachman*, the older spelling of 'Brahman', influenced by the Greek spelling *Βραχμᾶνες*.

303. *Gymnosophist*, one of a set of philosophers in the Nile valley beyond Ethiopia, who worshipped the Nile, lived in the open air, and wore no clothes, according to Philostratus' account in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, vi. vi foll.

306. *Skelton*. Jonson imitates Skelton's short verse in *The Tunnyng of Elinour Rumming* and elsewhere. This form is found also in *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, the *Masque of Owls*, and the *Entertainment at Welbeck*.

307. *Poet Laureate*. Skelton in his poem *Against Garnesche* (*Works*, ed. Dyce, i, p. 128):

A kyng to me myn habyte gaue:
At Oxforth the vniversityte
Auaunsid I was to that degre;
By hole consente of theyr senate
I was made poete lawreate.

Jonson probably misread this passage. The laureateship was a degree in grammar, including rhetoric and versification; the graduate was presented with a laurel wreath. But this was not the office of poet laureate to the king; it was purely academical.

308. *Tityre tu*, a roarer like the Mohawks of a later date, first mentioned in letters of John Chamberlain: 'A secret society, first formed in Lord Vaux's regiment in the Low Countries, has spread to England; they wear blue and yellow ribands in their hats, have a Prince called Ottoman, and nicknames as Tityre, &c.' (S.P.D., 6 December 1623, Jas. I, clv. 21: cf. *ibid.* 56, 19 December). Randolph in *Hey for Honesty*, i. iii (1651, p. 9), speaks of 'some mad roaring *Tityre tu*'. These are the opening words of Virgil's first *Eclogue* and were used apparently as a comic form of address by the members.

312-13. *in like habits, as they liu'd*. *Hamlet*, III. iv. 135, 'My father, in his habit as he lived!'

322. *Crambe*. *D. is A.* v. viii. 110.

330. *caract.* *E.M.I.* III. iii. 22.

363. *the foure Knaues*. The Revels Accounts for 1582 record 'A Comedie or Morrall devised on a A game of the Cardes shewed on St Stephens daie at night before her maiestie at Wyndesor Enacted by the Children of her maiesties Chapple' (Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels*, p. 349). The Knaves were prominent in it: see Harington's 'Briefe Apologie of Poetrie' prefixed to his *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, ¶ vi: 'or to speake of a London Comedie, how much good matter, yea and matter of state, is there in that Comedie cald the play of the Cards? in which it is showed, how foure Parasiticall knaues robbe the foure principall vocations of the Realme, *videl.* the vocation of Souldiers, Schollers, Marchants, and Husbandmen—Of which Comedie I cannot forget the saying of a notable wise counsellor that is now dead,

who when some (to sing *Placebo*) aduised that it should be forbidden, because it was somewhat too plaine, and indeed as the old saying is, (*sooth boord is no boord*) yet he would haue it allowed, adding it was fit that *They which doe that they should not, should heare that they would not.*

364. *triumph*, trump.

367. *at a messe*, because there were four of them: *E.M.I.* i. iii. 71.

369. *Elinor Rumming*, the Leatherhead alewife immortalized by Skelton in *The Tunnyng of Elynour Rumming*. An edition of this poem was issued by Rand in 1624.

371-80. Quoted from Skelton: Dyce's text, 1-6, 15-21, runs:

Tell you I chyll
If that ye wyll
A whyle be styll,
Of a comely gyll
That dwelt on a hyll:
But shee is not gryll, . . .

Droupy and drowsy,
Scuruy and lowsy;
Her face all bowsy,
Comely crinklyd,
Wonderly wrynked,
Like a rost pygges eare,
Brystled with here.

371. *Gill*, wench, as in 'Every Jack must have his Gill'.

372. *grill*, harsh, cruel.

374. *bowsy*, bloated with drinking.

377. *crinkled*, twisted.

382. *Ruffian Fitz-ale*. Fitz-Ale is a peaceable character in the *Entertainment at Welbeck*, a brewer of Derby.

384. *stale*. A quibble on (1) past her prime, (2) strong beer (*G.M.* 237).

385. *Vapors* as in the exhibition in *B.F.* iv. iv.

389. *Ellen of Troy*. A reference, as Cunningham suggests, to Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, of which an edition had appeared in 1624.

393. *Marie Ambree*. *S.W.* iv. ii. 123.

397. *the ballad* in Percy's *Reliques*, 1765, ii, p. 213, which begins:

When captains couragious, whom death colde not daunte,
Did march to the siege of the cittye of Gaunte,
They mustred their souldiers by two and by three,
And foremost in battele was Mary Ambree.

401. *Westminster Meg*. The virago whose exploits were celebrated in *The Life of Long Meg of Westminster: containing the mad merry pranks she played in her life time, not onely in performing sundry quarrels with diuers ruffians about London; but also how valiantly she behaued herselfe in the warres of Bolloigne*, 1620 (*S.R.* 1582). In chapter ii she is drinking at the Eagle in Westminster with Skelton, Will Summers, and a Spanish knight, James of Castile. She was the heroine of a lost play of the Admiral's men recorded in Henslowe's *Diary* in 1594-7 (ed. Greg, pp. 21, 22, 24). It held the stage, for Field in *Amends of Ladies*, II. i. 1639 (acted c. 1611), alludes to it, 'Faith I have a great mind to see Long-Meg and the Ship at the Fortune.'

404-6. Borrowed from the description of Elinour Rumming (ed. Dyce, 49, 50, 80-4):

Foted lyke a plane,
Legged lyke a crane, . . .
Whan she goeth out
Herselfe for to shewe,
She dryueth downe the dewe
Wyth a payre of heles
As brode as two wheles.

410. *Lambeth Ferry*, a horse-ferry from Lambeth Palace to Milbank; the tolls were paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The modern Lambeth Bridge is on the site of it.

412. *Thomas Thumbe*. Nashe in *Pierce Pennilesse*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, p. 159), has the earliest mention of a 'Treatise of Tom Thumme'. In 1621 Thomas Longley published *The History of Tom Thumbe the Little, for his small stature surnamed King Arthurs Dwarfe*; and his *Life and Death* appeared in 1630. A ballad was entered on the Stationers' Register on 18 July 1623 (Arber, iv, p. 63). Glapthorne in *Wit in a Constable*, II. i (1640, C3^v), makes Holdfast say:

I ne're read book in all my life, except
The Counter scuffle, or the merry Gossips,
Raynard the Foxe, Tom Thumbe, or Gargantua,
And those i've quite forgotten: I a schollar!

Gifford in a note on *Chlor.* 171 thought it probable that Jeffrey Hudson, the Queen's dwarf, played Tom Thumb here, and that 'Evans, the gigantic porter, in the character of Dr. Rat, to the inexpressible delight of the spectators, produced him out of his pocket'. Evans must have done this at a masque, the Queen's masque of January 1627, in which this pair appeared—and not at *The Fortunate Isles* (see Reyher, op. cit., p. 529).

414. *Doctor Ratt*, the curate in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1575.

423. *Tom Thumbe*. J. R. published *The History of Tom Thumbe the little* in 1621 (S.R., 13 December 1620).

431. *wigion*. M.A. 61.

432. *The company of Players*. Actors performed in the antimasque, leaving the nobles to dance in the masque.

437-8. *Anticyra* (*The Ile of Ellebore*). A.P. 428. A town on the Corinthian Gulf close to the modern Aspraspitia; the black hellebore, regarded by the ancients as a healing drug, still grows there. The town was on a peninsula; Jonson was misled by Pliny (N.H. xxv. v, § 52) and Aulus Gellius (xvii. xv. 6), who call it an island.

445. *Macaria*, from the Greek μακάριος, 'blessed'.

470. *new, as are the howers*. A favourite phrase: V.D. 139, 'as new still as the houre'; *Chlor.* 58, 'fresh, and new as are the howres'; U.V. xlv. 1, 'Fresh as the day, and new as are the houres'. Cf. S. of N. I. v. 81, and the comment N.I. iv. iii. 31, 'She answers like a fish-wife'.

516. *the Graces Hay, . . . Venus Ring*. Horace, *Odes*, i. iv. 5-7:

Iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alternò terram quatunt pede.

The *Hay* was a country dance with a winding movement. Sir J. Davies, *Orchestra*, 1596, st. 64:

He taught them Rounds, and winding Heyes to tread,
And about trees to cast themselves in rings.

522. *light Anacreon*. Ode on *The New Inn*, 43. For *light* cf. Horace, *Odes*, iv. ix. 9, 'siquid olim lusit Anacreon'.

525. *Stesichorus* of Himera in Sicily (c. 650 B.C.); Horace, *ibid.* 8, 'Stesichorique graves camenae'.

526. *Linus, and old Orpheus*. *M. of A.* 286.

529. *Amphion*. *A.P.* 483-4.

543. *Lillie, and the Rose*, Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles. The marriage treaty had been signed at Paris on 10 November 1624 and was ratified on 12 December. Jonson re-uses the flower-image in *L.T.* 210-14, *Bols.* 82-3, *Und.* lxxv. 3, *U.V.* xxxiii. 8.

LOVE'S TRIUMPH THROUGH CALLIPOLIS

THIS masque was performed on 9 January 1631. Joseph Meade records a protest about it in a letter to Sir M. Stutville, 10 January 1631: 'There was a letter delivered to the Earl of Carlisle from an unknown hand to this effect: "Right honourable your lordship, being in so great grace and favour with his majesty, should do an acceptable service to move him, that no more masques should be upon the Lord's day, but on some other day, &c"' (Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, ii, p. 89). Various payments for it are recorded in the State papers. In the Lord Chamberlain's Dramatic Records L.C. 5/132 (Malone Society's *Collections*, ii, p. 353) is the entry:

Masque money Tauerner Edmund	Thees are to signifye vnto you his Mat ^e pleasure That you p ^r pare A Bill for his Mat ^e Signature for A priuy seale to bee directed to y ^e Tr ^e sr & Vnder Treasurer of his Mat ^e Excheq ^r , out of y ^e receipt there to pay or cause to bee payd vnto Edmund Tauerner Esq ^r , the somme of 600 ^{li} to bee employed toward ^e y ^e expence of a Masque to bee p ^r sented before his Mat ^e on twelfth day next. The same to bee payd w th out any Accompt imprest or other Charge to bee set vpon the sayd Edm. Tauerner his Executors or Assignes. ffor y ^e doing whereof This shall bee yo ^r warr ^t . Dec. 18. 1630.
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Edmund Taverner was secretary to the Lord Chamberlain (S.P. 14, clxxvii. 2). He was paid the £600 in two instalments. In the Pell Order Book E. 403/2749, p. 346b is an entry of 31 December 1630, 'Edmund Taverner esq, for the Masque pte of 600^{li}': 'By order dated this last of December 1630 vnto Edmund Taverner esq the some of CCC^{li} in pte of vj^{cl} to be by him imployed towards the expence of a Masque to be p^sented before his Mat^y on twelf day next without accompt &c p bre de privat Sigillo dat xxj^o de^r 1630', subscribed by 'R Weston' and checked by 'Carne'. In a second entry on page 349 dated 8 January 1631 is the payment of the remaining £300: 'By order dated this viijth of Ianuarie 1630 vnto Edmund Taverner esq, the some of CCC^{li} in full of vj^{cl} to be imployed towards the expence of a Masque to be p^sented before his Mat^{ie} on twelft day last without accompt &c p bre de pri: Sigillo dat xxj^o Decembris 1630.' Subscribed 'R. Weston', checked by 'Carne'. The Audit Office accounts (A.O. 3/908, Revels, 1630-1, no. 16) records in January 1631:

4 ffor 5 mens worke day and night about the practise of the Masque	} 0—13—4
5 ffor 5 mens worke day and night about the same Masque	

Finally there is an interesting order about payment for the dresses in E. 403/2749, p. 377, 11 February 1631: 'By Order dated iiij^{to} Ianuary 1630 To George kirke Esquier gent of his Ma^{te} Roabes the some of CCC^{li} imprest for providing Masquing attire not onelie for his Ma^{te} owne person but also for such other Masquers on whom his Mat^{ie} is pleased to bestow their Attire p bre de pri: Sigillo dat iiij^{to} Ianuarij 1630', subscribed 'R. Weston'. The £300 was paid in two instalments, 'isto die CC^{li} Squibb et xj^o Martij 1630 C^{li} Squibb in plen^o soluc'.

The set of 'deprau'd Louers' dressed in the habits of 'the four prime *European* nations' have a parallel in Davenant's second anti-masque for the *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, 1635—a grave formal Spaniard, a jealous Italian, a giddy fantastic Frenchman, a dull Dutchman, and a furious debauched Englishman. Jonson gives no clues to the scenery or the costumes, but Inigo Jones's sketches for all but two of the lovers—the adventurous and the sensual—have been preserved (*Designs*, nos. 68-78), a brilliant set modelled largely on the Italian comedy of arts and taken, as Reyher has pointed out (*op. cit.*, pp. 407-8), largely from the *Balli de Sfessania di Giacomo Callot*. Inigo has expressed their 'confus'd

affections' by their gestures, their attitudinizing, or their dresses. The Glorious Boasting Lover has the upper part of his face covered by a grotesque mask with a long nose. He wears a loose jacket buttoned up the front and tucked into the waist of long close-fitting trousers. In his left hand he holds a broad-brimmed hat with two long feathers; in his right his sword, the point directed upwards behind him under a large mantle, one end of which passes over his left shoulder. This is Callot's *Capitano Cerimonia*. The Whining Ballading Lover is similarly copied from Callot's *Bernoualla* on the title print of the *Balli*. There are two sketches of him: he is dancing to the right; he wears a hat with upturned brim, pointed crown, and feather, a long loose blouse girt below the hips, and baggy trousers. In one sketch he has his hands raised above his head, in the other he holds a tambourine between his hands, as Callot's original figure does. The Phantastic Umbrageous Lover is a Scaramouch, dancing excitedly to the right, wearing a small cap with two long feathers, a shirt girt round the waist and pulled through below, a short cloak, and knee breeches. He carries a sword. The Bribing Corrupt Lover is a Pantaloon. He has a long peaked beard and moustaches, a skull cap, a close-fitting doublet open at the throat, an ample gown with wide collar and short full sleeves, long trousers, and slippers. He lays his right hand on his heart. The design is adapted from Callot's *Signor Pantalon* in the *Balli*; it is reproduced in outline in *The Portfolio* for 1889, p. 89. The Froward Jealous Lover has both hands outstretched; he is bearded, wears a very large flat cap, a long coat buttoned over the breast with open sleeves and skirts reaching to the knees, and slippers. The Sordid Illiberal Lover wears a hat with broad brim turned up in front, a square collar, a plain doublet with winged sleeves, loose short breeches, stockings, and boots. The dress is plain, not to say mean. The Proud Scornful Lover holds a scroll in his left hand; he wears a broad-brimmed hat, a quilled ruff with square collar beneath, a peaked doublet with winged sleeves, padded trunk-hose, garters above and below the knees, and low shoes. The Angry Quarrelling Lover faces the spectator; he has moustaches and a peaked beard; he wears a broad-brimmed hat with long plumes, a doublet with winged sleeves, a short cloak, loose short breeches, and garters tied in large bows below the knees. A baldric with a sword attached passes over his right shoulder. He is copied from Callot's *Signor Franca Trippa*. He is inscribed '*angrie Lover Capitã spauêto*'. An Italian comedy '*Le Brauure del Capitano Spauento*' is one of the authorities cited in Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 1611: it was by Francesco Andreini and went through several editions.

The Melancholic Despairing Lover faces the spectator, his head on one side, his hair in disorder, and his arms crossed. He wears a hat with a very broad brim turned up on one side and a long plume dropping over his shoulder, a falling collar, and turned-back cuffs; a doublet with long flaps crossing his hips, and short upper sleeves composed of labels; he has baggy trunk-hose and boots with tops turned over. His whole appearance suggests feebleness and gloom. The Envious Unquiet Lover has a small flat cap with long curling feather at the back, a tight-fitting jacket and long trousers; he carries a dagger in his left hand. These lovers danced 'a distracted *comædy* of love', 'a Mistress leading them'. Probably this mistress was one of the two designs for 'Signora Lucia' and 'Fransiskina' (*Designs*, nos. 79, 80); these were characters in the old Italian comedy, and Callot depicted them, but there is no resemblance between his designs and Inigo's. The Angry, the Envious, and the Melancholic Lovers were reproduced in Oskar Fischel's paper 'Inigo Jones und der Theaterstil der Renaissance', published in the *Verträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1932, Tafel vi; the Melancholy Lover also in Miss Welsford's *The Court Masque*, opposite page 216.

Callipolis, in Plato, *Republic*, 527 C, ἐν τῇ καλλιπόλει, 'beautiful city'. Here, the City where Beauty dwells.

Quando magis dignos . . . Martial v. xix. 3, already used as the motto for the King's Coronation *Entertainment*.

1. *vnderstanders*. Cf. *Alch.* 'To the Reader. If thou beest more, thou art an Vnderstander.'

3. *mirrors of mans life*. Cf. the definition of comedy *E.M.O.* III. vi. 206-7.

7. *profit . . . delight*. *E.M.O.* Ind. 198-203.

31. *the old Pantomimi*, the old Roman pantomime actors, whose vogue began in Italy in the time of Augustus; they did not speak, but danced and attitudinized in dumb-show. They had a high reputation for their life-like performances. See Lucian, *De Saltatione*, lxvii.

56. *Desire of union . . .* *N.I.* III. ii. 90, and the whole context.

58. *plenty . . . want*. The marginal note '*Porus, and Penia*' refers to the *Symposium* of Plato, 203 b-e, where Diotima thus assigns the parentage of Love. The conception is copied by Rabelais, iv. lvii, Spenser, *An Hymne in Honour of Love*, 53, and Milton, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, i, ch. iv.

78-80. *like a rich perfume . . .* So *V.D.* 51-4.

96. *Meere cattell*. *P.R.* 102-4; *Und.* lxxv. 153-4.

100. *Amphitrite* was the wife of Neptune; in a note on *Bl.* 57 Jonson correctly gives Tethys as the wife of Oceanus.

102. *Glaucus*, a sea-god mentioned along with Proteus and Palaemon in Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 918-19. Palaemon is the Greek name for Portunus (*N.T.* 362).

155. *emergent out of Chaos . . . Beauty*, 282-5, 325-6.

162. *signatures*, distinguishing marks.

194. *ame* to rhyme with 'flame': cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* i. v. 26, 'ame' with 'came' and 'Shame'; *ibid.* xii. 30, with 'Dame' and 'same'. It is a spelling in Donne's *Sermons*.

195. *girdle*. *C.R.* i. i. 63.

198. *My nources once*. The Hours adorned Aphrodite when she rose from the sea (*Homeric Hymn*, vi. 5-13). They are associated with the Graces in classical literature.

210-21. Triple rhymes are rare in Jonson, and these are not successful.

215. *snaky rod . . . C.R.* i. i. 53. *Cyllenius*, Mercury, born on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia.

226. *Lord Chamberlaine*. Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who succeeded to the office on his brother's resignation on 3 August 1626.

CHLORIDIA

THIS masque, Jonson's last at Court, was performed on 22 February 1631; the Queen with her fourteen ladies was an exact counterpart to the King with his fourteen nobles in *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* danced in the previous month.

Sir T. Colepepper wrote to Sir Francis Nethersole on 15 February (S.P. 16, clxxxv. 5), 'for newse heer is not any but euery body busi about the performance of the Queens Mask whis (*sic*) is to be don on shroftied next and all our Court Ladyes dayly practitioners'. Rowland Woodward to Francis Windebank on 17 February (*ibid.* 53): 'Don Carlos toke his leaue on tuesday, & goes away on saturday, in discretion it is thought not to haue any more competition with the french about invitation to the Queens Maske on shroue-tuesday.' Sir John Ashburnham to Elizabeth of Bohemia on 26 February (*ibid.* 53): 'I deliverd yo^r Ma^{ties} co^maunds to my lo^d of Dorchester, who wth most humble thanks acknowledges the effect of them, w^{ch} gaue him power to sitt vp that night at the queenes Maske, wher of he sends yo^r Ma^{tie}: this coppie.' The copy was evidently the Quarto text.

Two warrants for this masque are entered in the Dramatic Records of the Lord Chamberlain (L.C. 5/132). The first on page 228:

Tauerner
Edmund.
Masque money.

A warraunt for A priuy seale of 600^{li} to bee payd vnto Edmund Tauerner Esq^r, to bee imployed toward the Charge of the Queenes masque at Shrouetide next. The same to bee payd without any Accompt Imprest or other Charge to bee sett vpon him the sayd Edmund Tauerner his

Executors or Assignes. February 14th 1630.' (Malone Society's *Collections*, II. iii, p. 354.)

Further on page 231:

'Masque money. A warraunt for a priuy seale of 200^{li} ouer and aboue 600^{li} allready ordered for the Queenes Masque at Shrouetide 1630. to bee deliuered vnto Edmund Tauerner Esq, without any Accompt Imprest or other Charge to bee sett vpon him his Exec^{rs} or Assignes for y^e same. February 19. 1630.' (Ibid.)

These warrants reappear in the Pell Order Book E. 403/2749, p. 386, 16 February 1631, 'for the Queenes masque at Shrouetide': 'By Order dated xv^{to} ffebruary 1630 To Edmund Tavernor Esquier the so^{me} of vj^{cli} to be by him imployed towards the charge of a Maske for his Ma^{te} dearest Consort the Queene to be pformed att Shrouetide next wthout Accompte &c. per bre de privato Sigillo dat viij^{uo} ffebrⁱ 1630', subscribed 'R. Weston'. The £600 was paid in two instalments 'vnde isto die iij^{cli} Carne et xxj^o ffeb 1630 CC^{li} Carne in pleⁿ soluc''. The further payment 'for the last Masque' is in E. 403/2750, p. 129, 8 July 1631: 'By order dated vj^{to} Iulij 1631 vnto Edmund Taverner esquire the so^{me} of CC^{li} towards the charge of a masque for the Queene at Shrouetide last (o^u and aboue vj^{cli} paieable by a former privy Seale) wthout accompt &c p bre de privat Sigillo dat xxij^{do} ffebrⁱ 1630,' subscribed 'R. Weston ffra: Cottington', and checked by 'Pitt'.

A document of another kind is in S.P. 16, ccxiv. 93, March 1632—a petition of William George, clerk of his Majesty's wardrobes and robes, to Lord Treasurer Weston and Lord Cottington against George Kirke, esquire, gentleman of the robes: Kirke has received £5,000, but refuses to send in his account. 'And also the said M^r Kirke hath receiued other so^{mes}, besides the said 5000^{li}; by way of Imprest vpon Accompt towards the defraying of the expens^s of two maskes, one performed at xp^mas 1630' (*Love's Triumph*, 1631), 'thother at xp^mas last' (*Chloridia*), 'for which the said M^r Kirke hath not yet deliuered to y^r Pet^{rs} the bille of the perticular disbursement.'

The Audit Office accounts, A.O. 3 908 (Revels 1630–1), record on 2 May 1631

'ffor 5 mens worke day and night in the practise } 0–13–4'
of the Masque

Jonson's rupture with Inigo Jones over the two concluding masques came to a head in *Chloridia* and provoked three satires (*U.V.* xxxiv–xxxvi). It is a masque of spring-flowers, with Zephyrus,

Spring, Fountain nymphs and Wood nymphs. Though slight in texture, it is gracefully conceived. Then quite incongruously at the end 'learned Poesy', 'severe History', Architecture, and Sculpture are introduced as supporters of Fame. As if this were not sufficiently puzzling, this ending was satirized by Jonson in the *Expostulation*, with Inigo Jones, 31-9:

. . . I haue mett with those,
That doe cry vp the Machine, and the Showes!
The Majesty of Iuno, in y^e cloudes!
And peering forth of Iris, in y^e Shrowdes!
Th'ascent of Ladie Fame! which none could spy,
Not they that sided her, Dame Poetry,
Dame History, Dame Architecture too,
And Goody Sculpture, brought, wth much adoe,
To hold her vp.

What is the explanation? Inigo was now predominant at Court; he had claimed that his name should precede Jonson's as 'inventor' on the title-page of masques; and we conjecture that he had insisted on having a clearly defined part in the invention of *Chloridia*. If the unsuitable ending was Inigo's, and forced upon Jonson, we can understand Jonson's contempt for it. There is a clear hint of this in the *Expostulation*, 62-3:

but he now is come
To be y^e Musick Master! Fabler too!

In May 1633 Inigo intervened to have further satire on him struck out of *A Tale of a Tub*: the part of Vitruvius Hoop and a 'motion', i.e. a puppet show, of a tub were excised, 'exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the kings workes, as a personal injury unto him' (*Variorum Shakespeare*, iii, p. 232). A further point that would not commend it to Jonson has been noticed by Miss Welford (*The Court Masque*, p. 218). In the ascent of Fame Inigo was reproducing a device of Parigi in the intermedio of 'The Palace of Fame' in the *Giudizio de Paridi* at the wedding of Cosimo de' Medici in 1608. Fame stood at the top of a translucent palace; the door opened and 'the heroes entered in order to soar from thence to the heavenly glory that they had deserved. The palace then disappeared, and Fame remaining in the air began to rise up and was hidden in the clouds, and, as she soared, she sang how those who had shone on earth by exalted deeds should go with her to heaven, where she would transform them into eternal stars' (*Descrittione delle Feste*, p. 37, Miss Welford's translation).

The scene is copied from Alfonso Parigi's *Giudizio di Paridi*, 1608; it is reproduced in Corrado Ricci's *Scenografia Italiana*, 1930, plate

XVIII A, from an engraving by Remigio Cantagallina. This is the earliest borrowing of Inigo Jones from Parigi.

Twenty-six of Inigo Jones's beautiful designs for this masque have survived. The border of the scene, 'Foliage, or leaues heightned with gold, and enterwouen with all sorts of flowers', is shown in the lower part of a pilaster, with two naked children climbing amongst the scrollwork (*Designs*, no. 81, plate XI). There are two drawings of the first scene, a spring landscape of 'pleasant hills', flowery banks, and fountains. The first has four wings of rounded masses of rock with trees growing out of them; between these in the foreground on the right is a waterfall. In the background are similar rocks down which three cascades descend into a river (*ibid.*, no. 82, plate XII). The second is a more elaborate version of the scene, and splashes of distemper on it show that it was actually used by the scene-painters. A peculiarity of the design is that there appear to be five wings on each side of the stage (no. 83, reproduced by us in vol. ii between pages 334 and 335). Zephyrus (no. 84, plate XIII A) is seated on clouds and drops flowers from his left hand. But he does not appear to wear the garment of shot silk, 'richly adorn'd', as Jonson describes him. He has a plain tunic, with a row of small puffs round the shoulders and short puffed sleeves, girt at the waist and reaching half-way down the thighs; his scarf floats in a curve behind him. The Spring (no. 85, plate XIII C) is a whole-length figure of a girl, her hair crowned with a wreath of flowers and falling in curls on her shoulders, and behind her a long floating scarf. She has a ring of puffs round her throat, and wears a low-breasted gown edged with similar puffs; the sleeves are short and puffed above the elbows. Her skirt is not, as Jonson describes it, 'wrought with flowers', but plain and falls in folds to her ankles. The Naiades (no. 86, plate XIV C) are two girls standing hand in hand, the head of the naiad on the left in profile to the right, the head of the other three-quarters to the left. They have streaming hair crowned with rushes, and they wear plain gowns with sleeves rolled up above the elbows, girt at the waist, tucked up below the hips, and falling to below the knees; they have buskins. The antimasque is well represented. The Dwarf Postilion from Hell, called by Inigo a 'Dutch Post' (no. 87, plate XV A), is seated on a curtal; he has a moustache and long hair, and wears a very high-crowned hat with feather and plumes, a doublet with sleeves puffed, slashed, and pulled above the elbows, and trunks to match. He holds a sword in his left hand. The curtal with long hangings reaching nearly to the ground has a horse's head and bird's feet. The Lacqueys (no. 88, plate XV B) are two fantastic figures, dancing hand in hand towards the left.

The foremost wears a grotesque mask with a long nose, his head in profile to the right, his companion's in profile to the left; both raise their disengaged hands. Their hats have brims projecting in peaks over their brows and long feathers. They wear doublets with sleeves puffed, slashed, and pulled above the elbows, tabards striped with chevrons, and tight-fitting pantaloons. They have bird's feet. Cupid advances towards the spectator. He has curling hair with a crown of flames, and small feathered wings on his shoulders. He wears a tight-fitting lorica with short puffed sleeves and a row of puffs round the hips, bases reaching half-way down the thighs, tights and buskins. Inigo notes that he is 'without Bow or Quiver' (no. 89, plate XIV A). The 'Goblins' that accompany him from hell, Jealousy (no. 90), Disdain (no. 91), Fear (no. 92), and Dissimulation (no. 93) are all depicted in plate XVI with their characteristic features strongly marked on their faces. Jealousy faces the spectator with outstretched hands; she has streaming hair crowned with roses. She wears a low-breasted gown with long sleeves puffed above the elbows, a girdle of thorns, a skirt looped up on either side, and a petticoat reaching to the calves of her legs. Disdain also faces the spectator with hands extended. She has streaming hair and a crown of barbed arrow-heads. She wears a tight bodice with lines of small puffs round the shoulders and neck and with sleeves puffed above the elbows; her skirt is tucked up round the hips and falls to the ankles. Fear is a woman advancing to the left as if in flight; she looks behind her. Her hair in long curls stands out from the head. She wears a tight bodice with short sleeves, a skirt reaching to the calves of her legs, and buskins. A flying scarf is fastened to her left shoulder. Dissimulation has the two faces of a Janus. She advances to the left with her right hand outstretched appealingly. She wears a low-breasted dress with short sleeves, a skirt tucked up round the hips and falling to the calves of the legs, and buskins. A flying scarf is attached to her waist and falls over her left shoulder.

There are five drawings of Henrietta Maria as Chloris. The first (no. 94) is a rough sketch which is probably Inigo's first thought for the dress and differs considerably from the design afterwards adopted. In nos. 95 and 96, plates XVII A and XVIII A, are four drawings of the Queen's dress, no. 96 being the first sketch for that finally adopted. No. 97 was reproduced as the frontispiece to our second volume. The figure is whole length standing slightly to the left, with the head in profile. The hair is in close curls with a wreath of flowers surrounding a small cap topped by an aigrette from which a transparent veil falls behind. She wears a low-bosomed gown with the sleeves elaborately slashed and pulled, and triple fringes of

acanthus leaves on the shoulders and hips. The skirt is of sprigged and striped material tucked up below the hips and falling to the knees; the petticoat reaches to the ankles. Shoes have roses. This tallies with Jonson's description (202-9). The drawing is inscribed above, 'there is fayre drawings of all these', i.e. of the Queen and the Nymphs. Beneath is a note of Inigo's: 'The dessigne I con-
(c)eaue to bee fitt for the Inue(n)tion & if it please hir May^e to add or alter any thinge I desier to receue hir comand and the dessign againe by this bearer The cullors ar in hir may choyse but my oppinion is that severall fresh greenes mixt with gould and siller will bee most propper.' The finished copy of this and of no. 96 by a Court artist is *Design* 98, plate XIX. The leaves on the shoulders and under the petticoat are marked 'greene', and the sprigged material, which is without the stripes, is marked 'whight'. There are three drawings of the Nymph, nos. 98, 99, 100. No. 99, plate XVII A, appears to be an early sketch differing in some details from the design finally adopted. In this the Nymph wears a coronet of flowers or jewels surmounted by a lyre-shaped mitre with curling horns on either side and an aigrette between them; a veil hangs behind. She wears a low-breasted gown with square open collar, short sleeves, and bases of acanthus leaves. A second figure has the sleeves lengthened and covered with loose ribbons imitating the outline of puffs above and below the elbows, the cuffs turned back with quilled edges. The skirt is short and tucked up round the hips; it reaches to the knees and is bordered with tongue-shaped scallops; shoes with roses. Mr. Bell comments: 'It shows that there was at one time an intention to vary the details of the dresses and head-tires of the ladies attendant upon Henrietta Maria from those worn by the Queen herself. It is even possible that they were so varied although the text gives no indication of the fact.' No. 100, plate XVIII B, reproduced in *The Portfolio*, 1889, p. 113, is a more advanced version of the design and corresponds to the drawing of Chloris, no. 96. The finished drawing is no. 101, reproduced in our second volume to face page 249. The dress is made of sprigged material to match that of the Queen in no. 98.

One of the Rivers—or as Inigo calls them 'Flouds. The Chorus'—is no. 103, plate XIII B, in *Designs*.¹ It depicts a man with a long beard and lank hair crowned with rushes. He wears a tight-fitting

¹ There is a close correspondence between Inigo's design for the 'Flouds' and Buontalenti's sketch of Jacopo Peri dressed as Arion in a Florentine performance of 1598. See Aby Warburg, 'Programma della Commemorazione della Riforma Melodrammatica, 1895' in *Atti dell' Accademia del Reale Istituto Musicale di Firenze Anno 33*. The attitude of the two figures is the same, but the dress is different, and Arion is holding a harp, not a viol.

lorica with long sleeves which have puffs on the shoulders; the bases reach half-way down the thighs. A mantle fastened to his left shoulder crosses the body. He has tights and buskins. In his left hand he holds a large guitar or viol resting against his hip. There are whole-length figures of Juno and Iris (no. 102, plate XIV B), Juno with flowing hair and a crown of long spikes; she wears a plain low-necked dress with short sleeves puffed above the elbows, a skirt girt round the waist and tucked up round the hips, with a fringed border at the ankles. A long scarf attached to her right shoulder crosses the figure. In her left hand she holds a sceptre. Iris on her right has her hair parted on her forehead and large feathered wings on her shoulders. She wears a plain tight-fitting peaked bodice with long sleeves puffed at the elbows; her skirt is tucked up above the knees and falls to the calves of her legs. Lastly, there are three sketches of Fame; no. 104, plate XX A, depicts her with outspread wings and floating draperies, standing with her right foot on a sphere. Her right hand is extended, and her left holds a trumpet. Nos. 105 and 106 are finished sketches of Fame, the latter reproduced in plate XX B. *Chloridia* vies with Davenant's *Albion's Triumph* in the number of drawings which have been preserved; it is unfortunate that we have not the figures in the later entries of the antimasque, Tempest, Lightning, Thunder, Rain, and Snow.

Chloridia was revived at the Open Air Theatre in Regent's Park on 16 July 1935; it was followed by Milton's *Comus*. Inigo Jones's designs for the Nymphs, Spring, the Dwarf and his lacqueys, Cupid, and Jealousy were adopted, but this interesting fact was not noted in the program. An attempt was made to suggest some of the other characters; thus Tempest wore a dark robe and brandished a thunderbolt. John Drinkwater contributed a prologue. Nini Theilade was Chloris; Leslie French, Zephyrus; Nora Colton, Spring; Pamela Stanley, the Dwarf; Joan French, Cupid; Freda Gaye, Jealousy; Blanche Locke, Disdain; Marjorie Field, Fear; Elva Stuart, Dissimulation; Maurice Brooke, Tempest; Eve Lynd, Juno; Adelaide Stanley, Iris; Sybil Envers, Fame; James Topping, Poesy; George Henschel, History; John Thompson, Architecture; Franklyn Kelsey, Sculpture. Before the masque began King Charles and attendant Lords walked in and occupied the front row of seats. In an open-air performance with a background of trees the masque kept its spring setting.

Unius tellus . . . Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 222.

4. *like number*, fourteen, as in *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*.

6. *Chloris*. Jonson follows the description of Ovid in *Fasti*, v. 195-212, quoting the last line:

Vere fruor semper: semper nitidissimus annus,
 arbor habet frondes, pabula semper humus.
 Est mihi fecundus dotalibus hortus in agris,
 Aura fovet, liquidae fonte rigatur aquae;
 hunc meus implevit generoso flore maritus,
 atque ait 'Arbitrium tu, dea, floris habe'.

Spenser introduces her in the April eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender*, 122-3, among the Graces and Nymphs who wait on Elisa:

Chloris, that is the chieftest Nymph of al,
 Of Oliue branches beares a Coronall.

And E. K. annotates, 'the name of a Nymph, and signifieth greenesse'—i.e. the Greek *χλωρίς*—'of whome is sayd, that Zephyrus the Westernne wind being in loue with her, and coueting her to wyfe, gaue her for a dowrie, the chiefedome and soueraigntye of al flowres and greene herbes, growing on earth'.

23. *Land-shape*. 'Landtschap', *Blackness*, 24.

58. *As fresh . . . houres*. *F.I.* 470.

75. *Napeae*. The Napaeae were the nymphs of the dells (Greek *νάπη*), and not identical with the Naiades, who were water-nymphs. Nemesianus, *Ecl.* ii. 20-2:

Quae colitis silvas, Dryades, quaeque antra, Napaeae,
 et quae marmoreo pede, Naides, uda secatis
 litora purpureosque alitis per gramina flores.

106. *forc'd his armes away*. So in Inigo Jones's drawing of him, 'Cupid, without Bow or Quiver'.

129. *no Mercury*. See *L.M.M.* 19-26.

130. *Cacodæmon*, evil spirit. *Richard III*, I. iii. 143-4:

Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave the world,
 Thou cacodemon! there thy kingdom is.

132. *Loue . . . entertained by Pluto*. Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, ii. 333-41, of the amnesty in hell when Pluto brought his bride there:

Verbera nulla sonant nulloque frementia luctu
 impia dilatis respirant Tartara poenis:
 non rota suspensum praeceps Ixiona torquet;
 non aqua Tantaleis subducitur invida labris.
 Solvitur Ixion, et Tantalus invenit undas,
 et Tityos tandem spatiosos erigit artus
 squalentisque novem detexit iugera campi
 (tantus erat), laterisque piger sulcator opaci
 invitatus trahitur lasso de pectore vultur.

137. *Costard-mongers*. *B.F.* II. ii. 32, IV. ii. 32.

139. *capreols*, a form of 'caprioles', capers.

friskals, *friscals* or *frisco*, also meaning 'capers'.

140. *Laualtos*, a form of 'lavoltas', defined by Nares as 'A lively dance for two persons, consisting a good deal in high and active bounds'.

Lamiæ. In classical mythology fabulous monsters who fed on human flesh (Horace, *A.P.* 340). Later they were depicted as demons in the form of beautiful women, who preyed on young men—vampires, as in Keats's poem.

142. *Parsons*, personages, great people.

143. *subtlest bowling-ground*. *Coriolanus*, v. ii. 20-1:

Like to a bowl upon a subtle ground,
I have tumbled past the throw.

subtle, deceptive, e.g. on account of the slope.

144. *Tartary*, Tartarus. Spenser, *Virgil's Gnat*, 543-4:

Lastly the squalid lakes of *Tartarie*,
And griesly Feends of hell him terrifie.

145. *keilles*, *kayles*: with various spellings it survives in dialect.

usurers bones. More commonly the devil made dice of them (*E.H.* II. ii. 212-13).

154. *a Spanish needle*. *D. is A.* i. i. 58. There is a slight reference to the Scriptural phrase.

156. *a womans-tayler*, like Feeble in *2 Henry IV*, III. ii. 148-54; *Disc.* 713.

163. *Bidet*, a small horse (French *bidet*, pony).

165. *2 Entry*. The eight entries are noticeable: this variation in the antimasque had become popular, and Jonson had to yield to it. In Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia*, 1640, there are twenty of these entries.

171. *The Queenes Dwarfe*, Jeffery Hudson.

188. *balls full of sweete water*. Cf. the *Documents* of the Revels for 1572-3 (ed. Feuillerat, p. 175) the account for 'thappoticary & his parcells': 'Robert Moorer for sugar plate—xij^s viij^d Musk kumfettes j lb—ij^s iiij^d / Corianders prepared j lb—xx^d. Clove Cumfettes j lb—ij^s iiij^d Synamon kumfettes—iijs Rose water j quarte & j pynte of spike water—iijs iiij^d / Gynger Cumfettes j lb—ij^s All whiche served for flakes of yse & hayle stones in the maske of Ianvs the Rose water sweetened the balls made for snowballes presented to her Maiestie by Ianvs.'

230. *degrees*. *Sej.* v. 860.

245. *from her foote*. *S.S.* i. i. 9.

257. *discolourd*. *C.R.* v. v. 69.

295. *Where the Fame's neglected*. From Tacitus: see *Sej.* i. 502.

313. *from to die*. A Greek idiom, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, which Spenser had already used in *The Ruines of Time*, 428-9:

For not to haue been dipt in *Lethe* lake,
Could saue the sonne of *Thetis* from to die.

338. *Paramours*, lady-loves.

APPENDIX XXIV

INIGO JONES AND CHAPMAN

I. BEN JONSON AND INIGO JONES

At first Jonson recognized his collaborator as an artist. The 'bodily part' of *The Masque of Blackness* 'was of master YNIGO IONES his designe, and act' (90-2). So, after describing the scene of *Hymenaei*, Jonson added in the Quarto, 'The *Designe*, and *Act* of all which, together with the *Deuice* of their *Habits*, belongs properly to the Merit, and Reputation of Maister YNYGO IONES; whom I take modest occasion, in this fit place, to remember, lest his owne worth might accuse mee of an ignorant neglect from my silence.' Again, in *The Haddington Masque*, 352-3, Jones is credited with 'the deuice and act of the scene' and with the trophies at the opening. The House of Fame in *The Masque of Queens* was 'intierly M' Iones his Invention and Designe' (683).

Then came a series of masques in which Jonson suppressed all mention of Inigo—*Oberon* and *Love freed from Ignorance and Folly* in 1611, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* in 1618, *Pan's Anniversary* in 1620, *The Masque of Augurs*, 1622, *Time Vindicated*, 1623, *Neptune's Triumph* and *The Fortunate Isles*, 1625. Probably Jones rebelled against this cavalier treatment in 1631 when his name appeared for the first time on a title-page, 'The Inuentors. Ben. Ionson. Jnigo Iones' of *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*. Jones thought his name should have been placed first, so Jonson omitted it both from the title-page and the text of *Chloridia* in 1631. Inigo secured a more pliant colleague in Aurelian Townshend, whose masques of 1632 credit him with a leading share in the invention.

Jonson, who never did things by halves, made no less than eight attempts to hold Inigo up to ridicule. They are In-and-In Medlay in *A Tale of a Tub*, a fully authenticated caricature; Lanthorn Leather-head in *Bartholomew Fair*, less clear but quite recognizable; three satires written just after the publication of *Chloridia*, 'An Expostulation with Inigo Jones', an 'Epigram' adapted from Martial xii. lxi, which concludes with the scathing line

Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand,

and 'To Inigo Marquis Would-be' (U.V. xxxiv-xxxvi); two satires in the *Epigrams* of the 1616 Folio, 'On the Townes Honest Man' (cxv), and 'To Mime' (cxxix), which we interpret as attacks on Inigo; and the part of 'Iniquo Vitruvius' in *Love's Welcome to the King and Queen at Bolsover*, 1634.

A composite portrait of Inigo as Jonson saw him can be put together from these efforts. Jonson insists on certain facts and features as characteristic.

1. Inigo is a puppet-master and a society entertainer, in fact a cheap-jack of art.

'The onely man at a disguise in Middlesex.' (*Tub*, v. ii. 33.)

'Hee has not been sent for, and sought out for nothing, at your great city-suppers, to put down *Coriat* and *Cokely*, and bin laught at for his labour; he'll play you all the Puppets i' the towne ouer, and the Players, euery company, and his owne company too; he spares no nobody!' (*Bartholomew Fair*, III. iv. 124-9.)

'O the *Motions*, that I *Lanthorne Leatherhead* haue giuen light to, i' my time, since my master *Pod* dyed!' (Ibid. v. i. 6-8 with a marginal note '*Pod was a Master of motions before him*'.)

Mounte-banck . . . Jones. (*Expostulation*, 16.)

. . . scarce the Towne designeth any feast
To which thou'rt not a weeke, bespoke a guest;
. . . still th'art made the suppers flagge, the drum,
The very call, to make all others come:
Think'st thou, MIMÉ, this is great? . . .
Whil'st thou dost rayse some Player, from the graue,
Out-dance the *Babion*, or out-boast the *Braue*;
Or (mounted on a stoole) thy face doth hit
On some new gesture, that's imputed wit? . . .
Thou dost out-zany COKELY, POD; nay, GVE:
And thine owne CORIAT too. But (would'st thou see)
Men loue thee not for this: They laugh at thee.
(*Epigram cxxix.*)

At euery meale, where it doth dine, or sup,
The cloth's no sooner gone, but it gets vp
And, shifting of it's faces, doth play more
Parts, then th' *Italian* could doe, with his dore.
Acts old *Iniquitie*, and in the fit
Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit.
Executes men in picture. (*Epigram cxv. 23-9.*)

The comparison with Cokely may be illustrated from *The Devil is an Ass*, I. i. 92, 93:

To mount vp on a joynt-stoole, with a *Iewes-trumpe*,
To put downe *Cokelye*.

Gue as a quick-change artist is mentioned along with Proteus in the induction to *Antonio and Mellida*, Part I (1602, B), and satirized in Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, 1598, D6:

But who's in yonder coach? my lord and foole,
One that for ape tricks can put *Gue* to schoole.

As for Coryat, Jones prefixed verses to the *Crudities* in 1611. All these comparisons are a pointed insult.

2. Inigo insists on precedence: he is 'architect', 'designer', 'inventor', dictator, and monopolist.

He'll do't alone Sir, He will joyne with no man,
Though he be a Joyner: in designe he cal's it,
He must be sole Inventor: *In-and-In*
Drawes with no other in's project, hee'll tell you,
It cannot else be feazeable, or conduce:
Those are his ruling wordes. (*Tub*, v. ii. 35-40.)

Ile invent,
But I must be alone then, joyn'd with no man.
(*Ibid.* v. vii. 13, 14.)

To plant y^e Musick where noe eare can reach!
Attyre y^e Persons as noe thought can teach
Sense, what they are! which by a specious fyne
Terme of y^e Architects is called Designe!
But in y^e practisd truth, Destruction is
Of any Art, besyde what he calls his! . . .
His name is *Σκευοποιός* wee all knowe,
The maker of the Propertyes! in sum,
The Scene! the Engyne! . . .
He is, or would be, y^e mayne *Dominus doe*
All in y^e Work! (*Expostulation*, 53-65.)

(Lanthorn Leatherhead) engrosses all, hee makes all the Puppets i'the
Fayre. (*Bartholomew Fair*, III. iv. 137-8.)

3. He is a mechanic, witness his cheap lighting-effects.

Med. Now, Sir this Tub, I will have capt with paper:
A fine oild Lanterne-paper, that we use.

Pan. Yes every Barber, every Cutler has it.

Med. Which in it doth containe the light to the busines.
(*Tub*, v. vii. 30-3.)

(LAN. Call me not *Leatherhead*, but *Lanterne*.)

IOH. Master Lanterne, that gives light to the businesse.
(*Bartholomew Fair*, v. iii. 53-4.)

. . . his ffeat
Of Lanterne-lerry: with fuliginous heat
Whirling his Whymseys, by a subtilty
Suckt from the Veynes of shop-philosophy.
(*Expostulation*, 71-3.)

4. He is ignorant, especially of Latin, and despises learning.

LAN. Your home-borne proiects proue euer the best, they are so easie,
and familiar, they put too much learning i' their things now
o'dayes. (*Bartholomew Fair*, v. i. 14-16.)

MED. I have a little knowledge in designe,
Which I can vary Sir to *Infinito*.

TUB. *Ad Infinitum* Sir you meane. MED. I doe.
I stand not on my Latine. (Tub, v. vii. 10-13.¹)

... ouerbearing vs
With mistooke Names out of Vitruvius!
(Expostulation, 7, 8.)

5. He is dishonest.

'he said to Prince Charles of Inigo Jones, that when he wanted words to express the greatest Villaine in ye world he would call him ane Inigo.

'Jones having accused him for naming him behind his back a foole he denied it but sayes he. I said he was ane errant knave & I avouch it.' (Drummond Conversations, 467-72.)

Whom not ten fyres, nor a Parlyament can,
Wth all Remonstrance, make an honest man,
(Expostulation, 103-4.)

By defect,
From friendship, is it's owne fames architect.
An inginer, in slanders, of all fashions. . . .
... *The townes honest Man's* her errant'st knaue.
(Epigram cxv. 29-34.)

Inigo made a feeble attempt to hit back in a copy of verses 'To his false freind m^r: Ben Johnson' preserved in Harley MS. 6057 at folio 30. The date is after Jonson's return from Scotland in 1619.

'I was as tyrd as thou couldst bee to goe', is his verdict on often hearing 'the teadious story' of that pilgrimage. One point is really telling. Jonson, he says, has written 'with like forme', though 'not with equall witt' things both good and bad: 'The goodes translation butt the ills thyne owne.'

Once too Inigo enjoyed himself when he watched the failure of *The Magnetic Lady* in October 1632. An eyewitness² records:

And Inigo with laughter ther grew fatt
that thear was Nothing worth the Laughing att.

Such is the melancholy record of the relations between two men of genius, each a true artist in his proper sphere.

II. CHAPMAN'S 'INVECTIVE AGAINST BEN JONSON': AN AFTERMATH OF THE QUARREL WITH INIGO JONES

A single copy of this obscure poem is in Ashmole MS. 38 of the Bodleian, on pages 16-18. The conclusion is lost, but 197 lines have been preserved. It is in the handwriting of Nicholas Burghe, who appends a final note: 'More then this neuer Came to my hande, but

¹ The slight figure of 'Damplay' in *The Magnetic Lady* has, as Fleay saw, one touch of Inigo: he derives 'magnetic' from '*magnus, magna, magnum*' (Chorus, 78).
² Alexander Gill.

lost in his sickenes.' The poem was written, therefore, in 1634: Chapman died on 12 May. It is a savage attack on Jonson, who probably never heard of it. If he had heard of it, he would, even from his sick-bed, have retaliated in kind, for he never observed the Christian admonition to turn the second cheek to the smiter. That Chapman's last piece of writing should be a vindictive repudiation of his old friend, written when both of them were crippled with an illness which proved fatal, is a melancholy fact. But the poem is important historically, and an attempt is here made to elucidate it. Till Miss Phyllis Bartlett reprinted Chapman's *Poems* in 1941, it was accessible only in the bad text of R. H. Shepherd's edition of the *Works* of Chapman, which the *Jonson Allusion-Book* of Professor Quincy Adams and Miss J. F. Bradley reproduced.

The title of the poem, torn in the manuscript, is 'An Inuectiue [wrighten by m^r George] Chapman, against m^r Ben: Iohnson'. Evidently this was not Chapman's own title: it has been supplied by the copyist. It will clear the ground to state at once that the cause of the trouble was Jonson's treatment of Inigo Jones. But Inigo is not mentioned by name. Chapman singles out as characteristic vices of Jonson his arrogant self-laudation, especially of his own learning, and his brutality in attacking others, especially when his own plays failed.

Great-Learned wittie-Ben: be pleasd to light
the world wth that three-forked fire; Nor fright
All vs thy Sublearn,'d¹ wth Luciferous Boast
that thou art most-greate-most-learn'd-wittie(·)most
of all the kingdome; nay of all the earth(·)
. yf thy petulant will
May Flieblowe all men wth thy great swans Quill
If itt Cann wright noe playes; yf thy plaies fayle
All the Earneste of our kingdome straight must vaile
To thy wilde furie; that, as yf a feinde
Had sleipte his Cirkell; shôwste thy brest is splend
ffrisking so madly y^t gaynst Towne and Courte
Thow plant'st thy battrie In most hedious sorte
If thy pied humours suffer least empaire
And any vapour vex thy virulent Ayre(·)²

Jonson was an adept at the game of attacking 'earnests' or serious artists 'of the kingdom'; but at the date of this poem his solitary victim was Inigo Jones, and it is a sore point with Chapman that the attack had been delivered at Court in the presence of the King.

And lett the Swinish Itche of thy fell wreake
Rub gainst the presence Royall wthout Checke(·)
How must state vse the(e) yf thy vaines thus leake(?)
Thou must bee Muzzelde Ringd and led³ In Chaines(·)

¹ This punctuation of the MS. here and elsewhere is eccentric.

² Lines 1-5, 10-19.

³ MS. 'lett'.

But yf this weighd, proud vile and saucie sperritt
 Depraueing euerye exemplarye merritt
 May <yett>¹ nought lesse all his fatt hopes Inherritt
 . . . tis tyme I thinke to banish
 And Cast out such vnhallovedly disloyall
 from bloodę thrice Sacred and deuinely Royall<.>²

This is a clear hint of what actually happened: Jonson, through the influence of Inigo Jones, was superseded as a masque-writer at Court.

In a humourless passage Chapman falls foul of Jonson's *Execration upon Vulcan* (*Und.* xliii) for the burning of his library in 1623. It was not published till 1640, so Chapman knew it in manuscript. He jeers at the loss of the *English Grammar*, the poem on the Scottish journey, and Jonson's collections of

twice twelue years storde vpp humanitie
 Wth humble gleaninge In Deuenytye,

and he hints, very unworthily, that the lines were fictitious: Jonson 'need not,

criing fire out In a dreame to kinge
 Burne thingę vnborne, and that way generatt thingę,³

Such a genius could surely replace any loss.

Canst thou lese theise by fire; and liue yet able
 To wright past Ioues wrath, fier and Ayre Things stable
 yet Curse as thou wert lost for euerye bable(?) }
 Some pore thinge wright new; a Riche Caskett Ben
 All of riche Iems, t,'adorne most learned men
 or a Reclaime of most facete Supposes
 To teach full habited-men to blowe their noses(,)]
 make the king Merrie; would,st thou now be knowne
 The Deuill and the Vice, and both In one(?)⁴

What 'poor thing' had Jonson 'written new' in or about 1634? What work of that date could be dismissed as 'facete Supposes'? What did he 'reclaim', as a hawk was reclaimed? He had evidently tried to instruct a qualified artist, and meant the production to raise a laugh from the King.

Chapman renews the attack in a later passage, some lines of which are hopelessly obscure.

. . . will thy fortune still
 (spight of all learning) backe the witt thy will
 Though thy play genius hange his broken wing(s)
 full of sicke feathers, and wth forced Thingę
 Imp thy scœnes, labord and vnnaturall<,>
 and nothing good Comes wth thy thrice vext Call

¹ MS. 'itt'. ² 24-7, 48-50, 56-8. ³ Lines 119, 120. ⁴ Lines 108-16.

Comes thou not yet; nor yet? O no, Nor yett(?)
yet are thy learnd Admirer's soe deep sett
In thy preferment aboue all that Cite
The sunn in Challenge for the heate and light
of bothe heauens Influences w^{ch} of you tow¹ knewe
and haue most power In them; Great Ben tis you(.)²

Here again the metaphor from 'imping'—grafting new feathers on the maimed wing of a hawk—suggests that Jonson had been patching some old work, and had failed in art by patching it clumsily; this time we are told explicitly that it was a play. The reference is to *A Tale of a Tub*, acted at the Cockpit and the Court a year before Chapman wrote. We have been severely taken to task for accepting the view of Collier and Fleay that *A Tale of a Tub* was in all essentials early work patched up with 'scœnes labord and vnnaturall' to serve as an attack on Inigo Jones.³ Chapman's 'Supposes' even hints at the title of the play: a tale of a tub was a cock-and-bull story, very definitely a 'suppose'.

The lines about Jonson's 'learnd Admirers' are extremely difficult. Chapman was naturally obscure, and he had a habit of packing his obscurities in tight-wedged phrases. Add to this that, in the poem we are considering, he was ill and also he was in a towering passion. If he had finished the poem and published it, he might have clarified his references to Inigo Jones. 'Which of you two' certainly means, we think, Jonson and Inigo. Jonson, we are told in the first lines of the poem, wielded the *ignis trisulcus* of *Jupiter tonans*:

be pleasd to *light*
The world wth that three-forked fire.

The world wants light, not destruction.

The Dunkerkes keepe not our Cole ships In Awe
More then thy Moodę are thy Admirer's law. (20, 21.)

'Battrie' (17), 'vapour' vexing his 'virulent Ayre' (19), 'adust⁴ and Clouted Choller' (45-6), 'wrathfull fumes' (72), 'Hercules Furens breaking forth' (124), 'drad Repercussions and Reportes' (165), are Chapman's huddle of images to express the effects of Jonson's explosive violence.

But what are 'both heauens influences'? They should mean the sun by day, and the moon and the planets by night. In this matter of heat and light Jonson's admirers 'cite'—appeal to—the sun, the great source of both, to determine which of the two competitors reflects these influences more. But Chapman is so intent on stigmatizing Jonson's

¹ i.e. two, a form found from the 14th to the 17th century.

² Lines 127-38.

³ See the Oxford *Jonson*, vol. i, pp. 276-301, vol. iii, pp. 3-6, and cf. Dr. Greg's criticism in the *R.E.S.* ii, pp. 129-37. Our answer is made in the commentary, vol. ix, pp. 269-75.

⁴ 'a dust' MS.

malign influence that he forgets to indicate the benevolent character of Inigo's. The reference to 'you two' presupposes this. Chapman abandons this half of the comparison and goes off on a new tack.

Examine hime some truely Iudging sperritt
that pride nor fortune hath to blind his merritt(>.)
Hee matcht wth all booke-fiers hee euer read
His Deske(s) poor Candle-Rentē; his owne fat head
Wth all the learnd worlde; . . .
what thinkest thou (Iust frind) equalde not his pride
all yet that euer, Hell or heauen defied(?)¹

The just and truly-judging friend, appealed to in such a context, must be Inigo, who is otherwise completely dropped.

Virulence is one besetting vice of Jonson; his false and exaggerated idea of learning is another.

Hee onlye reading showed; Learning, nor witt.²
True Muses euer, vent breathes mixt wth fier
W^{ch} fermed in Numbers, they³ in flames expire(>.)
Not onlye flames kindl'd wth theyr owne blest breath(>.)
That giue the vnborne life; and eternize death(>.)⁴

The 'letterles Companions', whom Jonson despises, the player or the bookseller, 'or wife of eyther',

All men and thinge, may knowe their owne rude way(>.)⁵
Nor lett you^r learninge thinck egredious Ben
thes letterles Companions are not men
Wth all the Arte and sciences Indued
If of mans true and worthiest knowledge rude
w^{ch} is to knowe and be, one Compleat man(>.)⁶

Chapman often preached this doctrine: Bussy D'Ambois is praised for

Holding all learning but an Art to liue well.⁷

And some fine lines in the postscript to his complete Homer set the truth poetically, which is more than he does here:

For from Mens knowledges; their Liues-Acts flowe;
Vainglorious Acts then, vaine proue all they know.
As Night, the life-enclining starrs, best showes;
So liues obscure, the starriest soules disclose.

And the whole poem 'To Young Imaginaries in Knowledge' appended to his version of *Petrarchs Seven Penitentiall Psalms*, 1612, pp. 83-9, is a striking elaboration of this theme. But his deduction from it that

¹ 139-43, 149-50.

² 153. i.e. 'neither Learning'.

³ Query, 'then'.

⁴ 157-60.

⁵ 181.

⁶ 187-91.

⁷ *The Revenge of Bussy d'Amboise*, 1. i (ed. 1613, B3^v).

Jonson had no learning is really stupid. And the plain truth is that Jonson, who gave the provocation, and Chapman, who went on the war-path to avenge his friend, are equally discredited when their sneers and their invective are submitted to scrutiny. If Chapman had addressed his poem not to Jonson but to Inigo, he might have penned a noble vindication.

Inigo had produced Chapman's *Masque of the Inns of Court* at Princess Elizabeth's marriage in 1613. The title-page of the quarto describes it as 'Inuented, and fashioned, with the ground, and speciall structure of the whole worke: By our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious Architect INNIGO IONES. Supplied, Aplied, Digested, and written, By GEO: CHAPMAN.' In 1616 he dedicated *The Diuine Poem of Musæus* 'To the Most generally ingenious, and our only Learned Architect, my exceeding good Friend INYGO IONES, Esquire; Surueigher of His Maiesties Workes', telling him that 'Ancient Poesie, and ancient *Architecture*, requiring to their excellence a like creating and proportionable Rapture' were 'alike ouer-topt by the monstrous *Babels* of our Moderne *Barbarisme*', that 'passing few' appreciated both, and that Inigo was 'a Chiefe of that few'. When Chapman died Inigo erected over his grave in the churchyard of St. Giles-in-the-Fields a Roman altar to his memory and inscribed it 'ob honorem bonarum literarum familiari suo'. Their relations as friends and fellow-artists were unclouded to the end. The probability is that Chapman had either made in person, or associated himself with, some protest against Jonson's attacks on Inigo, and that Jonson had made a contemptuous reply. We know of no direct attack by Jonson on Chapman. He made some critical comments on weak points in Chapman's Homeric scholarship, but these were private notes in his copy of Chapman's translation.¹ There is no reason to suppose that Chapman ever saw them. They would certainly have irritated him, for Chapman never tolerated criticism, and his sharp retorts to it may be read in his prefaces. Nobody could describe Jonson's notes as an outburst of 'wild furie'; they are quiet, scholarly, and playful. But it certainly seems as if, over and above any resentment for the unjust treatment of Inigo Jones, some personal pique gives point and sting to the 'Invective'.

¹ See *The Times Literary Supplement*, 3 March 1932.

〈AN ENTERTAINMENT AT THE BLACKFRIARS, 1620〉

THIS Entertainment was evidently written for the christening of Charles Cavendish, second son of William, the second Earl of Devonshire, born 20 May 1620. The manuscript in which it has been preserved (Harley MS. 4955, British Museum, ff. 48–52) appears to have been put together for the Earl of Newcastle; at any rate the compiler had access to his papers, and a number of the poems relate to members of the family. White Kennet in his *Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish*, 1708, p. 8, gave a short life of Charles, and stated that 'the King was his Godfather and named him Charles'; by 'the King' it seems clear that he meant Charles I, Prince of Wales at the time of the christening. Charles Cavendish became a royalist general in the Civil War, and was killed at Gainsborough on 28 July 1643; Waller wrote his epitaph (*Poems*, ed. G. Thorn Drury, ii, p. 75).

s.d. *banquet*, dessert.

1. *Sir*, addressed to the Prince.

1–9. The 'battell' was to see only; the 'huntinge' to eat. F. Osborne, in *Traditionall Memoyres on the Raigne of King James*, 1658, pp. 124–5, denounces the Earl of Carlisle as 'one of the Quorum, that brought in the Vanity of *Ante-Suppers*, not heard of in our forefathers time, and for ought I have read, or at least remember, unpractised by the most luxurious Tyrants. The manner of which was, to have the board covered, at the first entrance of the Ghests, with dishes, as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choycest and dearest viands sea or land could afford: And all this once seene and having feasted the eyes of the Invited, was in a manner throwne away, and fresh set on to the same height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot.'

18. *hee with the blewe Ribband*, Prince Charles wearing the ribbon of the Garter.

19. *fitter to be a father*. The negotiations for the Spanish marriage were formally opened in 1617.

41. *wooll*. Cf. the form 'wull' in *Ep.* xc. 17.

46. *vn rude*. Cf. *E.M.O.* iv. ii. 49.

50. *Lord Chancery*, Lord Bacon.

58. *brest*, voice.

65. *bounty'*, *and*. For this metrical punctuation cf. *E.M.I.* ii. iii. 70.

53. *the glad lady within i'th straw*. A phrase for a woman in childbed. The earliest quotation in the *O.E.D.* is from Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 1661, Lincolnshire, 'Our English plain Proverb, *De Puerperis*,

they are in the Straw; shows Feather-Beds to be of no ancient use among the Common Sort of our Nation.' Shelley uses the phrase in describing a bas-relief of a Roman woman in childbed in the Gallery at Florence (*Essays, Letters from Abroad*, 1840, ii, p. 272).

91. *carrie . . . stroke*, bear sway, have influence. Cf. More, *Utopia*, i (p. 104, ed. Lupton), 'where soeuer possessyons be pryuate, where moneye beareth all the stroke, it is . . . almoste impossyble that there the weale publyque maye iustelye be gouerned'.

100-28. This purple patch is borrowed from ancient treatises on medicine; much of the detail is in Hippocrates. But Jonson probably derived it from a summary; a possible source is the *Speculi Maioris Vincentii Burgundi Praesulis Beluacensis Tomi Quatuor*, Venice, 1591. The signs of pregnancy are enumerated in Vol. I, book XXXI, ch. xlii. (1) From Avicenna: 'Praegnans masculum habens melioris est coloris, et pluris leuitatis, et agilitatis, faciei quoque mundioris, et appetitus sanioris, et quietorum accidentium. Sentit quoque grauedinem lateris dextri. . . . Lac eius crassum, viscosum, non tenue, et aquosum. itaque lac masculi distillatur super speculum, et consideratur ad ipsum in sole, et remanet quasi ipsum sit frustum argenti viui, aut granum margaritae, non currens, nec prolongatur. Item huiusmodi praegnans cum a statione mouetur, prius dextrum pedem mouet. . . . Oculus quoque dexter ipsius leuioris est motus atque velocioris.' (2) From Hali: 'Color pulcher, et motus eius leuis, mamma eius dextra maior quam sinistra. Indequ caput eiusdem mamillae. Pulsus etiam in dextra manu vehemens est ac fortis, celer et plenus.' (3) From Hippocrates: 'Mulierem si scire vis an conceperit, mellicratum dabis ei bibere. Et siquidem circa ventrem tortiones habuerit, concepit. . . . Iterum contegens eam vestimentis, suffumiga deorsum aromatibus.'

111. *Coppidness*. Unrecognized in dictionaries. The sense is clearly Vincent's 'grauedo lateris dextri', and the words of the context, 'the lyinge of it so *high* in the Cabinett', suggest a meaning akin to that of the adjective 'copped'. Perhaps a popular misuse.

117. *the Glasse and the slide-stone*. Gifford printed these words in parenthesis, as explanatory of 'my nayle', but Vincent mentions the use of the 'speculum'. *Slide-stone* is an unsolved mystery; the transcriber of the manuscript was bothered by it, for he wrote 'slike-stone' at first. For 'slike-stone', or smoothing stone, cf. Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (*Works*, ii, p. 9, l. 19, ed. Bond), 'shee that wanteth a sleeke-stone to smooth hir linnen, wil take a pebble.'

123. *foote, . . . eye*, The commas mark a pause made for emphasis: the modern equivalent would be to italicize '*right foote*' and '*right eye*'; '*right pulse*' should also have a comma.

131. *Timpanie*, a flatulent swelling. *Moone Calfe*, abortive flesh in the womb.

160. *scarlett*. For the virtue of this colour cf. *Volp.* III. iv. 63.

167. *crumpe shouldred*, a hunch-back.

180. *spurginge*, foaming.

197. *dried eeles skin*. Cf. *K. John*, I. i. 141, 2 *Henry IV*, III. ii. 317.
 202. *chibbols*, onions.
 204. (*Sir reuerence*). For this euphemism cf. *T.T.* I. vi. 25.
 219. *Mathematitian*, astrologer (Lat. *mathematicus*). Query, the Mr. Lukin, who partly composed the Epitaph on Ch. Cavendish (*U.V.* xxii. 13-27).
 245. . . *whitest wooll*. Cf. *Haddington*, 224-5.
 260. *layes them the lawe*. Cf. *D. is A.* II. viii. 71-2, 'to see him . . . lay the law'.
 286. *the Strande*. Cf. *S.W.* I. iii. 45.

THE MASQUE OF OWLS

THIS was performed before Prince Charles at Kenilworth on 19 August 1624. The date is fixed by a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton on 21 August (S.P. 14, clxxi. 66), 'you see what poore stuffe I am faine to picke vp to furnish a letter, for we haue nothing from the court but of a maske at Burly made by younge Maynard wth no great approbation. another was latly presented before the Prince at Killingworth by Ben Iohnson whiles the king was at warwicke, but wth what successe we do not yet heare because yt was but two dayes since.'

The presenter is the Ghost of Captain Cox, the Coventry mason 'very cunning in fens' and possessor of a marvellous library, the chief figure in Robert Laneham's *Letter* on the festivities at Kenilworth when Queen Elizabeth visited Leicester there in 1575. Dr. Furnivall reprinted the letter in *Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books; or Robert Laneham's Letter* (Ballad Society, 1871).

Gifford suggested that, as the Captain enumerated the Owls, he 'probably produced, from beneath the foot-cloth of the hobby-horse, a block ridiculously dressed or printed to correspond with the description'. Far more probably the Owls were rustic actors who danced out as Captain Cox sprung them one by one upon the company; they were like the Six Hoods in the *Entertainment at Welbeck*. They would have owls' heads, horned for instance, as line 92 shows, and coats of feathers.

A second version of the description of the third Owl is given at the end, 166-79. Evidently Ben's satire on the 'pure native Bird' and the Puritanism of Coventry (116-35) had to be suppressed for the performance, and he substituted the 'Crop-eard Scrivener', characteristically restoring the original text in the manuscript left behind him for the printer.

1. *Roome, romme*. A common opening of mummers' plays:

Room a Room brave gallants all,
Pray give me room to rhyme;
I am come to show you activity
This merry Christmas time.

(*The Mummers' Play*, by R. J. E. Tiddy, p. 161 and elsewhere.)

13. *feast*. Pronounced 'fest'.

25. *Bullen*, Boulogne, captured by Henry VIII in 1544.

38. *the Saxon and the Dane*. A reference to the historical Hock-Tuesday play of the men of Coventry commemorating the massacre of the Danes by King Ethelred on Saint Brice's night, 13 November 1002. It was a sham-fight between Danish 'launsknights' and English with 'their allder poll martially in theyr hand'. This was revived before Elizabeth with Captain Cox as protagonist on the English side. 'Twise the Danes had the better, but at the last conflict, beaten doown, ouercom and many led captiue for triumph by our English weemen' (*A Letter*, 1575, pp. 36-7).

42. *sword . . . twice so long*. This must be the 'tonsword' of the *Letter*.

45. *the second day*. Elizabeth, owing to the overcrowding and unruliness of the spectators, seeing but little of the Coventry play, 'commaunded thearfore on the Tuisday followyng too haue it ful oout: az accordingly az waz preztented, whearat her Maiesty laught well' (*A Letter*, p. 38).

55. *three*, the three ostrich plumes of the Prince of Wales.

61. *Dogs, nor Beares*. On 14 July 1575 thirteen bears were baited by 'a great sort of bandogs' before Elizabeth. Laneham gives a vivid account of it (*A Letter*, pp. 21-4).

68. *the Author saith*. See the quotation on line 117.

86. *little-little*. *Christmas*, 76.

94. *Ivy-lane*. In the ward of Faringdon Within: 'Next is Iuie lane, so called of Iuie growing on the walles of the Prebend houses, but now the lane is replenished on both the sides with faire houses, and diuers offices be there kept, by registers, namelie, for the prerogatiue court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Probate of Willes, and for the Lord Treasurers remembrance of the Exchequer, &c.' (Stow, *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, i, p. 342). Jonson seems to have used the name to suggest an owl in the ivy, as in line 73.

98. *sold smoke*. A quibble on the proverbial use 'to sell something worthless', 'to defraud'. *Sej.* I. 31-2 n.

109-12. A reference to the troops recently raised to serve under Mansfeldt in the Palatinate. He was in London on 16 April 1624, and Chamberlain wrote to Carleton on 5 June: 'Here is much canvassing about the making of Captains and Colonels for the new forces that are to be raised to assist the Low Countries' (Nichols, iv, p. 978).

113. *God to pay*. A cant term for a bad debt: see *Ep.* xii.

114. *eares*, horns.

117. *A pure native Bird*. The local Puritans had abolished the Coventry Pageant; hence the eagerness with which the Hock-Tuesday play was revived. Laneham notices this: 'The thing, said they, iz grounded on story, and for pastime woont too be plaid in oour Citee yeerely: withoout ill exampl of mannerz, papistry, or ony superstition: and elz did so occupy the heds of a number, that likely inoough woold haue had woorz meditatonz: had an auncient begynning, & a long continuauns: tyll noow of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why: onless it wear by the zeal of certain their Preacherz: men very commendabl for behauour & learning, and sweet in theyr sermons, but sumwhat too soour in preaching away their pastime' (*A Letter*, Gij).

119. *Coventrie-blue*. G.M. 943.

126. *Makes, mates*.

132. *It now lies on their hands*. Gifford quotes W. Stafford, *A Briefe Conceipte of English Pollicye*, 1581, f. 49, complaining that people despise the home-market and buy foreign fashions: 'I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was rich euen vpon that trade in manner onely: and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise.'

137. *once a Bankrupt* . . . 140. *Got him a Serjeants place*. Compare the gradations of Serjeant Ambush in Dekker and Webster's *West-ward Hoe*, III. ii (1607, D4), 'Pew; I haue bin a Broker already; for I was first a Puritan, then a Banquerout, then a Broker, then a Fencer, and then Serjeant, were not these Trades woulde make a man honest?'

151. *the Match*, the Spanish match.

153. *triumpht*, triumphed over. Cf. 'the triumphed world', *Sej.* 1. 60.

154. *Rodomant*. C.R. v. iv. 235, 'like your *Rodomontada*'.

158. *bringer-up*, the last in order, an extension of the military phrase 'to bring up the rear'.

160. *the Act against swearing*, the 21 Jac. I, c. 20, 1623-4, drawn up and promoted by Sir John Strode, 'That prophane Swearers and Cursers shall pay twelve pence for every Oath, to the use of the Poor.' It lasted into the eighteenth century. Lecky (*History of England*, iv, p. 303) quotes the *Derby Mercury*, 28 September 1764, 'A few days ago, a Lady of Quality and distinction, in the county, was informed against for swearing five oaths, for which she was obliged to pay 25 shillings'; and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1772, p. 339, records that a vicar was fined £10 for not reading in Church the Act against cursing and swearing.

167. *A Crop-eard Scrivener*. This penalty for dishonest scriveners is often alluded to. J. H. in 'Characters' appended to *The House of Correction*, 1619, D3^v, describes 'A broking Scriuener: He neuer mist of his cunning but once, when looking into the Market-place through a window, he lost one of his eares, and neuer since could be cured'; I. C., *The Two Merry Milke-Maides*, 1620, Br^v, 'Dor. I wud my Father had bound thee Prentice seuen yeeres agoe to a Scriuener, by this time thou hadst lost thy Eares: What make you eues-dropping here?'; 'Eare-lacke, A

Scrivener is one of the characters in Rowley's *A Match at Midnight*, 1633.

168-9. *whis-|per*. *Sej.* II. 361.

176. *Two i'the hundred*. *S. of N.* II. i. 4.

178. *heare . . . worse*. For the quibble see *Alch.* I. i. 24 n.

179. *eares in his purse*. Varied in *S. of N.* v. ii. 83, 'Your eares are in my pocket'.

THE KING'S ENTERTAINMENT AT WELBECK

IN 1633 King Charles went to Edinburgh to be crowned. On the way he stopped at Worksop and on 21 May the then Earl of Newcastle invited him to Welbeck. The entertainment took place on 31 May. The Duchess of Newcastle gives the following account of her husband's lavish hospitality:

'When His Majesty was going into *Scotland* to be Crowned, he took His way through *Nottingham-shire*; and lying at *Worksop-Mannor*, hardly two miles distant from *Welbeck*, where my Lord then was, my Lord invited His Majesty thither to a Dinner, which he was graciously pleased to accept of: This Entertainment cost my Lord between Four and Five thousand pounds; which His Majesty liked so well, that a year after His Return out of *Scotland*, He was pleased to send my Lord word, That Her Majesty the Queen was resolved to make a Progress into the Northern parts, desiring him to prepare the like Entertainment for Her, as he had formerly done for Him: Which my Lord did, and endeavour'd for it with all possible Care and Indu[du]stry, sparing nothing that might add splendor to that Feast, which both their Majesties were pleased to honour with their Presence: *Ben Johnson* he employed in fitting such Scenes and Speeches as he could best devise; and sent for all the Gentry of the Country to come and wait on their Majesties; and in short, did all that ever he could imagine, to render it Great, and worthy Their Royal Acceptance.

'This Entertainment he made at *Bolsover-Castle* in *Derbyshire*, some five miles distant from *Welbeck*, and resigned *Welbeck* for their Majesties Lodging; it cost him in all between Fourteen and Fifteen thousand pounds' (*The Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, 1667, p. 139).

Clarendon also refers to the entertainments:

'Both King and Court were received and entertained by the Earl of Newcastle, and at his own proper expense, in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of feasting, as had never before been known in England; and would still be thought very prodigious, if the same noble person had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and

Queen a more stupendous entertainment; which (God be thanked), though possibly it might too much whet the appetite of others to excess, no man ever after imitated' (*History of the Rebellion*, i, p. 167).

Newcastle himself wrote to Strafford on 5 August 1633 of the entertainment:

'it was of no small Charge unto me. I cannot find by the King but he seemed to be pleased with me very well, and never used me better or more graciously; the Truth is, I have hurt my Estate much with the Hopes of it. . . . Children come on apace, my Lord, and with this Weight of Debt that lyes upon me, I know no Diet better than a strict Diet in the Country, which, in Time, may recover me of the prodigal Disease' (*The Strafford Correspondence*, i, p. 101).

Newcastle's book on horsemanship, *La Methode Nouvelle & Invention extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, 1657, has two plates of Welbeck after page 18 and seven plates of Bolsover after page 182.

1-18. Jonson recurs to the theme of Love and Beauty in his first two masques. Cf. Ficino's commentary on the *Hippias* of Plato (*Opera*, 1576, ii, p. 1271), 'Nam pulchritudo nihil aliud est, quàm summi boni splendor, fulgens in ijs, quæ oculis, auribus, mente percipiuntur, perque illa ad ipsum bonum, uisum, auditum, mentemque conuertens. Quo fit ut pulchritudo circulus quidam diuinæ lucis existat, à bono manans, in honore residens, per bonum & ad bonum sempiternè reflexus.'

14. *new-fresh*. Cf. 'new-new' in Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters*, iv (*Works*, ed. Grosart, i. 233).

20. *Sherewoods head . . . more quaintly curl'd*. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, xxiii. 194, 'Where Sherwood her curld front, into the cold doth shove'; and Milton, *Arcades*, 46-7:

To nurse the Saplings tall, and curl the grove
With Ringlets quaint.

22. *inchas'd*, adorned, strictly with a suggestion of engraving: cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II. ix. 24, 'A wandring vine, Enchaced with a wanton yuie twine'.

purl'd. Strictly of embroidering with gold or silver thread; it gives a new turn to 'inchas'd'.

36. *Ground*, ground-bass.

43. *Party-per-pale*. A term in heraldry denoting that the field, on which the figures making up a coat of arms are represented, is divided into two equal parts by a perpendicular line. *Ep.* lxxiii. 13.

55. *President*. Jonson has 'precedent' in *Sej.* i. 467, *N.I.* II. vi. 9, *Ep.* cxiii. 9; elsewhere he, or his printer, has the 's' spelling.

61. *Out-cept*. *T. of T.* i. iii. 50.

66. *Leave is light*. *N.I.* v. v. 83.

71-2. Early in the reign of Charles I Newcastle was appointed Lord

Warden of the Forest of Sherwood and Lord-Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire; the lord-lieutenancy of Derbyshire he held temporarily between the death of the second Earl of Devonshire in 1628 and the coming of age of the third Earl in 1638.

76. *timber*. Sir G. Paule, *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, 1612, § 138. 93, 'For his small timber, he was of good quicke strength, straight and well shaped.'

84. *the Towne-Pen-and-Inkehorne*. So Laneham's bridegroom at Kenilworth had 'a pen & inkorn at his balt, for he woold be knowen to be bookish' (*A Letter*, p. 27).

92-3. *the written, or reputed Wonders of the Peake*. To the four mentioned by Jonson, Drayton, *Polyolbion*, xxvi. 397-494, adds Tideswell, Sandy Hill, and the Peak Forest.

94. *Saint Anne of Buxstons boyling Well*. 'The temperature of St. Ann's Well at Buxton is 80° Fahrenheit. The water is remarkable for the free nitrogen dissolved in it' (*Victoria County History of Derbyshire*, i, p. 10). It was visited four times by Queen Mary of Scotland when in charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Dr. John Jones wrote on *The Benefit of the Ancient Bathes of Buckstone* in 1572, and Drayton celebrates

those wondrous Wells
Of *Buckston*, . . . that most delicious Fount,
Which men the second Bath of *England* doe account.

St. Anne was the patron saint of Buxton; her chapel near the Well was hung with the crutches of cured pilgrims till it was destroyed in Henry VIII's reign.

95. *Eldon, bottomlesse, like Hell*. A perpendicular chasm north of Peak forest town. So Drayton, 440-5:

which perpendicular
Dive'st downe into the ground, as if an entrance were
Through earth to lead to hell, ye well might judge it here,
Whose depth is so immense, and wondrously profound,
As that long line which serves the deepest Sea to sound,
Her bottome never wrought.

Similarly Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peake*, says that he had sounded 884 yards,

And, tho' of those *fourscore* return'd back wet,
The *Plummet* drew, and found no Bottom yet.

Actually the depth is 200 feet, with an inner cavern 65 feet lower (E. A. Baker, *Moors, Crags and Caves of the High Peak*, ch. xxi, with a sectional diagram).

96. *Pooles-hole*, one mile to the west of Buxton, entered by a narrow hole. According to Drayton named after an outlaw of the Poole family who took 'his strong refuge' here.

Satans . . . Arse. G.M. 122.

97. *Surreverence*. *T. of T.* i. vi. 25.

the Mine-mens Farce. Described in the following lines; there appears to be no other mention of it.

100. *for the nones*. *Volp.* ii. ii. 203.

105. *Milstones are good meat*. A local saying. Philip Kynder, *Historie of Derbyshire* in Ashmole MS. 788, p. 198, mentions the millstone as one of the precious stones of the county: 'your Lapidaries talke of Amulets & Periapts, & y^t y^e Amathist is good against surfeit & Drunkenness; but all men know y^t y^e Milston is good against hunger & thirst.' Drayton says of the Peak (xxvi. 391-2):

Shee Mil-stones from the Quarrs, with sharpned picks could get,
And dainty Whetstones make, the dull-edgd tooles to whet.

111. *he ne're shot in his Bow*. The old proverb quoted in *John Heywoodes woorkes*, ii. vi (1562, Hiiij):

Bachelers bost, how they will teach their wiues good,
But many a man speaketh of Robyn hood,
That neuer shot in his bowe.

119. *a Wedding*. We are reminded of the *Laneham Letter*, which Jonson used for the *Masque of Owls*; it describes a 'Bride-ale' before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth on 17 July 1575: 'a solem brydeale of a proper coopl waz appointed: set in order in y^e tyltyard, too cum & make thear sheaw before the Castl in the great court, whear az was pight a cumly quintine for featz at armz: which when they had don, too march oout . . . ' (p. 26). Jonson has drawn freely upon Laneham.

127. *Pem*. Her 'good ale-tap' is mentioned in *U.V.* xlv. 39, a song of the Peak. For Derby ale cf. *G.M.* 235.

131. *in that Ubiquitie*, anywhere in that locality.

144. *impe*, graft.

154. *yellow Canvas Doublet, cut*. The dress of the poor: so at Kenilworth the bearer of the bride-cup 'waz so loth to cum forward, for reuerens bylike of his nu cut canuas dooblet' (*A Letter*, p. 28).

155. *Munmouth Cap*. *H.W.* 238.

157. *not trouble himselfe with Bootes*. Like the would-be bridegroom John Clay in *T. of T.* i. iv. 5-7.

164. *At Quintin*. The *Derby Archaeological Journal*, 1896, xviii, pp. 29-80, describes the marriage of Leonard Wheatcroft of Ashover in Whitsun week 1657. A quintain was set up in the middle of the town: 'the master of the Quinton advanced towards the Bridegroom with a white speare in his hand, which was very richly deckt with all manner of flowers; which immediately the bridegroom brake at the first tilt.' Aubrey a little later speaks of the quintain as 'sometimes used' in the west country, and refers to Jonson's entertainment as a 'perfect description of riding' at one (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, ii, p. 330). R. Plot (*Oxfordshire*, 1677, p. 201), who saw a performance at Deddington, says it is used 'only in request at Marriages, and set up in the way for young men to ride at as they carry home the *Bride*'.

165. *Bridaltee*. A rare form.

167. *Come Cut, and Long-taile*. Cf. Laneham, 'The Brydegroome for preeminens had the fyrst coors at the fyrst Quintyne, brake his spear *tres hardiment*' (p. 30): 'Noow, syr, after the Brydegroom had made hiz coors, run the rest of the band, a whyle in sum order, but soon after, tag & rag, cut & long tayl' (ibid.). 'Cut' was a popular phrase for a common horse; whether originally 'cut-tail' or 'gelding' seems doubtful. It was also applied to dogs: Dr. Furnivall quotes Ulpian Fulwell, *Arts Adulandi*, 1576, 'Yea, even their very dogs, Rug, Rig, and Risbie, yea, cut and long-taile, they shall be welcome.'

168. *Sixe Batchelers*. Gifford has a curious notion that the course at quintain was 'performed by the gentlemen of the county, neighbours' of the Earl of Newcastle, 'in the guise of rustics, in which much awkwardness was affected, and much real dexterity probably shown'. The suggestion is unlikely, and the performance which Laneham saw was a sufficient precedent for introducing the sport of rustics. Compare too *The Masque of Owls*.

169. *Adjuting*, adding.

176. *Stamel*. E.H. I. ii. 15.

183-4. *Tawny . . . the Abbots man*, a somner. Cf. 'tawny-coat' for the name of an ecclesiastical apparitor from his yellowish-brown livery.

189. *girts*, saddle-girths.

195. *the Place that beares the cost*. If Jonson means St. Quentin, it is a false etymology: quintain is derived from the Old French *quintaine*, identical with Latin *quintana*, the market-place and business centre of a Roman camp. But neither etymology throws any light on 'beares the cost'.

196. *all the Fat i' the Fire were lost*. This line shows the original sense of the phrase—waste, or utter failure—not, as now, the idea of an explosion. *John Heywoodes woorkes*, I. iii (1562, Aiiij^v):

Then farewell riches, the fat is in the fire,
And never shall I to like riches aspire.

199. *Sir Quintin*. The form here adopted was the revolving figure weighted with a sandbag (line 215), which swung round and struck the unskilful rider. The figure usually had to be hit between the eyes or on the nose. A quintain preserved on the green at Offham in Kent is said to be the only specimen now surviving in England.

206. *wood*. A quibble (1) 'stub' in the sense of 'stock', (2) the adjective 'wood' = mad.

216. *Lowting low*. N.I. III. ii. 25.

217. *treene*. This plural survives only in dialect.

222. *patch*, clown. As in *Mids. N. D.* III. ii. 9, 'A crew of patches, rude mechanicals'. The O.E.D. inclines to derive it from the Italian *pazzo*, fool. John Heywood in his *Epigrams*, I. xlv, connected it with Patch, Cardinal Wolsey's fool (*Woorkes*, 1562, Oi^v).

226-7. *hurle His Hood after the Kirke*. The sarcasm is lost to us.

Query, some Scot who had broken his connexion with the kirk and who went to Scotland with Charles in 1633. 'Abbot' seems to be a jocular allusion: there were no abbots in Britain at that date.

228. *beheft*, behaved.

237-8. Suggested by Laneham, whose bridegroom kept his seat with difficulty: 'his mare in hiz mannage did a littl so titubate, that mooch a doo had hiz manhod too sit in his sadl, & too skape the foyl of a fall: with the help of his band yet he recoouered himself, and lost not hiz styrops (for he had none too hy sadl)' (*A Letter*, p. 30).

239. *weft*, waif, stray. *E.M.O.* i. ii. 166.

240. *cleft*. Otherwise called 'Cracks in the heel' of horses.

241. *no vaile*, no gift-horse.

244-5. *like an old May-Lady*. So the Kenilworth bride was eighty-five years old, 'marueloous fayn of the offis, bycauz she hard say she should dauns before the Queen' (*A Letter*, p. 29).

246. *Sixe Maids*. *T. of T.* ii. i. 30.

247. *Bride-laces*, to tie up the sprigs of rosemary: *T. of T.* i. iv. 20-2. *Buckram*: usually of gold, silk, or lace. So Laneham (*op. cit.*, p. 26), 'euery wight with his blu buckeram brydelace vpon a braunch of green broom (cauz rosemary iz skant thear) tyed on his leaft arm'.

248. *Stammell Petticotes*. Cf. line 176.

251. *Cake-bearer*. *T. of T.* ii. ii. 46.

Boll-bearer. Laneham describes the 'loober woorts' who 'had too beare the bridecup, foormed of a sweet sucket barrel, a faire turnd foot set too it, all seemly besyluerd and parcell gilt, adoourned with a bea(u)tiful braunch of broom, gayly begylded for rosemary: from which, too brode brydelaces of red and yellow buckeram begylded, and galauntly streaming by such wind az thear waz (for he carried it aloft)' (*A Letter*, p. 23).

261. *Firk-hum, Jerk-hum*. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, ii. i (1606, C4), 'hetherto your dauncers legges bow for-sooth, and Caper, and Ierke, and Firke'.

263. *Horne-pipes*, vigorous dances to the accompaniment of the horn.

265. *Hey-troll*. Coverdale, *Goostly Psalmes*, 1539?, ✠ ii b, 'they shulde be better occupied, then with hey nony nony, hey troly loly, & soch lyke fantasies'.

268. *Brides-stake*, a pole set up to dance round at a wedding.

272. *Vicetie*. A coinage due to the rhyme.

274. *the Bagpipe*. Philip Kynder, *Historie of Derbyshire* (Ashmole MS. 788, p. 197): 'For generall inclination & disposition, the Peakard and the Moorlander are of the same ayre, they are given much to dance after y^e bagg-pipes, almost every toun hath a bagg-piper in it, from this theire ingenuitie is discovered.

For Dancing is an exercise
Not only shews y^e Mouers-witt
But makes y^e Behoulder wise
As he hath power to rise to it. B. J.'

(These lines are from *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, 269-72.)

287. *broken off*. As in *The Irish Masque*, 150 foll.

304. *too blame*. Really the dative infinitive used as a predicate after *be*: 'In the 16th-17th centuries the *to* was misunderstood as *too*, and *blame* taken as adjective = blameworthy, culpable.'—O.E.D.

327. *Goings-out and Commings-in*. A scriptural phrase: Ezekiel xliii. 11.

332. *nerves*, sinews (Lat. *nervi*).

340-1. Slightly varied from *M. of A.* 458-60.

LOVE'S WELCOME AT BOLSOVER

1. *Banquet. Blackfriars*, 1-9.

14. *Love is a Circle*. Cf. lines 136-7 and *N.I.* III. ii. 105-7. So Herrick, *Hesperides*, 'Love what it is':

Love is a circle that doth restlesse move
In the same sweet eternity of love.

And again 'Upon Love':

Love is a Circle, and an Endlesse Sphere;
From good to good, revolving here, and there.

(*Works*, ed. Moorman, pp. 13, 274.) Chapman, *Monsieur D'Olive*, 1. i (1606, A2):

Hinc Amor ut circulus, from hence, tis said
That loue is like a circle, being th'efficient
And end of all our actions.

18, 19. *a ring, . . . the yeare*. An etymological reference to the Latin *annus* and *anulus*.

35. *Coronell Vitruvius*. Jonson's last fling at Inigo Jones: cf. *M.L.* Induction 80-1, *U.V.* xxxiv. 8. For the form *Coronell* cf. *N.I.* I. v. 10.

42. *gratis, that is bonâ fide*. A fling at Inigo's Latinity: cf. *T. of T.* v. vii. 11, 12; *M.L.* Induction, 77-81.

43. *Surveyour*. Appointed in 1615 and held the office till 1642.

48. *the Poet*. Chaucer in the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, 321-2, describing the Man of Law:

No-wher so bisy a man as he ther nas,
And yet he semed busier than he was.

52. *polt-foot*. *Poet.* iv. vii. 2, of Vulcan.

57. *Squire*. Cf. 'squire' = square (*S.W.* v. i. 19).

59. *Quarrel*. From 'quarrel', the diamond-shaped pane in a lattice-window.

74. *Tressels*. *Alch.* iv. iii. 25.

75. *Iniquo*. Jonson repeats in a slightly different form to King Charles what he had said to him as Prince (*Conv. Drum.* xvii. 467-9).

75-6. *Lilly . . . Rose. F.I. 543.*

76. *for, and, and moreover. B.F. III. v. 78.*

89 foll. A versifying of the myth in a *Challenge at Tilt*, 187-220, where it was more appropriately introduced at a wedding. For the symbolism of the divided palm see the notes on that passage.

108 (125). *sin'*. Not, as Jonson supposed, an abbreviation of 'since'; it is a contracted form of 'sithen'.

117-19. *in your eye . . . looking on each other.* A Platonic touch, not in the corresponding passage of *A Challenge at Tilt*. See the *Phaedrus*, 255 D, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἐν τῷ ἐρῶντι ἑαυτὸν ὁρῶν λέληθε . . . ὅταν δὲ <ἐκεῖνος> ἀπῆ, κατὰ ταῦτά αὐ ποθεῖ καὶ ποθεῖται, εἰδῶλον ἔρωτος ἀντέρωτα ἔχων.

120. *galliard, brisk.*

133. *To will, and nill one thing. Ep. xlii. 16-17.*

150. *the region of Ale. G.M. 235.*

153. *in Court.* Another shrewd thrust, like the *Satire on Inigo* and perhaps suggested by it. On Inigo's lips in the 'Expostulation' (*U.V. xxxiv. 51*) is put the command 'Pack with your peddling poetry to the stage', i.e. there is no place for it in a Court masque.

155. *it is done, Lat. actum est. Und. I. i. 24.*

157. *Verge. E.M.O. IV. iv. 18.*

case, pair. C. is A. II. iii. 1.

161. *Decretals*, authoritative pronouncements—a metaphor from the Canon Law.

163. *Hymen . . . two Torches. Hym. 51-2.*

167. *their whitest wool. Hadd. M. 224-5.*

brack, a flaw in cloth.

purle. E.M.O. IV. vi. 90.

169. *for starting, for fear of starting. Alch. v. v. 5.*

180. *the most warlike. Henry IV of France.*

182 margin. *the holy Riddle. Judges xiv. 14.*



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